Albrecht Diem

THE PURSUIT OF SALVATION

COMMUNITY, SPACE, AND DISCIPLINE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM

WITH A CRITICAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF *THE REGULA CUIUSDAM AD UIRGINES*



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DISCIPLINA MONASTICA

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2021
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(1) The files can be accessed the Open Access platform of Brepols: https://doi.org/10.1484/A.13049939.

INTRODUCTION

One of my most memorable operatic experiences was a semi-staged performance of Don Giovanni in the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam in 1994.[1] In the penultimate scene, Don Giovanni (Rodney Gilfry), looking like a hypermasculine pimp with shoulder-length curled hair clothed in the finest black dress shirt, faces the Commendatore (Andrea Silvestrelli) who appears at the rear end of the concert hall followed by four hellish sounding trombones. The audience is caught right in the middle of a dramatic shouting match between the slowly approaching Commendatore and Don Giovanni, who stands with legs far apart at the edge of the stage, torn between contempt, fear, and amusement about the spectacle unfolding in front of him. Don Giovanni and the Commendatore are tied together by a human chain (the choir and some members of the audience) that slowly draws them closer and closer while Don Giovanni steadfastly refuses to repent and change his ways, until his time is up and the choir announces the torments he will face in hell. The Commendatore grabs the dying Don Giovanni, throws him over his shoulder, and carries him out of the concert hall.

This is, of course, not the end. After realizing that Don Giovanni is gone, Don Ottavio, Donna Anna, Leporello, Zerlina, Masetto, and Donna Elvira, the other characters in Mozart's opera, announce how they plan to live on after their tormentor's demise and finally pronounce in a grand sextet their own verdict on Don Giovanni: *Questo è il fin di chi fa mal, e de' perfidi la morte alla vita è sempre ugual!* (Such is the end of the evildoer: the death of a sinner always reflects his life).

Don Giovanni's refusal to repent and his dramatic descent into hell helps me to visualize (and "audiolize", if this word exists) one of the most extraordinary scenes in early medieval hagiography: the battle between the community of the monastery of Faremoutiers and a horde of Ethiopian demons for the souls of two nuns who had escaped the monastery and refused to confess and repent. The demons prevailed and the nuns were doomed and buried outside the monastery where their tormented voices were heard for many years to come. When the abbess opened their graves, she found nothing more than some traces of ashes.

The great hagiographer Jonas of Bobbio (d. after 659) tells this story in the second book of his *Vita Columbani*; it is part of a sequence of episodes about the lives and deaths of the first nuns of the monastery at Faremoutiers which was founded around 620, only a generation before he told their stories (between 639 and 642). The unhappy deaths of the two fugitive nuns and the *felix exitus* (happy death) of most of their fellow sisters were

(1) The performance was broadcast on Dutch television and is available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gBgnuxif4fY. The penultimate scene starts at 2:36:00 (last accessed Oct. 28, 2020).

still part of the living memory of Jonas' audience. This would have made Jonas' story creepily real.[2]

There is a slight inconsistency between Don Giovanni's almost heroic refusal to repent and to take a last chance to save his soul, and the sextet of his survivors (none of whom is innocent) who simply conclude that hell awaits the evildoer. Their view on a simple and straightforward punishment for evil deeds aligns with the fourth book of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, which was written only two generations before the *Vita Columbani*.[3] Gregory the Great describes here how monks, nuns, priests, bishops, and laypeople die and face heavenly bliss or eternal damnation depending on their virtuous or sinful life. Confession and repentance do not play much of a role here[4] and the surrounding community may pray for the souls of dying nuns or monks but has little impact on saving the ones *chi fa mal*.[5]

Jonas of Bobbio knew Gregory's work and his eleven stories about dying nuns in Faremoutiers closely follow the model of Book Four of the *Dialogi*. They can be read as an attempt to complicate and criticize Gregory's message, to add the notion of penance, and to turn the community into an effective agent of the salvation of its individual members. This study deals with Jonas' disagreement with Gregory the Great and with a number of other instances of dissent among early medieval theologians about matters of salvation, damnation, the role of monastic discipline, and the agency of monastic communities. It revolves around the question of how to prevent what happened to the nuns of Faremoutiers, who failed to save their fellow sisters. Is it possible to pursue eternal salvation collectively as a monastic community? Can a group of monks or nuns that is confined to a demarcated space and submits itself to a strict monastic regime turn itself into an agent of its own eternal fate?

The point of departure for this exploration is a seventh-century monastic rule for a community of nuns. It is called *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (Someone's Rule for Virgins) in its extant medieval manuscripts. This Rule was, as I will argue, written by Jonas of Bobbio

(2) Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* (henceforth *VCol*) II, c. 19, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, pp. 272–275.

(3) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Paul Antin, *SC* 265, Paris: Cerf 1980.

(4) Penance for past sins is largely absent in Gregory's *Dialogues*. Even a monk who goes to hell and is released afterwards is not told to repent but to amend his future life, which he does by vigils and fasting. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.4, pp. 126–128; c. 40.3–5, pp. 140–142. Gregory mentions only one instance of confession: c. 40.11, p. 146. A monk confesses his gluttony but is doomed nevertheless. Gregory does, however, emphasize that minor sins can be cleansed in a purging fire after death and through the prayer of the living: c. 41–43, pp. 146–156; c. 57, pp. 184–194. Gregory refers to *paenitentia* exactly once in very general terms: saints should not pray for their enemies. This does not mean that they should pray for the doomed but that they should pray for the living who can turn their heart to *paenitentia* and save themselves through *conuersio*: c. 46.7, p. 164.

(5) Gregory mentions the prayer of a community for dying monks, laypeople, or nuns but does not indicate that their death and afterlife is affected by this prayer. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.4, p. 48; c. 15.4, p. 60; c. 16.7, p. 66, c. 36.2–3, p. 118. Only once, c. 40.3–5, pp. 140–142, do the monks perform prayer for a sick monk to save him from a dragon which wanted to devour him. The monk survives and mends his ways.

and most likely destined for the nuns of Faremoutiers. The two fugitive nuns were doomed because they did not adhere to the precepts laid out in this very Rule.

This book has an unusual structure and not all of its parts may be equally relevant for all readers. It begins with a critical edition and translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which is followed by four historical enquiries revolving around the themes of community, space, discipline, and salvation. I had to make the decision whether to place the edition at the beginning, which might give the wrong impression that the study itself is mainly an overblown textual commentary, or at the end, which would turn the text that forms the basis of this book into a mere appendix. I decided to start with the edition itself but readers can choose whether to study the Rule first or to begin with one of the four enquiries, using then the text for consultation. Considering the length of the book it might have been advisable to turn it into two or three monographs; it would have, however, left the problem that each of them needed the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (as introduction or appendix). Moreover, the four enquiries depend on premises established in the other parts of the book and no reader would be happy with constantly running into cross-references to other publications.

The four enquiries contextualize the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in different ways. Each enquiry consists of two chapters. Chapters 1, 3, 5, and 7 develop arguments about an intertextual relationship between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other monastic texts; Chapters 2, 4, 6, and 8 apply these arguments in a larger historical context and elucidate where Jonas disagrees with his sources.

Another difficult decision I had to make concerns the arrangement of the four parts. There are good arguments for every conceivable order. Each enquiry could stand at the beginning of this study. The first part, titled "Community" (Chapters 1–2), provides the arguments for ascribing the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas of Bobbio. It also explores both the author's theological programme (including his disagreement with Gregory the Great) and the community for which the Rule was written by analyzing the section of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* that describes the lives and deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers. From a purely chronological point of view, this part could have formed the end of the book, were it not that all the other parts rely on knowing about the Rule's author and the monastic milieu and historical context in which it was produced.

The second of the four parts, titled "Space" (Chapters 3–4), argues that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was no stand-alone text but part of a larger "Rule" that included Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns. Based on this insight I explore Caesarius' and Jonas' concepts of monastic space, arguing that Jonas was motivated to write his Rule largely because he disagreed with Caesarius' idea that spatial boundaries can ensure the salvation of those irrevocably confined within them. Chapter 4 became, as such, a study on the interplay of space and monastic theology in the early middle ages.

The third part, titled "Discipline" (Chapters 5–6), revolves around the relationship between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Regula Benedicti*, the Rule that would eventually become the norm of medieval monastic life. In Chapter 6 I provide a sentence-by-sentence commentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, embedded in broader reflections

on the themes the Rule addresses. I show that Jonas made a deliberate choice of practical provisions that appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, stripped them from most of its theological framework, and then replaced this framework with his own monastic programme that focusses on the responsibility of the community for the individual's pursuit of salvation. Jonas created a monastic rule that is both a revision and a vigorous refutation of the *Regula Benedicti*.

This third part is by far the longest segment of the book because Jonas' choice of topics provides, in my view, an excellent road map for studying the emergence, transformation, and diversification of early medieval monastic life in the West. Most of Jonas' themes (such as authority, hierarchy, boundaries, supply, love, confession, liturgical discipline, silence, materiality, sleep, exclusion, mutual interaction, and education) are particularly suitable to explore the history of early medieval monasticism in general along new lines.

The last part, titled "Salvation" (Chapters 7–8), shows that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as it is preserved, most likely looks different from the text Jonas composed. I argue that a short monastic text that appears at a different place in the main manuscript that contains the Rule, the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, was originally part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. An analysis of *De accedendo ad Deum* demonstrates that it formed the theological basis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the core of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal. Readers may, thus, read the chapters of this book in any given order as long as they keep the key results of the four intertextual explorations (on Jonas' authorship, the relation to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the revision of the *Regula Benedicti*, and the place of *De accedendo ad Deum*) in mind.

My study is based on the premise that the *cuiusdam* (or *quidam*/*quaedam*) can be replaced by Jonas' name. I call the text the Rule of Jonas of Bobbio in English but I retain the title *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Latin; I did not want to give the text a new, artificial name such as *Regula Ionae*. There are, as we will see, good reasons to doubt that Jonas would have propagated the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as "his" rule. I will also stubbornly stick to the qualifier *ad uirgines*, simply to avoid confusion with another anonymous monastic rule, for monks, written in the same period, that is preserved as *Regula cuiusdam patris*.

Turning Points

The work on this book stretched over a long period of time with several interruptions and digressions that turned into studies on Jonas of Bobbio, on seventh-century monastic rules, and on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself.[6] I encountered the text while working on my Ph.D. thesis, which explored the role of chastity and sexuality in late antique and early medieval monastic discourse.[7] Chastity was, as I argued there, by no means a stable fixture in the history of the emergence of Western monasticism. While there may have

(6) See bibliography.

(7) Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005.

been a consensus on sexual abstinence as *condicio sine qua non*, the framing of what we now call "sexuality" was a matter of dispute and underwent great changes. To put it simply, the notion of an unceasing battle for chastity, which is expressed in many texts of the Desert Fathers and especially in the work of John Cassian, "faded out" and was replaced by an increasingly sophisticated apparatus of monastic discipline and control that was primarily concerned with ensuring the absence of sex in the monastic community and attaining purity collectively. The focus shifted from an individual struggle for perfection within a supporting monastic setting to turning monasteries into places of purity, male and female virginity, and "organizable sanctity" that could serve the surrounding world by producing intercessory prayer.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the last preserved monastic rule written before the rise of the *Regula Benedicti* as the norm of monastic life; it held an odd place in my original line of argument developed in my dissertation and required further exploration. The text leaves sexuality, virginity, and the battle for chastity entirely behind. Instead, it aims at establishing a perfect disciplinary system that is "watertight" enough that neither the unceasing sexual desire nor the protection of virginity need to be explicitly addressed any more. For the purpose of writing my dissertation I was not able to get a satisfying understanding of this "watertight" disciplinary system and its theological framework. More work needed to be done on this text.

The nucleus of this book is the edition and English translation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with an extensive introduction that I wrote as a post-doctoral fellow at the *Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies* in Toronto to receive the *License in Mediaeval Studies*.[8] The original work contained a chapter arguing that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced as an addition to the Rule for Nuns written a century earlier by Caesarius of Arles, which forms the basis of Chapter 3 of this book. Another chapter of the License Thesis explored the milieu from which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* originated: at that time I indicated it as "Columbanian", i.e. inspired by the Irish *peregrinus* and monastic founder Columbanus (d. *c.* 615). Among various potential authors I singled out Burgundofara (d. after 643), the abbess of Faremoutiers, and Bishop Eligius of Noyon (d. 660), who founded several monasteries that were associated with Luxeuil and with Columbanus' successors. Some of the ideas of this chapter return in Chapter 1 of this book, even though I now come to entirely different conclusions in regard to the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Much has changed since the completion of my work at the *Pontifical Institute*, both in my own understanding of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the state of research on Columbanus and on seventh-century monasticism, most notably through the works of Ian Wood, Clare Stancliffe, Marilyn Dunn, Peter Brown, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Anne-Marie Helvétius, and, more recently, Susan Wood, Yaniv Fox, Jamie Kreiner, Sven Meeder, Alexander O'Hara, Roy Flechner, Hans Hummer, and Aurélia and Sébastien Bully (among others) who studied the works of Columbanus and Jonas and the monastic world

(8) Matthew Ponesse deserves credit for helping me to resolve various problems with the edition and translation.

emerging after Columbanus' death in their socio-political and archaeological context.[9] This book expands on their work but adds as well a new dimension: an exploration of the interplay between monastic theologies (developed by Jonas of Bobbio and other authors of monastic rules and narrative texts) on the one hand, and the practice of monastic life and role of monasteries within society at large on the other hand. Most studies approach seventh-century monastic life from an outside perspective, focusing on the role and function within society and the networks, mechanisms, and techniques of power that shaped seventh-century monasticism in a way that became decisive for the further development of medieval monasticism.[10] This study approaches a monastic world from within its physical, but also programmatic confines.

My main arguments are simple: first, that the narrators and regulators of monastic life in the early medieval Latin world continued to be motivated by resolving the question of how, specifically, monastic discipline impacts the pursuit of eternal salvation. All sources related to monastic life in the early medieval West need to be read, understood, and taken seriously as programmatic and theological reflections on this challenge, unaffected by a supposed decline of sophistication allegedly caused by what we now call the "transformation of the Roman world". Our textual witnesses of early medieval monastic life were produced by monks and nuns who reflected on what they were doing in a highly sophisticated way, albeit in distinct textual forms that were different from those common in the late antique world and those of later centuries. The fear of damnation and the hope for salvation was real and by no means just a textual trope. The terrible fate of the two fugitive nuns was certainly not seen as a *drama giocoso*.[11] The same sensitivity and anxiety applies, undoubtedly, to Eastern monastic texts, though it is not the focus of this study.[12]

The second argument is that there was by no means a consensus on the pursuit of salvation and which forms of monastic life and discipline most effectively served this goal. Late antique debates on the nature and effect of ascetic life continued. There was diachronic dissent which manifests itself in the production of new programmatic texts and the

(9) See bibliography. Several edited volumes on Columbanus and his impact appeared recently at the occasion of his 1400th centenary of Columbanus' death: Flechner, Roy and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016; Destefanis, Eleonora (ed.), *L'eredità di san Colombano. Memoria e culto attraverso il Medioevo*, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes 2017; O'Hara, Alexander (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018; Bully, Aurélia, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, which also provides an overview of recent archeological research on monasteries founded by Columbanus and his successors. Another important contribution is Schnoor, Franziska, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tremp, Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (Monasterium Sancti Galli, vol. 7), St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015.

(10) See especially Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, pp. 109–244.

(11) Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell 2003, pp. 260–262.

(12) Rapp, Claudia, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016 provides an excellent introduction to the diversity of monastic life in the Byzantine world.

revision of older ones, and there was dissent among contemporaries. I argue, in particular, that the conflicts arising in the aftermath of Columbanus, or maybe even in his lifetime, were motivated by disagreements about ways of pursuing salvation – disagreements fuelled by the changing and growing role that monasteries played within a broader socio-political context.[13] None of my observations on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* necessarily apply to early medieval monastic life in general. We have to ask time and again how this Rule fits into a broader picture of a Christian monasticism full of debates and experiments.

The debates on the pursuit of salvation become visible as soon as we move from reading our sources synthetically, as individual expressions of a shared and coherent doctrinal consensus and monastic ideal, to reading them *against* each other, i.e. assuming that they were written as responses, amendments, or refutations of existing texts and established ideals and practices.[14] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be counted as one of the most sophisticated voices of dissent and offers a unique opportunity to flesh out this part of monastic history by comparing it with other voices.

My project to unpack the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* underwent in the course of the years a number of turning points that led to rounds of revisions and purgings of what turned out to be misconceptions. First, I discovered the author, as I discuss in Chapter 1. Ascribing the text to Jonas of Bobbio, whose *Vita Columbani* can be regarded as the most vigorous claim on the heritage of the Irish monastic founder Columbanus, has far-reaching consequences.[15] It turns a rather obscure, though undoubtedly interesting, seventh-century monastic rule into a central programmatic text representing Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic ideal. Jonas' *Vita Columbani* is, as I have argued elsewhere, a textual manifestation of a *Regula Columbani* that encompassed much more than just the two sets of monastic norms ascribed to Columbanus.[16] The same applies, as I realized, to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The tedious process of collecting semantic, textual, stylistic, and programmatic parallels between Jonas' hagiographical works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* made me realize that the report on the deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers (which holds a somewhat odd place in the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*) was much more than a quarry for material proving Jonas' authorship. As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, Jonas' Faremoutiers episodes turned out to be not only the narrative counterpart of the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

(13) On this aspect, see especially Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

(14) On réécriture as tool for expressing dissent, see Goullet, Monique and Martin Heinzelmann (eds.), *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*, Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 2003; Goullet, Monique, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin medieval (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2005.

(15) On the work of Jonas of Bobbio, see, most recently, O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018.

(16) Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Maximilian Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002 (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters vol. 3), pp. 63–89.

uirgines, a prime example of a *uita uel regula*,[17] but also an unparalleled hagiographic masterwork deserving to be studied in its entirety.[18] It is a strong reminder never to assume that collections of *miracula* are just attempts to convey a state of sanctity by making a quantitative argument, one miracle after the next.[19] Every chapter of the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* is rather a drama of its own, worthy of being turned into the libretto of an opera, and Jonas followed a very specific structure and didactic goal when putting them together.

A second turning point that changed the premises of this project was the discovery that the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum* originally belonged to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and forms a key for understanding its theological programme. I discuss this in Chapters 7–8. *De accedendo* shows so many stylistic, structural, and semantic similarities with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and with Jonas' hagiographic texts that we can safely assume that it was written by the same author. *De accedendo ad Deum* explains the connection between monastic discipline and prayer. As such it would form a perfect conclusion of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It explains how and why monastic life can indeed form the basis of pursuing eternal salvation and how monastic discipline enables monks and nuns to reach God's ear on their own and others' behalf. If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* represents the core programme of Jonas' monastic ideal, *De accedendo* forms the core of this core. As such it is maybe the most important contribution to monastic theology written in the seventh-century West.

A third turning point emerged out of the insight that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* formed an expansion of Caesarius of Arles' *Rule for Nuns*. As I discuss in Chapter 3, Jonas' use of Caesarius' Rule shows on the one hand that a community founded by followers of Columbanus used a disciplinary programme that was developed a century earlier for an urban female monastic community in Late Roman Arles. This is an argument for the continuity of Gallo-Frankish traditions in the monastic world inspired by Columbanus.[20] On the other hand, Jonas did see the need to amend and expand Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and his changes can be read as markers of dissent and discontinuity. Comparing both Rules, as I do in Chapters 3–4, shows us what changed and what needed to change in Jonas' eyes, both on a pragmatic and on a conceptual level. If we operate within the – undoubtedly problematic – framework of traditional periodization, Jonas phrased an early medieval response to a textual product of the late antique world.

(17) On the concept of *uita uel regula*, see Agamben, Giorgio, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2014.

(18) Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, pp. 193–200 belongs to the few studies that read the Faremoutiers miracles as programmatic text.

(19) See also Van Dam, Raymond, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 185–229.

(20) See, most recently, Wood, Ian N., 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29–37.

The insight that Caesarius' Rule was known and used in monasteries founded by Columbanus' supporters is not new.[21] Donatus of Besançon, Jonas' contemporary, wrote another monastic rule for a monastery founded *ex regula Columbani* in which he rearranged Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and combined it with fragments of Benedict's and Columbanus' Rules.[22] Donatus makes a cryptic remark in the preface of his Rule that we can cautiously use as a key for understanding why and how both Donatus and Jonas engaged with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. He dismisses Caesarius' Rule as unsuitable *ob inmutationem loci* (literally translated: "because of the transformation of the place").[23] We cannot be sure what Donatus himself meant with *inmutatio loci,* but it appears that Jonas primarily took issue with Caesarius' concept of space and total enclosure, i.e. with his objective to confine his nuns within the impenetrable walls of the monastery for the rest of their lives.

For Caesarius, total enclosure is not only a practical matter but also a theological one; it is the basis for his own concept of the pursuit of salvation. Walls keep the devil at bay and turn the monastery into a safe space. Jonas mitigates this total enclosure, probably for practical reasons, but also because he considers Caesarius' idea that the monastic walls serve as condition for salvation to be theologically unfeasible and therefore in need of a revision. Both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani* he develops a new, much more sophisticated, system of enclosure (or rather, of various enclosures). Caesarius' and Jonas' ideas of the salvific aspect of monastic space and boundaries are analyzed in Chapter 4 of this book. I demonstrate there that their "dispute on space" had a profound impact on the evolution of future notions of the monastic space as sacred and, thus, forms an essential part of the history of medieval monasticism. Caesarius and Jonas (much more than the *Regula Benedicti*) created the monastic cloister.

A fourth turning point, which slowed down the project most significantly, emerged out of another intertextual relationship, the Rule's dependence on the *Regula Benedicti*, which was, like the *Regula Caesarii*, written about a century earlier and represented, in this case, a probably Italian late antique monastic world. As I discuss in Chapter 6, most of the chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are, with regard to their pragmatic provisions, modelled on the *Regula Benedicti* and show traces of Benedict's language, without, however, ever quoting him verbatim. One of the reasons for producing a new edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was to make these traces visible.

(21) See Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums, vol. 41); Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 47), pp. 151–169.

(22) Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1–38.

(23) *Regula Donati*, prologue.4–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139: *…dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent, 5 et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret.*

The awareness that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is dependent on the *Regula Benedicti* is also not new.[24] Friedrich Prinz already concluded – far too bluntly – that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears to be one-third "Columbanian" and two-thirds "Benedictine".[25] Other scholars propagated the notion of the seventh century as the period of *regulae mixtae* that combined various regular observances, and the idea that the *Regula Benedicti* as the more moderate Rule gained its victory by slowly pushing out the harsh precepts of Columbanus' Rule.

By analyzing which chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* Jonas decided to revise, which new chapters he added, and which alterations he imposed on Benedict's provisions, we can elucidate what actually changed at the presumed watershed at the end of the sixth century. It can shed light on changing socio-economic conditions and everyday monastic practices, but also, and maybe most importantly, on programmatic differences. Even though many of the provisions of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* look similar to those of the *Regula Benedicti*, their premises and frameworks are not at all the same. Benedict and Jonas pursue and conceptualize salvation in fundamentally different terms. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is neither just an adaptation of the *Regula Benedicti* for a female community, nor is it an attempt to reconcile Benedict's Rule with presumably Insular monastic traditions. Jonas did not only rewrite the *Regula Benedicti* but also incorporated and modified ideas from various other monastic rules and works of patristic theology. Exploring the changes Jonas inflicted on the *Regula Benedicti* and the nature of his monastic programme turned into a massive undertaking that could only be carried out in the form of a detailed discussion of each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which became the rather overproportioned Chapter 6 of this book.

The Problem of "Columbanian" Monasticism

At some point and for a time, this project turned into a study of "Columbanian" monasticism and its continental roots. Like most historians, I operated on the assumption that Columbanus' foundations, especially Luxeuil, became the nucleus of a movement of monastic foundations that were inspired by the ideals imported and propagated by the Irish monastic founder, missionary, and theologian Columbanus. The great monastic historian Friedrich Prinz, whose *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich* still belongs to the standard works on monastic history, created an even broader term, partly dissociating the Irish impact on continental monastic life from Columbanus himself: *Iro-Fränkisches Mönchtum* (Hiberno-Frankish monasticism).[26]

(24) See, for example, de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 10, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2006, pp. 307–320.

(25) Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, 2nd ed., Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag 1988, p. 286.

(26) Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 121–445; see also Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MS: Blackwell 2000, pp. 158–190.

A last turning point in the production of this book was the realization that I am not exploring a "Columbanian" monastic ideal but Jonas' very own programme, which represents only one voice within a broad range of viewpoints on the nature and purpose of monastic life that emerged during the course of the seventh century. The Frankish monastic world after Columbanus was not only divided over the question of what role monastic foundations should play in the emerging secular power structures after Chlothar II assumed power over all of the Frankish kingdoms, but also over programmatic and theological questions.[27] Depicting it uniformly as "Columbanian" mischaracterizes and glosses over this diversity. For this reason, I decided to remove all usages of the adjective "Columbanian" – an adjective I used myself in several older publications.[28] I replaced all references to "Columbanian monasteries", "Columbanian monastic rules", "Columbanian monastic ideals", the "Columbanian monastic movement", and "Columbanian monks, nuns, bishops, and aristocrats" with more precise expressions. As a result, the book became better, albeit at some places a bit more clunky. In other words, in the process of writing this book, I gave up on one of my original objectives: using Jonas and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to explain what "Columbanian" means. The fact that I had to replace the term "Columbanian" with a variety of vastly different terms and paraphrases already indicates its hermeneutic limitations.

In Jonas' eyes there might indeed have been a "Columbanian" monasticism, or as he phrased it, monasteries built on the basis of the *Regula Columbani*.[29] I realized, however, that it makes little sense to follow him blindly in this regard and to assume that he provided an accurate description of a widely shared and largely stable monastic ideal. Jonas himself, after all, is quite open about dissent among those who claimed Columbanus' heritage, even though, as a skilful narrator, he may have convinced most of his audience that his antagonists either repented and returned to a supposed consensus or faced God's punishment like our two doomed nuns mentioned at the beginning of this introduction.[30] We need to keep in mind, nonetheless, that Jonas did not succeed in turning his view on the *Regula Columbani* into a lasting consensus. He did monopolize Columbanus' story to an extent that it even overshadowed Columbanus' own works,[31] but the central role of Luxeuil and Bobbio did not last much longer after Jonas completed his *Vita Columbani*. It is not the monastic

(27) On the rise of "Columbanian" monasticism, see, most recently, Fox, *Power and Religion*; on the conflicts arising after Columbanus' death, Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The Regula cuiusdam patris (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259–306.

(28) For example Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016 (Disciplina Monastica, vol. 11), pp. 51–67; id., 'Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68–85 and pp. 248–249.

(29) See Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?'.

(30) O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 68–87.

(31) Still indispensable on Columbanus' works: Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge: Boydell 1997. On Jonas' claim on Columbanus, O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*.

ideal presented in his *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that prevailed but the *Regula Benedicti* whose programme Jonas – as I will show – vigorously refuted.

More importantly, the term "Columbanian" gives, in itself, a definitive answer to a question that is still open: to what extent were the transformations of monastic life that took place at the beginning of the seventh century, caused or at least influenced by the Irish *peregrinus*? And, by extension, how much impact did "Irish" monastic ideals have on Frankish monastic life after the turn of the seventh century?[32]

Jonas tells in his *Vita Columbani* how Merovingian rulers encouraged Columbanus and his Irish companions to found his first monasteries, Annegray and Luxeuil, *in eremo* (but on royal fiscal land), in the wilderness of the Vosges. Jonas' narrative is already at this point not entirely accurate. He most likely ascribed the foundation to the wrong Merovingian ruler, Sigibert I (d. 575) instead of Childebert II (d. 596), and the place where Luxeuil was founded did not consist of some crushed walls of an abandoned Roman bathhouse covered with ivy but was densely inhabited and had its own ecclesiastical structures when Columbanus arrived, as recent archaeological excavations show.[33] One could even ask to what extent Luxeuil, the monastery that formed the nucleus of a wave of new, allegedly "Columbanian", monastic foundations, should be really viewed as Columbanus' monastery. Another, quite distinct possible reading is the following: Luxeuil was simply meant to be a royal foundation in a style already established, for example in Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.[34] It would then have been hijacked by twelve angry monks from Ireland who wanted to impose their own practices on the pet project of the pious and initially benevolent Merovingian queen Brunhild. When, at some point, she had enough of their outrageous claims and Columbanus' bad table manners, she emphatically requested that her Irish guests leave. If we could ask Brunhild and her grandson Theuderic II, the royals who expelled Columbanus and his Irish followers from Luxeuil in order to reclaim the monastery for themselves, they probably would have told their story along these lines.[35]

(32) On this question, see the introduction to Flechner, Roy and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 1–18, the strong criticism of this book by Alexander O'Hara on *The Medieval Review* (https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23484, last accessed Oct. 28, 2020); the response by the editors and their vigorous refutation of O'Hara's use of the term racism (https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23763, last accessed Oct. 28, 2020) and O'Hara's response (https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/23763, last accessed Oct. 28, 2020).

(33) Bully, Sébastien and Emmet Marron, 'L'"instant Colomban". Conditions de fondation et premiers éléments de topographie des monastères d'Annegray et de Luxeuil', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 139–164.

(34) On Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, see Ueding, Leo, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit*, Berlin: Verlag Dr Emil Ebering 1935, pp. 167–178; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'abbaye d'Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515–814)', in: Bernard Andenmatten and Pierre Alain Mariaux (eds.), *L'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515–2015*, vol. 1: *Histoire et archéologie*, Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio 2015, pp. 111–133.

(35) See also Wood, Ian N., 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays*

Ian Wood has shown the extent to which the narrative of Columbanus' impact on continental monastic life is rooted in the French catholic revival of the mid-nineteenth century entangled with Irish nationalism.[36] The scholarly fathers of "Columbanian" monasticism are long dead and forgotten, but the concept itself is alive and kicking. Some of the scholars working in the field today, however, especially Ian Wood, Peter Brown, and Anne-Marie Helvétius (with her adroit ability to challenge untested master narratives), use the term rarely and with unease, especially in the context of seventh-century female monasticism.[37]

It is unlikely that any scholar today would have invented the term "Columbanian" if it were not already available, especially since our sources do not encourage us at all to put a strong emphasis on Columbanus himself. There are references to a *Regula Columbani* in a handful of narrative texts, but by far most of them appear in Jonas' own claim of Columbanus' heritage. A (limited) number of diplomatic sources refers to a *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani* but very few narrative texts declare that a *Regula Columbani* was followed in one of the monasteries that we usually call "Columbanian".[38] Columbanus himself is conspicuously absent in many foundation narratives of presumably "Columbanian" monasteries, even of those monasteries that were founded as affiliations of Luxeuil (according to Jonas). Individuals that Jonas lists as staunch supporters of Columbanus or his ideas, such as the courtiers Eligius and Audoinus, seem to have been rather indifferent towards Luxeuil and oblivious towards Columbanus – if we can believe their hagiographies.[39] If we call seventh-century monasticism "Columbanian" we are presuming to know more than the protagonists of our narratives.

This brings us to another fundamental issue: what is meant when we use the adjectives "Irish" or "Insular"? Outside of applying them to a specific script and a textual corpus, or to monks who were undoubtedly trained in Insular monasteries, their meaning is elusive. Neither the "Irish" Easter calculation nor the "Irish" tonsure outlasted Columbanus – and the same applies to his allegedly stricter ascetic standards. Well-regulated seventh-century

presented to Walter Goffart, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99–120.

(36) Wood, Ian N., 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I', in: *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171–198, at pp. 174–180.

(37) Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011 (Vita Regularis, Abhandlungen, vol. 47), pp. 151–169; Wood, Ian N., 'Columbanian Monasticism: a Contested Concept', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 86–100. See also Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Îles Britanniques et le Continent pendant le Haut Moyen Âge. La diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII^e^ siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in: Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1989, pp. 371–394.

(38) Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?'.

(39) Audoinus of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 634–741; *Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, pp. 553–567.

monasteries may have been less "ascetic" and more open to a broader constituency than many of their fifth- and sixth-century continental predecessors.

What remains is the supposedly Irish penitential practice, the repeatable *paenitentia*, the imperative of confession, the use of tariffed penance, and the use of penitential handbooks.[40] Columbanus himself is credited with the authorship of one of the earliest penitential handbooks and with the *Regula coenobialis*, a penitential largely focusing on ritual transgression and acts of negligence in a monastic context. In this regard as well, our extant sources are not particularly helpful. The *Regula coenobialis* has not much of a reception history though Donatus of Besançon seemed to have liked the idea of tariffed *paenitentia* and inserted some of Columbanus' provisions into his Rule.[41] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* knows *paenitentia* and places nuns into a state of penance but the mechanistic idea of tariffed penance clashes, as I will show, strongly with Jonas' monastic ideal and is therefore largely absent. There is no reference to tariffed penance in the "narrated rule" of Faremoutiers in the *Vita Columbani*. Regular confession is present in Columbanus' works (though possible as interpolation) but only the *Regula coenobialis* explicitly ties it to tariffed penance.

There are only two rather vague references to the *Regula coenobialis* in the work of Jonas, though he claims that Columbanus restored the *medicamenta paenitentia*. This particular term is absent from Irish monastic sources but, as Ian Wood has observed, is overly present in the work of Caesarius of Arles.[42] The latter cannot be called Irish in any way or form. Comparing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with other alleged witness of a "Columbanian" monastic ideal shows, indeed, that even those aspects that may be traced back to Insular traditions were diversified and blended with existing local practices – as far as they survived at all. The references to *paenitentia* in hagiographic narratives and in documents related to allegedly "Columbanian" individuals are scarce. Seeing every reference to *paenitentia* as a marker of a supposedly Irish penitential system, means overlooking the vast diversity of penitential practices and their multiple roots.[43] Clare Stancliffe has documented to what extent other central aspects of Columbanus' monastic ideals rooted in the works of Jerome, Caesarius, Cassian, Basil and, probably, in the *Regula Magistri*. Whether he was exposed to these works while still in Ireland or already on the Continent remains open.[44]

(40) On penance in the Irish tradition, see Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014, pp. 37–69. On the limited impact of Irish monks on the Continent see also Wood, Ian N., 'The Irish on the Continent in the Seventh Century', in: Franziska, Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tremp, Peter Erhart, and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (Monasterium Sancti Galli, vol. 7), St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 39–53.

(41) Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas'.

(42) Wood, Ian N., 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century: Part I', in: *Peritia* 26 (2015), pp. 171–198. See also Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp. 71–81; id., 'Columbanus, the Columbanian tradition and Caesarius', in: Deborah G. Tor (ed.), *The 'Abbāsid and Carolingian Empires*, Leiden: Brill 2017, pp. 153–168.

(43) De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuws und Janet L. Nelson, *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185–224.

(44) Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Columbanus's monasticism and the sources of his inspiration: from Basil to the Master?', in: Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell, *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2011, pp. 17–28.

Searching and purging the word "Columbanian" led to a variety of replacements, occasionally cumbersome ones. There were some instances in which the use of "Columbanian" may have been justified: whenever it referred to Columbanus himself and the ideas he expressed in his own work. Yet he took much of this "Columbanianism" into his grave. Nothing remains of his dubious viewpoints on the Three-Chapter Debate, his stubborn adherence to Irish Easter calculation, his refreshing disrespect towards bishops and kings, his repulsive haircut, and his insistence on poverty, the mortification of the sinful body, and manual toil.[45]

Aside from monastic ideals and practices, it is usually either specific monasteries or groups and individuals (monks, abbots, aristocrats) that have received the epithet "Columbanian", partly thanks to Friedrich Prinz who applied the epithet *Iro-Fränkisch* (Iro/Hiberno-Frankish) to certain aristocratic families and turned them into a "Columbanian" *familia*.[46] Every member of a family that once aligned itself with Columbanus (often only according to Jonas) became a staunch supporter of Iro-Frankish monasticism. His (rarely her) monastic foundations would have followed self-evidently the *Regula Columbani* or any "Columbanian" *regula mixta*. Every monastery that had established contact with a monastery identified as "Columbanian" would have become "Columbanian" itself.[47] This makes it difficult to find any monastery in seventh-century Francia that was not "Columbanian".

It may make sense to call monasteries "Columbanian" that were (according to Jonas) founded *ex regula Columbani* or in collaboration with Columbanus' successors, Eusthasius and Waldebert, and staffed with monks from Luxeuil. Yet there remains the question of whether and for how long these monasteries stayed "Columbanian" and to what extent their roots remained part of their collective identity. For many of them, Jonas' account, which covers just the first generation after Columbanus' death, is the one and only witness of a "Columbanian" connection. There are also indications of a "Columbanian" revival happening in the Carolingian period that aimed at providing monasteries with a venerable Insular past. Such is the case for example in the hagiography of St Gallen. The latter was, however, definitively not a "Columbanian" monastery, even though it was built on the site of a holy man's dwelling who may (or may not) have been one of Columbanus' companions.[48]

It may be a bit naive to assume that every member of the aristocratic families which (according to Jonas) supported Columbanus, was animated by the "Columbanian" ideal – as diffuse as it may be – and therefore founded "Columbanian" monasteries. It erases the possibility that individual members of aristocratic families developed their own viewpoints on matters of monastic discipline, especially on questions as important as the pursuit of

(45) Fox, *Power and Religion*.
(46) *Ibid.*
(47) Muschiol, *Famula Dei*.
(48) Diem, Albrecht, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli" Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in: Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tremp, Peter Erhart, and Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben* (Monasterium Sancti Galli, vol. 7), St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 65–97.

salvation. A case in point might be the circle of pious members of the courts of Chlothar II and Dagobert I who have often been associated with "Columbanian" monasticism and depicted as founders of "Columbanian" monasteries. It is striking how little Columbanus, Luxeuil, or any of the aspects of Christian life that we associated with Irish traditions, figure in their hagiographies and letters.[49]

The Seventh-century Watershed

This book demonstrates that a deconstructive approach to "Columbanian" monasticism and a reading of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *one* voice among many are, at least for the moment, more effective than making Jonas a spokesman of an entire monastic world simply because his voice is the loudest. But leaving behind a pile of shards is not helpful, neither does it do justice to our source evidence. The beginning of the seventh century formed a watershed in the history of monasticism that at least coincided with Columbanus' activities in Frankish Gaul who may, in Peter Brown's words, have acted "not as a revolutionary but a catalyst", or "ensured that, in the rich earth of Christian Gaul yet another layer of soil came to the surface, adding a new and vivid streak of color to ancient fields".[50] New forms of monastic life emerging after this watershed shared common characteristics, many of which lasted. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is, even as a singular voice, suitable to flesh out some of these characteristics.

In my mind, the most important developments are as follows: the numbers of new monastic foundations increased significantly, especially in the northern regions of the Frankish kingdoms.[51] It became part of the repertoire of piety for aristocratic individuals and families to found monasteries without necessarily undergoing monastic conversion themselves. Monasteries were *founded* and were *built* and lavishly endowed by their founders, as Susan Wood masterfully describes in her study on the origins of the proprietary church.[52] They did not just emerge anymore in a Weberian process of institutionalization of individual charisma, as can still be observed few decades earlier, for example in the works of Gregory of Tours (d. 594), who, especially in his *Liber uitae patrum*, describes various monastic communities emerging around individual holy men, most of which did not survive.[53]

(49) See also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates'; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 163–189.

(50) Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 252; id., *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, p. 183.

(51) Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*; Atsma, Hartmut, 'Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 163–187; Hasdenteufel-Röding, Maria, *Studien zur Gründung von Frauenklöstern im frühen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zum religiösen Ideal der Frau und seiner monastischen Umsetzung*, Ph.D. thesis University of Freiburg 1991; Felten, Franz J., 'Frauenklöster im Frankenreich. Entwicklungen und Probleme von den Anfängen bis zum frühen 9. Jahrhundert', in: Sönke Lorenz and Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Frühformen von Stiftskirchen in Europa. Funktion und Wandel religiöser Gemeinschaften vom 6. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts. Festgabe für Dieter Mertens zum 65. Geburtstag*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen: DRW-Verlag 2005, pp. 31–95.

(52) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 109–139.

(53) Diem, Albrecht, 'Gregory's Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul', in: Philippe Depreux, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge:*

Founding a monastery in seventh-century Francia became a legal transaction that involved different stakeholders: kings, aristocrats, bishops, monks from other monasteries, and initially, indeed, monks from Luxeuil, and Columbanus' successors Eusthasius and Waldebert. These legal transactions included transfers of property, typically the granting of rights of non-interference, and the requirement to live a regular life.[54] Extant sources of the seventh century may not share references to Columbanus or Luxeuil or to any of the supposedly Irish innovations brought into Francia by Columbanus, but they do share the notion of defining monastic life as a *uita regularis*, albeit usually without referring to a written rule created or authorized by a specific individual.

The third element distinguishing seventh-century monastic foundations from those of earlier centuries was their institutional continuity. Hardly any of the monasteries mentioned in Gregory of Tours' *Liber uitae patrum* or in the *Dialogi* and letters of Gregory the Great left traces outside of their sources.[55] Luxeuil, its affiliations, and many other aristocratic foundations of the seventh century were meant to last and, indeed, many of them did last throughout the middle ages, often until the French Revolution. This indicates that the procedures of monastic foundation that became prevalent in seventh-century Gaul were highly effective and that monasteries succeeded in gaining an indispensable place in the social and political fabric of Merovingian Francia. In this regard, Jonas' narrative is corroborated with evidence from numerous other hagiographic and diplomatic sources. "Columbanian" monasticism may not have existed, but it was, undoubtedly, a great success.

A last, shared trait of seventh-century monasteries that certainly contributed to their institutional continuity was their recognized role as places of intercessory prayer for the outside world, which became one of the central functions of monasteries. Monasteries, indeed, were already "powerhouses of prayer" in the seventh century. This function was based on a shared understanding of the monastery as an empowered space, inhabited by a community that is, thanks to its regular discipline, capable of performing effective prayer not only on behalf of itself but also on behalf of those supporting it.[56] Giving monasteries

entre médiation et exclusion, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 165–191. For a "Webarian" reading of the formation of monastic institutions, see id., 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521–559.

(54) On episcopal privileges for monasteries, see Ewig, Eugen, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, 2 vols, Munich 1979; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999.

(55) Jenal, Georg, *Italia ascetica atque monastica. Das Asketen- und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250–604)*, 2 vols, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1995; Atsma, Hartmut, 'Die christlichen Inschriften Galliens als Quelle für Klöster und Klosterbewohner bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts', in: *Francia* 4 (1976), pp. 1–57; id., 'Les monastères urbains du nord de la Gaule', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 163–187.

(56) Blennemann, Gordon, 'Ascetic Prayer for the Dead in the Early Medieval West', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 278–296. See also Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016 (focusing on the Carolingian period). De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick

such a function was, however, not only a matter of organization and discipline but also – and maybe primarily – a matter of theology and, as such, a reason for debates.

All of these elements characteristic to monastic foundations after Columbanus existed in Francia before Columbanus' arrival and none of them can be identified as typically Irish.[57] We have monasteries of men and women that were founded and built by kings, bishops, and aristocrats;[58] we have the notion of a strict *uita regularis* (most prominently in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns); we have monasteries populated by "liturgical professionals" who could rely on external support and concentrate on permanent intercessory prayer;[59] and we have monasteries that did endure: Lérins, Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, and Caesarius' monastery in Arles among them.[60] But all these elements existed within a broad variety of forms of monastic life on different levels of institutionalization. Episcopal privileges for seventh-century monastic foundations explicitly referred to four Gallo-Frankish monasteries, Lérins, Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, Luxeuil, and the community at the shrine of Marcellus in Chalon-sur-Saône, as models.[61]

This silent shift towards a prevalent model and the marginalization of diversity caused resistance, as we can see in Jonas' own work. It can also be identified in the other preserved anonymous seventh-century monastic rule, the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which expands on Columbanus' own works but proposes a radically different monastic model: without wealth, without intercessory prayer, and without the remedies of penance.[62] The idea that monastic communities and their discipline could have a salvific effect not only on those inside the monastery but also on the world outside, created a renewed urgency in facing the theological challenges that were rooted in Augustine's theology of divine grace and in the subsequent "Pelagian" debates.[63] This is one of the keys for understanding Jonas' attempt to legitimate monastic life and discipline as the pursuit of salvation.

Gender

This book turned out to be neither a study of "Columbanian" monasticism, nor one on female monasticism. Many works on the history of medieval monastic life take the male

(ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: *c. 700–c. 900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622–653 established the expression "powerhouses of prayer."

(57) Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent', pp. 189–195.

(58) Ueding, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen*.

(59) Diem, Albrecht, 'Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity', in: Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013, pp. 47–88; Helvétius, 'L'abbaye d'Agaune'.

(60) Diem, 'Who is allowed to pray for the king?'.

(61) Diem, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?'.

(62) Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The Regula cuiusdam patris (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259–306.

(63) Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange', in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 208–234.

perspective as a point of departure and extrapolate female monasticism from "male evidence" that is modified by the scarce sources on female religious life and the even rarer instances in which we hear religious women speak for themselves.[64] In this book I am doing the opposite: making observations on early medieval monasticism in general that are largely (though not exclusively) taken from sources addressing female communities as a point of departure. My main sources include Caesarius of Arles' letter to his sister Caesaria and his Rule for Nuns, the Rule that Donatus of Besançon wrote for the monastery he founded for his mother, the part of Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* that describes the deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers, and especially the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I read these texts with the assumption that their programmatic content is not determined by gender differences. They may have been written for female communities and they may have emerged from situations of crisis arising in these specific communities, but the responses to these moments of crisis were in themselves not "gendered" and they developed afterlives that crossed the boundaries of gender.

There are good reasons to criticize this approach and I do not claim that it is the only possible way to read and interpret the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other male-written sources that address nuns or describe female religious life. There is a danger that "de-gendering" my evidence obfuscates the profoundly different position of women and men (religious or not) in early medieval societies and the manifest power imbalance. It may deprive the women religious of their own history by giving the impression that gender is irrelevant.[65] I received – well-deserved – criticism, especially from my long-time friend and frequent interlocutor Isabelle Cochelin, for not sufficiently exposing the unbearably sexist and self-obsessed tone of Caesarius' Letter to his sister Caesaria and his Rule for Nuns. It is hard to overlook that Jonas of Bobbio used the stories of dying nuns rather than monks to illustrate the devastating effects of human weakness and the emotionally charged and highly dramatic deaths of members of a religious community. It is two nuns, not two monks, that are snatched by demons and incur eternal damnation. Yet, as I argue in this book, the theological premises of Caesarius' Letter and Rule for Nuns were universal, and Jonas used communities of different genders to tell different parts of his story. It still remains one and the same story – a story, no doubt, that is told from a male perspective.

There are three observations that may justify my approach. First, the obvious but nevertheless stunning fact that Western Christianity developed a form of religious life that was, in principle, open to both genders. A *monasterium* is a *monasterium* regardless whether

(64) Lifshitz, Felice, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York: Fordham University Press 2014 makes the fascinating point of traces of early medieval feminist consciousness in the world of the nuns of the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon foundations of Karlburg and Kitzingen.

(65) On female monastic life in the middle ages, see McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996; Melville, Gert and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011; Beach Alison I. and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020.

its community consists of women, men, or both; *regulae* are *regulae* no matter whether they address monks or nuns; the language and categories describing monastic life are largely the same for women and men. Female and male monasteries could attain similar legal statuses and economic and political roles in society. The intercessory prayer performed by nuns was worth no less than that of monks.[66] This does not take away that almost all the voices that describe and define this "non-gendered middle ground" are that of monks or bishops. Monasticism may have been turned into a unisex model, but it was nevertheless a model largely shaped by men.

The second observation: female communities (Caesarius' monastery in Arles, Faremoutiers, but also others that are not addressed in this book) are, plainly spoken, more interesting than most communities of monks. Male monasteries were, certainly rhetorically, but also practically bound by the power of continuity and tradition. Texts describing their foundations are full of references to established models and statements of continuation and restauration of ideas placed in a distant past. There is, so to say, an Antony lurking behind almost every saintly monk and a bit of Egyptian desert sand mingled into the grounds surrounding a new, male monastery. Communities of religious women may have been founded as offshoots of existing communities of monks (Caesarius' monastery by a Lérinsian monk; Faremoutiers by monks from Luxeuil) but they had a right to be different and they might have served more as "laboratories" to try out something new, both on practical and on conceptual levels. In that sense, it may not have been a coincidence that two of the three preserved seventh-century monastic rules address female communities.[67] Cynically spoken, nuns were the ideal guinea pigs for exploring new pathways to salvation, but that does not mean that the results of these "experiments" were not applicable generally.

A case in point is Caesarius of Arles' letter *Vereor* to his sister, which is both a cry for the unceasing battle against vices and a praise of virginity. This letter has been widely distributed as a treatise addressing monks. Moreover, Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* contains numerous segments of rules for nuns (including almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*) but he consistently changed the gender in all these fragments to make them look like parts of rules for monks.

Many innovations that would eventually become self-evident parts of monastic life, are rooted in these female monastic experiences: intercessory prayer, the monastic cloister, and maybe even the notion of monastic life as a *uita regularis*. Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns was, after all, the first *regula sancta* (Holy Rule), claiming a status the *Regula Benedicti* would

(66) On this aspect see Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432–446; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Le monachisme féminin en Occident de l'Antiquité tardive au haut Moyen Âge', in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo*, vol. 64: *Monachesimi d'oriente e d'occidente nell' alto medioevo*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 2017, pp. 193–233.

(67) On the experimental character of early medieval monastic life, see Diem, Albrecht and Claudia Rapp, 'The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 19–39.

receive centuries later. There is a remarkable tension between a medieval and modern monastic master narrative that begins with monks and hermits in the Egyptian desert and the fact that, in many regards, the true ancestors of medieval monasteries were the communities of praying virgins and widows.[68]

Thirdly, if we look at our sources as theological and programmatic texts, as I do, gender difference plays hardly any role. Sinfulness, sanctity, virtues, confession, penance, control over one's mind, the fear of damnation, and the pursuit of salvation – central categories discussed in this study – are not related to gender. There is no difference between a female and a male *mens* (mind), *cor* (heart), or *anima* (soul). None of the nuns we encounter in our texts are virtuous or wise despite her gender; none of the monks' virtues or ascetic achievements are related to their masculinity. Yet there are, at least in the world I investigate, no signs of gender fluidity, gender multiplicity, or the notion that monastic conversion creates a third gender – as we may find in other periods.[69] Even if monks and nuns are equal in many regards, monks remain monks and nuns remain nuns. Yet one remarkable transgression of gender boundaries present in both Caesarius' and Jonas' works, is the use of military metaphors in texts addressing both genders. Both monks and nuns are soldiers and monasteries can turn into war zones regardless of the gender of their inhabitants.

The nuns living undisturbed within the enclosure of Caesarius' monastery may have developed a level of autonomy unattainable in the outside world, and the abbess of Faremoutiers may have been able to rule her monastery freely on the basis of her own wisdom and knowledge, but monks and bishops set the boundaries – of power, equality, and space. Theirs are the rules that were to be followed; theirs are the stories that determine how the lives of nuns and monks are imagined and remembered. They are the ones who benevolently define how nuns and monks escape the dangers of spiritual wolves and Ethiopian demons and stay on the narrow path towards eternal salvation.

Vita Regvlaris

If we place written versions of monastic *regulae* in the centre of enquiry, as I do in this study, we are confronted with a number of problems. The first one is that of asynchrony. Most of the roughly thirty texts that we consider monastic rules were written in the fifth

(68) Diem, 'The Gender of the Religious'. See also various studies of Kate Cooper, especially 'Household and Empire: The Materfamilias as *Miles Christi* in the Anonymous *Handbook for Gregoria*', in: Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds.), *Household, Women, and Christianities*, Turnhout: Brepols 2005, pp. 91–107; ead., *The Virgin and the Bride. Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996.

(69) Cloke, Gilian, *This Female Man of God. Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350–450*, London: Routledge 1995; Lubinsky, Crystal Lynn, *Removing Masculine Layers to Reveal a Holy Womanhood. The Female Transvestite Monks of Late Antique Eastern Christianity*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013; Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011; McNamara, Jo Ann, 'Chastity as a third gender in the History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours', in: Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002 (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, vol. 8), pp. 199–209.

and sixth centuries (except for those from Visigothic Spain). The idea of monastic life as *uita regularis* gained a foothold only in the seventh century. One has to wait, however, until circa 800 for the most important collection of monastic rules, Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*, to define *regulae* as a distinct genre and to promote monastic life as life under a written rule.[70] The fact that texts, practices, and textual transmissions are tied to different centuries may lure us into dangerous anachronisms.

Sixth-century monastic rules, especially the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns, promote the idea that monks should live on the basis of set norms – *sub regula uel abbate* (under a/the rule and/or an abbot) as the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* phrase it –, but this was still one option to organize monastic life among many. There were shrines of martyrs staffed by monks, religious women living in domestic communities, disciples following a charismatic holy man, monasticized Roman villas, and other forms of more or less coenobitical, more or less ascetic, and more or less regulated religious life.[71] Only a few of the many monasteries mentioned in Gregory of Tours' *Liber uitae patrum* or in the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great were described as following a rule. The term *regula* was not yet necessarily associated with monastic life, as the acts of Frankish episcopal councils show.[72] Gregory the Great's enormously influential *Regula pastoralis* had nothing to do with monks or nuns.

Seventh-century monastic foundation narratives firmly established the notion of monastic life as *uita regularis* or *sub regula* but only a few of them ascribe a *regula* to a specific author and emphasize that a *regula* needs to be a set of written norms. Both notions would not become a cornerstone of monastic reform before the second half of the eighth century. "Regular observance" has a history of itself, which is complicated and crooked.[73]

This leaves us with a couple of open questions that need to be taken into account when using the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as an historical source. The first is whether the Frankish monastic world after Columbanus did indeed produce only three monastic *regulae*: the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*. If that was the case, does it mean that the texts written up to that point were considered sufficient? Or could it be that the three rules (all of which are preserved only thanks to Benedict of Aniane's collection) were only accidental survivors among a flourishing but otherwise lost

(70) On the diversity and evolution of notions of regular observance, Diem, Albrecht, 'Monastic Rules', in: Philip L. Reynolds (ed.), *Great Christian Jurists and Legal Collections in the First Millennium*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019, pp. 214–236; id. and Philip Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 162–194; Dolan, Autumn, 'A Revival of Female Spirituality: Adaptations of Nuns' Rules during the Hiberno-Frankish Monastic Movement', in: *Medieval Feminist Forum* 1 (2010), pp. 38–62; Marazzi, Federico, *Le città dei monaci. Storia degli spazi che avvicinano a Dio*, Milano: Jaca Book 2015, pp. 83–115.

(71) Beach/Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism*. On monastic diversity and competition in fourth- and fifth-century Gaul, see also Goodrich, Richard J., *Contextualizing Cassian. Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth-Century Gaul*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007.

(72) Diem, Albrecht, 'Monastic Rules'.

(73) *Ibid*. See also Thibaut, Jirki, *Rectamque regulam servare. De ambigue observantie en heterogene identiteit van vrouwengemeenschappen in Saksen, ca. 800–1050*, Ph.D. thesis Gent 2020, pp. 50–62.

tradition of sets of norms written to support the shift towards a *uita regularis* as a prevalent model of organizing monastic life?

A second, related, question is to what extent we have to understand *uita regularis* as life according to a normative text (as it was promoted in the Carolingian monastic reform). To what extent should we understand *regulariter* or *sub regula* simply as reference to a monastic life in clearly defined organizational and spatial structures, within legal frameworks and disciplinary apparatuses, and organized to perform prayer according to defined liturgical orders? The basis for such a "regular" life may not *necessarily* have to be textualized in the form of written sets of provisions but could also be represented in a variety of different forms, including hagiographic texts, liturgical *ordines*, charters, letters, sermons, exempla collections, and customaries.[74] It was just as much inscribed in the monastic spaces whose traces are currently unearthed by archaeologists.[75]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and other monastic rules were – obviously – *products* of a specific monastic environment and they were – likely – written down as a reaction to pragmatic or programmatic challenges. It would be a crude misreading to assume that they depicted or created an unchangeable reality. We need to keep in mind that monastic rules only address what needs to be regulated. Whatever was self-evident and a matter of consensus appears, if at all, as "stage decorum". Rules were meant to resolve problems but they do not depict *a status quo*. Moreover, they developed various afterlives that detached them from the circumstances in which they were written. They turned into authoritative texts representing a world of the past, reference works used in moments of crisis, spiritual guidelines, works submitted to exegesis, quarries of material for new rules, or quasi-liturgical texts. All of that happened to the *Regula Benedicti*, and the few traces of reception left by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* indicate that it had a similarly diverse afterlife.[76]

All of these caveats and open questions need to be taken into account when reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The possibility that this Rule was only *one*, possibly short-lived, textual claim on a *regula* that could have manifested itself in various written or unwritten forms does not diminish its hermeneutical potential. Any provision or sanction we find in this rule and other monastic rules at least *reflects* on a reality and potentially points to a problem or a matter of dissent.

Many monastic rules look, at first sight, similar and show a limited repertoire of topics addressed. Therefore, they have often been read and synthesized as expressing variations of one fairly stable monastic ideal and rarely been studied in their own right. Such a synthetic reading is encouraged by the way most monastic rules were presented in the context of

(74) Thibaut, *Rectamque regulam servare*, pp. 89–136 comes to similar conclusions for Carolingian and post-Carolingian female religious communities.

(75) Bully, Bully, and Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence*, provides an overview of current archaeological work on Columbanus' foundations and some of its affiliations.

(76) Diem, Albrecht, 'The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti', in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 243–261.

the Carolingian reform. Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* presents all monastic rules together as one *Regula sanctorum patrum* (Rule of the Holy Fathers) with the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* as introduction. His *Concordia regularum* turns the entire corpus of monastic normative texts into a commentary to each chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* emphasizing that this Rule largely encompasses what we find in the entire monastic normative tradition.[77] If we step out of this paradigm, and assume instead that all these rules would not have been produced without disagreeing and consciously deviating from existing traditions, and, therefore, consistently read them *against* each other, these texts turn into much more prolific sources.

Four features make the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* distinct from most other preserved monastic rules and render this work especially suitable for historical enquiries. The first is its intertextual ties. Almost every sentence of the text can be read as response and reaction to existing normative and programmatic texts. Whatever Jonas says is based on a conscious decision to address a certain topic and comparing our texts gives us access to these decisions. Secondly, we have the unique case of a normative rule and its narrative counterpart (the *Vita Columbani* and Jonas' other hagiographic texts) that shows and explains how the Rule was, at least situationally, applied in practice. There are examples of Carolingian hagiographic narratives weaving in the *Regula Benedicti* (such as Walahfrid Strabo's *Vita Galli* or Ardo's *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*) but there are no examples of one author writing a *regula and* a hagiographic texts serving as a narrated norm. Thirdly, Jonas did not only develop one distinct monastic ideal, he also created, both in his hagiographic works and in his Rule, his very own monastic idiom by replacing existing terms and categories with new ones that carry their own theological and programmatic weight. An essential part of studying Jonas' work consists of studying the semantic fields Jonas created in his works and comparing them with the idiom of other monastic texts.

Lastly, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* distinguishes itself from most other monastic rules by shifting back and forth between an explanatory and a prescriptive mode. The Rule is fuelled by Jonas' desire to explain and justify why he prescribes what he prescribes and what implications his provisions have for the pursuit of salvation. These explanatory parts which often form the first half of a chapter of his Rule are often by far more prolific than Jonas' specific provisions because it is there where we find the core of his monastic programme. These parts have never been isolated and studied in themselves. At many points in his Rule we get the impression that his practical provisions are not more than random examples of how to implement his ideas, rather than comprehensive guidelines. All these features together make reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a textual adventure and I hope that readers will receive this book as an adventurous journey.

(77) On Benedict of Aniane's objectives in collecting monastic rules, see Choy, Renie S., 'The Deposit of Monastic Faith: The Carolingians on the Essence of Monasticism', in: Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past: Papers read at the 2011 Summer Meeting and the 2012 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2013 (Studies in Church History, vol. 49), pp. 74–86.

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*

INTRODUCTION TO THE EDITION

THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES* is preserved thanks to the Carolingian monastic reformer Benedict of Aniane (d. 821). We find the almost complete text (with the exception of most of its final chapter) in his collection of thirty late Roman, Merovingian, Italian, and Visigothic monastic rules that was compiled around the turn of the ninth century. The commonly used title of this collection, *Codex regularum*, is modern.[1] Benedict of Aniane used almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* again in his other main work, which he titled *Concordia regularum*, a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* that combines every single chapter of Benedict's Rule with corresponding chapters from other monastic texts.[2] In the *Concordia regularum*, Benedict of Aniane transformed all the segments of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that he quoted, into texts addressing monks, without changing anything else but the grammatical gender and replacing *soror* with *frater*, *abbatissa* with *abbas*, etc.[3] A third, though indirect, witness of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (d. after 826), which was probably written in the context of the monastic reform synods of Aachen (816/817).[4] Smaragdus inserted about one fifth of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* into his work, usually without changes in the text, but using the male gender, as Benedict of Aniane did in his *Concordia regularum*. As he knew the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* only through this work, he was not aware of the fact that it was originally a rule written for nuns, as the introductory sentences to most of the quoted fragments of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show.[5] The *Regula cuiusdam ad*

(1) On the *Codex regularum*, see Seebaß, Otto, 'Über das Regelbuch Benedikts von Aniane', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 15 (1895), pp. 244–260; Plenkers, Heribert, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1906, pp. 1–13; Bouillet, M.-E., 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum" de saint Benoît d'Aniane', in: *Revue bénédictine* 75 (1965), pp. 345–349; Mundó, Anscari, 'I "Corpora" e I 'Codices Regularum' nella tradizione codicologica delle Regole monastiche', in: *Atti del 7° Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1980*, vol. 2, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1982, pp. 477–520, at pp. 514–519; Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Benoît d'Aniane et la législation monastique', in: François Bougard (ed.), *Le Christianisme en Occident du début du VII^e siècle au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris: SEDES 1997, pp. 175–185; Engelbert, Pius, 'Benedikt von Aniane und der Codex regularum Clm 28118 der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München', in: *Studia Monastica* 57 (2015), pp. 69–90.

(2) Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, *CCSL* 168/168A, Turnhout: Brepols 1999.

(3) The same change of gender is applied by Benedict of Aniane to all quotations from female monastic rules. Bonnerue provides a list of these sections in *CCCM* 168, p. 138.

(4) Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, ed. Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, *CCM* 8, Siegburg: F. Schmitt 1974; translation: Barry, David, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 2007.

(5) For example Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 66.4, ed. Engelbert/Spannagel, p. 323, l. 31 introduces a quotation from *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 3.1–2 with *Hinc et alius monachorum quidem magister ait…* Smaragdus' introductory sentences are documented in the Fortleben apparatus of this edition.

uirgines has, thus, been preserved only in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms and first and foremost as a tool to comment on and to supplement the *Regula Benedicti*.

The humanist Lucas Holstenius (d. 1661) produced the *editio princeps* of most of the texts within Benedict of Aniane's collection in 1661. Dismissing the possibility that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may have been written by a nun, he changed the title into *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines*.[6] In an article published in 1908 the Benedictine scholar Louis Gougaud ascribed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Waldebert (d. *c.* 670), the second abbot of Luxeuil.[7] Since then, the text is usually quoted as *Regula Waldeberti*, sometimes as *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines*, but very rarely under its original title. The question of the authorship will be discussed in Chapter 1 of this study.

The Witnesses of the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines*

The *Codex regularum* of Benedict of Aniane

Written shortly after Benedict of Aniane's death, the *Vita Benedicti Anianensis* provides a vivid description of his role as monastic reformer and his interest in the broader monastic normative tradition.[8] The *Vita*'s author Ardo reports that, as part of Benedict of Aniane's project to gain full understanding of the *Regula Benedicti* and to turn it into a generally applicable norm, he collected all the monastic rules he could lay hands on.[9] Towards the

(6) Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere*, Rome: Exc. V. Mascordus 1661, part 2, pp. 282–292. See also Neufville, Jean, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum": Saint Benoît d'Aniane et Lukas Holste', in: *Revue bénédictine* 76 (1966), pp. 327–342.

(7) Gougaud, Louis, 'Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises', in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 167–184 and pp. 321–333, at pp. 328–331.

(8) Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 3–6, *MGH Script.* 15, pp. 202–204; c. 18–24, pp. 207–210; c. 29, p. 211; c. 31, p. 213; c. 33–42, pp. 214–219. See also Semmler, Josef, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in: W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1–49, at pp. 5–10 and pp. 23–49; Diem, Albrecht, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: some observations on the history of monastic normative observance in the Early Medieval West', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 53–84; id., 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 233–251, at pp. 241–244; Kettemann, Walter, *Subsidia Anianensia: Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "anianischen Reform"*, Ph.D. thesis Duisburg University 2000; Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019, pp. 169–213; id., '"…ut normam salutiferam cunctis ostenderet": représentations de l'autorité impériale dans la Vita Benedicti Anianensis et la Vita Adalhardi' in: Marie-Céline Isaïa and Thomas Granier (eds.), *Normes et hagiographie dans l'Occident latin (V^e^-XVI^e^ siècles) Actes du colloque international de Lyon, 4–6 octobre 2010, Dec 2014*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 101–118.

(9) Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 18, *MGH Script.* 15.1, p. 206, l. 39–42: *Dedit autem cor suum ad inuestigandum beati Benedicti regulam, eamque ut intelligere possit satagere, circumiens monasteria, peritos quosque interrogans quae ignorabat, et omnium sanctorum, quascumque inuenire potuit, regulas congregauit. Normamque utilem et monasteriorum salubres consuetudines didicit suisque eas tradidit monachis obseruandas.*

end of the *Vita*, Ardo describes how Benedict compiled the *Codex regularum* and the *Concordia regularum*:

> Thereafter he produced a book that was compiled from the rules of various fathers. He did this in such a way that the Rule of the Blessed Benedict stood at the beginning of all of them. He gave orders to read this book daily during the morning assembly. From this book he then composed another one with sentences collected from the rules, in order to show to contentious people that Benedict did not produce anything worthless and vain but that his Rule was supported by rules of others. He gave this book the name *Concordia regularum*. He did this in such a way that a sentence of the Blessed Benedict led the way. To this sentence was then in a reasonable way linked what was in harmony with it.[10]

Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* is the only preserved collection that contains several rules for female monastic communities. Benedict obviously regarded the tradition of female monasticism as an integral part of the monastic heritage. Four of the five rules for female communities in the *Codex regularum* would have been lost without Benedict's collecting work. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is one of them.[11]

– *Manuscripts of the* Codex regularum

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118, s. IX^{in}

The manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118 (siglum *M* in this edition), which was produced around 800, is the only surviving early medieval exemplar of Benedict of Aniane's collection of monastic rules. Every later manuscript is a direct or indirect copy of *M*. The manuscript belonged to the library of the abbey of St Maximin in Trier.[12] According to Josef Plenkers it may have been a gift of Benedict of Aniane to Helisachar (d. *c.* 820), the abbot of St Maximin.[13] Pius Engelbert gives the manuscript a later date. He suggests that it may have been written in St Maximin around 821.[14]

After the secularization of St Maximin in 1802 it was purchased by Joseph von Görres (d. 1848). When Görres' family auctioned the manuscript in 1902, Ludwig Traube

(10) Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 38, *MGH Script*. 15.1, p. 217, l. 26–32: *Fecit denique librum ex regulis diuersorum patrum collectum, ita ut prior beati Benedicti regula cunctis esset, quem omni tempore ad collectam matutino legere iussit. Ex quo rursus ut ostenderet contentiosis nil friuola cassaque a beato Benedicto edita fore, set suam ex aliorum fultam esse regulam, alium collectis regularum sententiis composuit librum, cui nomen Concordia regularum dedit, ita dumtaxat, ut beati Benedicti precederet sententia, ei uero racionabiliter concinentia iungerentur deinceps*.

(11) The only rules for nuns with an independent manuscript tradition are Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns (see Adalbert de Vogüé / Joël Courreau, in: *SC* 345, pp. 129–141) and the Rule of Leander of Seville (d. 600), ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 21–76. The latter does not appear in Benedict of Aniane's collection.

(12) Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', p. 328; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 5.

(13) Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 6.

(14) Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane', p. 79 and pp. 88–90.

acquired it for the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.[15] The manuscript is now digitized and can be studied on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.[16] Pius Engelbert published a facsimile edition with an extensive introduction in 2016.[17]

Description of Manuscript M

The manuscript contains 216 folios with modern folio numbering.[18] With a size of 32.5×41.5 cm it is remarkably large. The texts of the collection are written in two columns of 36 lines (26×34 cm) in a regular Carolingian minuscule by several hands from the early ninth century (the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written by one hand). A gap on 18r–19r has been filled by a hand from the twelfth century. Quires (according to Hauke's description): II^{4} + IV^{12} + $(IV\text{-}2)^{18}$ + 4 IV^{50} + III^{56} + 5 IV^{96} + $(IV+1)^{105}$ + 2 $IV^{12}1$ + $(IV\text{-}1)^{128}$ + 3 $IV1^{152}$ + $(IV\text{-}4)^{156}$ + 7 IV^{212} + $(IV\text{-}4)^{216}$. The manuscript contains a couple of marginal notes, probably from the ninth century and a number of Old German interlinear glosses from the tenth century.[19] Chapters of the various rules usually begin with a red initial. The beginning of each rule is written in red uncials, as are the individual chapter headings. Every folio has a running title, usually *regula* on the verso and the title of the rule or the name of the author on the recto. In our case it is *regula – cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[20] The book cover was produced in the sixteenth century.

The codex shows two layers of correction. A ninth-century hand (possibly one of the scribes of the text) added a few missing words and corrected errors in grammar and spelling (indicated with siglum M^{pc} [= *post correctionem*] in this edition). A much later hand added word separations with very thin strokes, changed the orthography and replaced some words (indicated with siglum M^{2} in the edition). Since these alterations are consistently reproduced in the manuscript *K* (see below), they have been ascribed to the copyist of *K*, Arnold Losen, who produced the manuscript *K* in 1466/1467.[21]

(15) Ludwig Traube wrote a short note on the history of the manuscript on its first folio. See Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 4–5; Hauke, Hermann, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Clm 28111-28254*, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 1986, p. 7; Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane und der Codex regularum', pp. 77–82; Bischoff, Bernhard and Birgit Ebersperger, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 *(Laon – Paderborn)*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004, pp. 274–275.

(16) http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054966/images/index.html (last accessed Oct. 28, 2020).

(17) Engelbert, Pius, *Der Codex Regularum des Benedikt von Aniane*, St Ottilien: EOS Editions 2016.

(18) For a full codicological description, see Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften*, pp. 7–13; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 5–10; Bouillet, 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum"'; Engelbert, 'Benedikt von Aniane', pp. 77–79; Engelbert, *Der Codex Regularum*, pp. 44–52.

(19) The text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains the following marginal notes: fol. 208v to *RcuiV*, c. 3.23: *de hospitibus*; fol. 210r to *RcuiV*, c. 8.title: *de excommunicatione*; fol. 213r to *RcuiV*, c. 16: *de conuersione*; fol. 213v to *RcuiV*, c. 18.title: *de excommunicatione*. There are no interlinear glosses in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(20) The copyist of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses occasionally (but not consistently) uncial letters. He is not consistent in his abbreviations.

(21) Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 338–339.

In the Munich Codex, the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* serves as the prologue to the entire collection of rules. It is remarkable, however, that Benedict's name is not mentioned in the manuscript. It contains the following texts (given in their original title):

fols 1va–18ra: *Incipit prologus sanctorum regulae patrum monachorum* (*Regula Benedicti*).[22]
fols 18rb–18vb: *Plurimi nequaquam pleniter…* (Benedict of Aniane (?), *De diuersarum poenitentiarum modo de regula Benedicti distincto*), added s. XII.[23]
fol. 19r: Rithmomachy, possibly tenth century, unpublished.[24]
fols 19va–21va: *Incipiunt capitula regulae monasteriorum uel deo timentium pro discipulorum eruditioni, id est Saraphyonis, Macharii, Pafnuptii et alterius Macharii abbatis uel aliorum* (*Regula quattuor patrum*).[25]
fols 21va–22ra: *Incipiunt capitula regulae a sanctis patribus prolatae* (*Regula patrum secunda*).[26]
fols 22ra–23rb: *Incipiunt capitula regulae a sanctis patribus prolatae* (*Regula patrum tertia*).[27]
fols 23rb–24ra: *Incipit regula sancti Macharii qui habuit sub ordinatione sua V milia monachorum* (*Regula Macharii*).[28]
fols 24rb–28rb: *Incipit uita sancti Pacomii hominis dei a Hieronimo edita* (*Vita Pacomii*).[29]
fols 28rb–29ra: *Incipit praefatio Hieronimi. Amen* (Jerome's *praefatio* of his translation of the *Regula Pachomii*).[30]
fols 29ra–36v: *Precepta patris nostri Pacomii hominis dei* (*Regula Pachomii*).[31]
fols 36v–41rb: *Epistula patris nostri Pachomii* (letters of Pachomius, presented as part of the *Regula Sancti Pacomii*).[32]
fols 41rb–41va: *Incipit epistula patris nostri Theodori ad omnia monasteria de pascha* (letter of Theodore).[33]
fols 41vb–51rb: *Incipit doctrina atque tractatus patris nostri Orsiesii* (*Liber Orsiesii*).[34]
fols 51va–80ra: *Incipiunt capitula de regula sancti Basilii* (*Regula Basilii*).[35]
fols 80ra–80vb: *Incipit consensoria monachorum*.[36]
fols 80vb–83ra: *Incipit regula sancti Augustini* (Augustine, *Praeceptum*).[37]
fols 83ra–86va: *Incipiunt capitula pro quibus sunt fratres ammonendi Pauli et Stephani* (*Regula Sancti Pauli et Stephani*).[38]

(22) Ed. Jean Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 181–186, Paris: Cerf 1971–1972; ed. Josef Hanslik, *CSEL* 75, 2nd ed., Vienna: Tempsky 1977.
(23) Ed. Josef Semmler, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 571–582.
(24) Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften*, p. 8.
(25) Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères* 1, *SC* 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 180–205.
(26) *SC* 297, pp. 274–282.
(27) Ed. de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères* 2, *SC* 298, Paris 1982, pp. 532–543.
(28) *SC* 297, pp. 372–388.
(29) Ed. Albrecht Diem and Hildegund Müller, 'Vita, Regula, Sermo: Eine unbekannte lateinische Vita Pacomii als Lehrtext für ungebildete Mönche und als Traktat über das Sprechen', in: Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Meta Niederkorn-Bruck (eds.), *Zwischen Niederschrift und Wiederschrift. Frühmittelalterliche Hagiographie und Historiographie im Spannungsfeld von Kompendienüberlieferung und Editionstechnik*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2010, pp. 223–272, at pp. 261–272.
(30) Ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachôme, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932, pp. 3–9.
(31) Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 3–74.
(32) Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 77–101.
(33) Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 105–106.
(34) Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 109–147.
(35) Ed. Klaus Zelzer, *Basili Regula a Rufino Latine versa*, *CSEL* 86, Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky 1986.
(36) Ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de saint Augustin*, vol. 2, Paris: Études Augustiniennes 1967, pp. 7–9.
(37) Ed. Luc Verheijen, *La règle de saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris: Études Augustiniennes 1967, pp. 417–437.
(38) Ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, Montserrat 1959, pp. 105–125.

fols 86va–89rb: *Incipiunt capitula regulae sancti Columbani* (Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*).[39]
fols 89rb–92vb: *Incipit paenitentialis eiusdem* (Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*).[40]
fols 93ra–100ra: *Sanctis fratribus in coenobio Honorianensi constitutis Isidorus* (*Regula Isidori*).[41]
fols 100ra–b: *Sententia de regulis deuotarum* (*Regula Pachomii*, *praecepta*, c. 143–144).[42]
fols 100rb–110va: *Concilii Spalense capitulo xliiii era xl* (*Concilium Hispalense*, a. 619, II, c. 11).[43]
fols 100va–105rb: *Incipit regula a domino et patre nostro Fructuoso edita in pace* (Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula Complutensis*/*Regula Fructuosi*).[44]
fols 105va–113va: *Incipit regula sancti Ferioli episcopi* (*Regula Ferrioli*).[45]
fols 114ra–118ra: *In Christo nomine incipit regula sancti ac beatissimi Aureliani* (Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*).[46]
fols 118rb–118va: *In Christi nomine fundatum est…* (Diptych of the monastery founded by Aurelianus of Arles).[47]
fols 118va–126ra: *In nomine sanctae trinitatis incipit regula sancti Fructuosi episcopi* (*Regula communis*).[48]
fols 126ra–126vb: *In nomine domini pactum.*[49]
fols 126va–132va: *Incipit excarpsum regulae ex omnibus institutionibus Cassiani collecta* (excerpts from the first four books of Cassian's *Institutiones*).[50]
fols 132va–136va: *Incipit regula monasterii Tarnatensis.*[51]
fols 136va–139rb: *Incipit regula orientalis.*[52]
fols 139rb–141va: *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti incipit regula cuiusdam patris* (*Regula cuiusdam patris ad monachos*).[53]
fols 141va–184vb: *Incipit capitula*, running title: *Regula per interrogatione discipuli et responsione magistri facta* (*Regula Magistri*).[54]
fols 184vb–192ra: *Incipit regula sancti Caesarii episcopi ad uirgines* (Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*).[55]

(39) Ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani opera*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 122–142.
(40) Ed. Walker, *Columbani opera*, pp. 142–168.
(41) Ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 90–125.
(42) Ed. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, pp. 51–52.
(43) *PL* 88, col. 1071B–C.
(44) Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 137–162.
(45) Ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117–148.
(46) Ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237–256.
(47) Ed. Philippe Bernard, 'Les diptyques du monastère des Saints-Apôtres d'Arles au VII^e siècle. Edition critique. Commentaire historique et liturgique', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 89:222 (2003), pp. 5–21, at pp. 13–14.
(48) Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 172–211.
(49) Ed. Campos/Roca, *San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, pp. 208–211.
(50) Ed. Henry Ledoyen, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), pp. 154–194.
(51) Ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7–65.
(52) *SC* 298, pp. 462–494.
(53) Ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos". Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la "Regula monachorum" de Colomban', in: *Revue d'histoire de la Spiritualité* 49 (1973), pp. 3–36.
(54) Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 105–107, Paris: Cerf 1964–1965.
(55) Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, pp. 170–272.

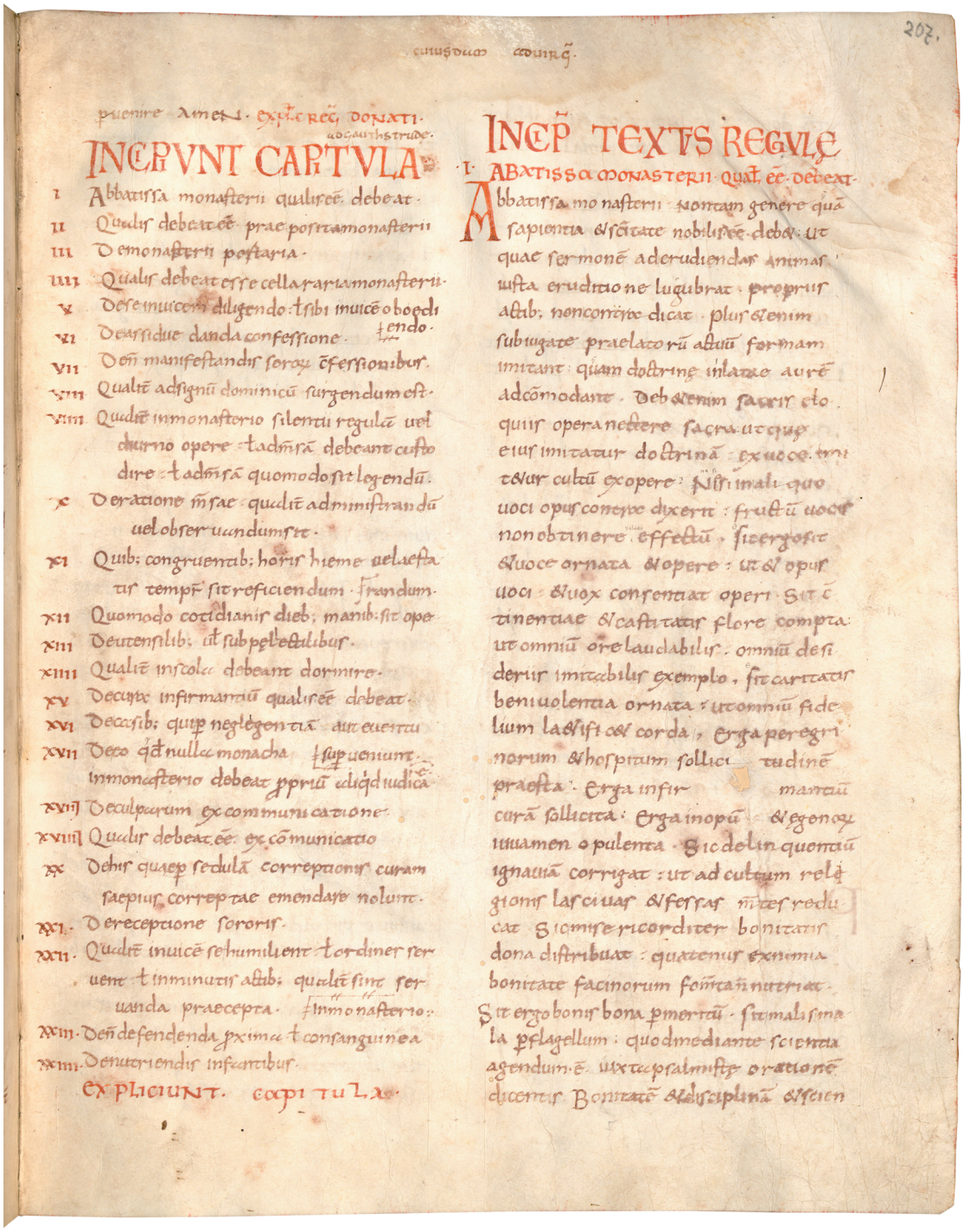
fols 192ra–192va: *Paulinus dilectissimo fratri Cesario Hormisda…* (Letter of Pope Hormisdas to Caesarius of Arles).[56]
fols 192va–193ra: *Incipiunt orationes supra defunctaae corpus, hoc est quando migrat soror de corpore.*[57]
fols 193ra–196ra: *In Christi nomine incipient capitula regulae Aureliani episcopi* (Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*).[58]
fols 196ra–b: *Sanctis ac uenerandis in Christo sororibus…* (John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines monasterii sanctae Mariae*).[59]
fols 196rb–207ra: *Sanctis et me plurimum uenerandis Christi uirginibus Gauthstrudae omnique suae congregationi in coenobio a famula dei Flauia constructo Donatus…*, running title: *Regula a Donato collecta a tribus doctoribus* (*Regula Donati*).[60]
fols 207ra–214vb: *Incipiunt capitula|Incipit textus regulae*, running title: *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, breaking off at the beginning of chapter 24.
fols 215ra–b: *…decim dies aut certe propter…*(fragment from Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, rewritten for nuns).[61]
fols 216ra–216va: *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum.*[62]

The Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines in the *Codex regularum*

In contrast to most of the rules in the *Codex regularum*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not have a title but begins with a list of chapters.[63] The title of the Rule appears only in the running titles of each page (*Regula* on the verso; *cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the recto) and in the *Concordia regularum*, but not in the text itself. The Rule does not include a prologue or a dedication letter,[64] which could have provided information about a rule's author, recipients of the rule, and the time when it was written. It breaks off at the bottom of fol. 214v in the middle of the first sentence of chapter 24, which was according to the list of chapters the last one of the rule. At the bottom edge of the folio we find the following remark written in a small gothic script: *Istius regule non est finis et sequentis non est principium* (This Rule has no end and the next one no beginning). The missing part of chapter 24 can be reconstructed from the *Concordia regularum*.

The chapter list and the beginning of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on fol. 207[b], gives an impression about the layout in the text, the abbreviations, and the original punctuation:

(56) *SC* 354, pp. 350–358.
(57) Ed. Germain Morin, *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis Opera omnia*, vol. 2, Paris: Maretioli 1942, pp. 127–128.
(58) *PL* 68, col. 399–408.
(59) *PL* 72, col. 859B–860C.
(60) Ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, pp. 139–188.
(61) *CSEL* 98, pp. 234–238.
(62) *CSEL* 98, pp. 239–240.
(63) Only six of the thirty rules do not contain a list of chapters, the *Regula Macharii*, *Regula Pachomii*, *Liber Orsiesii*, *Regula consensoria*, *Regula Ferrioli*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula cuiusdam patris*, and *Regula Donati*. Benedict of Aniane probably reproduced chapter lists when they were available in his sources, but he did not produce them himself.
(64) The following rules do have a prologue or a dedication letter: *Regula Benedicti*, *Regula Ferrioli*, *Regula Caesarii ad uirgines*, and *Regula Donati*.



München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118, fol. 207

Cologne, Historisches Archiv W. fol. 231, AD. 1466/1467

In 1466/1467, Arnold Losen, a canon regular from the Augustinian convent of Gaesdonck (Lower-Rhine, belonging to the Windesheim congregation), produced a copy of the Munich *Codex regularum*.[65] The manuscript (siglum *K* in this edition) is now preserved in the Historisches Archiv, Cologne. There are no indications that Losen used any other source than the Munich manuscript. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off at exactly the same place as in *M*.[66] Losen used his own system of abbreviations and he consistently changed the orthography of his exemplar, altering every *ae* and *oe* to *e*, every *ti* followed by a vowel to *ci*, and *mn* to *mpn*, but there are very few copying errors.

As a direct copy of *M*, *K* is of no value for the establishment of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Nevertheless, the manuscript takes an important place in the history of the Rule's reception. Since *M* was not known to modern scholarship until its discovery by Ludwig Traube in 1912, every earlier edition of the monastic rules in the *Codex regularum* depended on editions that were ultimately based on *K*.[67] Variants in *K* are therefore documented in the apparatus criticus if they found their way into the currently available editions.

The manuscript contains 212 folios (fols 1–210 parchment, fols 211–212 paper), measures 31x22 cm, and is laid out in two columns of 40 lines (22.5x7 cm). The rules and their respective chapters start with decorated initials (alternating red and blue). The first letter of each new sentence is marked in red. Folios on which a new rule begins are sometimes decorated in the margin. Losen omitted the *Regula Benedicti*, Augustine's *Praeceptum*, and the *Regula Cassiani*, probably because the two Rules and Cassian's *Institutiones* were available in other manuscripts. Aside from moving the *Regula Basilii* to the beginning, Losen did not change the order of the rules he reproduced.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* starts on fol. 200vb and breaks off on fol. 209ra with the following remark: *Huius regule finis deficit propter perdita de exemplari folia. In quibus eciam alterius cuiusdam regule principium iniciabatur cuius extrema pars hic in papiro scripta continetur* (The end of the Rule is missing because of the lost folios from the exemplar in which also the beginning of a Rule of someone else was begun, of which the last part is contained here, written on paper). This indicates that he did not use other sources aside from the Munich Codex. The rest of the page is left empty.

(65) Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 11–12.

(66) The copyist wrote on the backside of the frontpage: *Ne quem lectorem improuisum huius codicis incultus sermo et barbarismi uarii offendant, sciendum quod liber iste regularum sanctorum patrum transscriptus et diligenter est perlectus ad codicem ueteranum monasterii sancti Maximini Treuerensis* (Lest the unpolished language and the various barbarisms offend any unexpected reader of this codex, it must be known that this book of rules of the holy fathers was transcribed and carefully read through at [the hand of] an old codex of the monastery of St Maximin at Trier). See Seebaß, 'Über das Regelbuch', p. 248.

(67) The Cologne manuscript was discovered by Otto Seebaß, one of the first modern scholars to do research on early monastic rules. He knew about the existence of the exemplar from Trier, but presumed that it was lost. See Seebaß, 'Über das Regelbuch', pp. 245–249; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 4.

Other Manuscripts of the *Codex regularum*

We know of one lost and two additional surviving copies of Benedict's *Codex regularum* that all depend directly or indirectly on *M* and therefore do not play a role for this edition.[68] A direct copy of *M*, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 361 from 1471, contains only a selection of Benedict's collection (*Regula Benedicti*, *Regulae Patrum*, *Regula Basilii*, *Regula consensoria*) but not the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[69] A copy of *K* that was produced in the seventeenth century, belonged to the Bollandists and is now preserved in the Royal Library in Brussels (siglum *B* in this edition). The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is part of this collection.[70] Another now lost copy of *K* was written by the Vatican nuncio in Cologne, Fabio Chigi (the later pope Alexander VII, 1655–1667). It was sent to Rome to serve as an exemplar for the *editio princeps* of Lucas Holstenius. The manuscript is indicated in the stemma with the siglum [*L*].[71]

– *The Editions of the* Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

Lucas Holstenius' Edition of the "Codex regularum"

The prefect of the Vatican library Lucas Holstenius (d. 1661)[72] produced an edition of most early medieval monastic rules available to him. This collection appeared in Rome posthumously in 1661[73] and in a second edition in Paris two years later.[74] The fact that he gave his work the title "*Codex regularum*" and that he related it explicitly to Benedict's collection still causes confusion, since several texts in Holstenius' edition do not come from Benedict's collection and some texts in the original *Codex regularum* were omitted by Holstenius' edition.[75] Holstenius used two sources for his edition, Fabio Chigi's copy of *K* and the

(68) See Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 10–12.

(69) Description of the manuscript in *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, vol. 1, Utrecht/The Hague: Nijhoff/Kemink 1887, pp. 118–119.

(70) Brussels, Royal Library, 8126-8141 (3597). The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears on fol. 155r–177v. Description of the manuscript in Van den Gheyn, Joseph, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 6, Brussels: Lamertin 1906, pp. 2–3.

(71) Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 2; Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 337–338; Holstenius, Lucas and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1957, vol. 1, p. III.

(72) On Holstenius and his edition, see Neufville, 'Les éditeurs des "Regulae Patrum"', pp. 337–338; de Vogüé, in *SC* 298, pp. 456–457.

(73) Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Rome: Exc. V. Mascordus 1661.

(74) Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas sancti patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere collectus olim a S. Benedicto Anianensi abbate*, Paris: Billaine 1663. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears in part 3, pp. 71–88.

(75) See Bouillet, 'Le vrai "Codex Regularum"', pp. 348–349, with a list of texts omitted by Holstenius and a list of texts which Holstenius took from other sources.

Editio princeps of the *Concordia* regularum, which was published in 1638 by Nicolas Hugues Ménard (see below).[76]

The second edition of Holstenius' "*Codex regularum*" formed the basis for the first volume of Marianus Brockie's monumental six volumes edition of all normative medieval monastic texts, published in 1759 (siglum h^3).[77] About a century later Jacques-Paul Migne reprinted most of the rules in the "*Codex regularum*" in his *Patrologia Latina* on the basis of Holstenius' second edition. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears together with the *Regula Magistri* in vol. 88 (siglum h^4 in this edition).[78] Both versions contain minimal differences. This edition therefore generally uses the siglum *h* whenever h^3 *and* h^4 are in accordance.

Hope Mayo, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns* (siglum *ma*)

In 1974 Hope Mayo produced an edition and commentary of the *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a Ph.D. thesis.[79] Unfortunately her work has never been published and is available only on microfilm. In a revised form after correction of a couple of reading errors and typographical errors Mayo's book would have provided a satisfactory edition of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Her decision, however, to use the uncorrected version of *M* mostly (but not consistently) as *Codex optimus* is problematic since the first layer of corrections largely consists of correcting obvious errors and may have been applied by the copyist himself.[80] For the new edition provided here, reading errors and inconsistencies in Mayo's edition were ignored. Variants based on a different but arguable interpretation are listed in the apparatus criticus with the siglum *ma*.

The Concordia regularum

The History of the Text and the Place of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

According to Ardo, the *Concordia regularum* was intended to show that nothing in the *Regula Benedicti* was worthless or written in vain.[81] Benedict of Aniane wanted to prove this by documenting relevant parallel regulations from all available monastic rules – a method that points to a rather pragmatic approach to the *Regula Benedicti*: it is not a *regula sancta* but simply the best among all available rules.[82] For his *Concordia regularum*, Benedict of Aniane used essentially the same source material as for his collection of rules, adding only a small

(76) Holstenius, *Codex regularum* (1661), introduction, c. 4 (no pagination).

(77) Holstenius/Brockie, *Codex regularum*. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears as *Regula cuiusdam Patris ad virgines* on pp. 393–404.

(78) *PL* 88, Paris: Migne 1862, col. 1053–1070.

(79) Mayo, Hope, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, 2 vols, Ph.D. thesis Harvard, Cambridge, MS 1974.

(80) See Mayo, *Three Merovingian Rules*, pp. 226–234.

(81) The title *Concordia regularum* is, differently from the title *Codex regularum*, medieval. It appears in its manuscripts and in Ardo's *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*.

(82) On different ways of using and approaching the *Regula Benedicti* in the Carolingian period, see Diem, 'The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti'.

number of extracts from other sources.[83] Every chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* is followed by between one and thirty-four parallel regulations from other rules.

The sources that he used can be divided into three groups: the rules from which almost the complete text is quoted,[84] texts from which a significant part is used,[85] and those appearing only incidentally.[86] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* holds a unique position as the only rule for nuns belonging to the first group. All other rules for nuns (Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula Aureliani ad uirgines*) appear only with a handful quotations. Benedict seems to have regarded the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a highly original text and as especially useful to prove the value of the *Regula Benedicti*.

For most chapters in the *Concordia regularum*, Benedict of Aniane initially followed the order in which the rules were arranged in the *Codex regularum*,[87] which confirms Ardo's claim that that the former was produced after the latter. In a few cases, however, Benedict of Aniane seems to have done a second round of "harvesting" material, adding a number of new fragments. As a result of this arrangement, the majority of the fragments (14 out of 27) of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appear at the end of each respective section of the *Concordia regularum*. In these cases the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* formed, as it were, brackets that enclose the rest of the monastic normative tradition.

Pierre Bonnerue shows in his critical edition of the *Concordia regularum* that Benedict of Aniane used a version of the *Codex regularum* that was not directly dependent on the Munich Codex when he compiled the *Concordia regularum*.[88] This means that the *Codex regularum* and the *Concordia regularum* form two independent witnesses for the reconstruction of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Therefore, the manuscript witnesses of the *Concordia regularum* have to be taken into account for this edition. Simply referring Bonnerue's edition appears to be insufficient since Bonnerue decided at various points to reconstruct the text against stemmatic evidence.

(83) Only 21 of the 788 sections of the *Concordia regularum* come from texts other than those used in the *Codex*: Augustine's *Sermo* 46, Cassian's *Institutiones*, the so-called *Dicta Caesariae*, Jerome's *Epistula* 125, and one extract from Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* (which will be discussed on pp. 226-228 of this study). Bonnerue provides a list of these sections in *CCCM* 168, pp. 255–256. For an analysis of the choice of material used by Benedict, see *ibid.*, pp. 125–138.

(84) Almost completely quoted are the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; *Regula Fructuosi, Regula Isidori, Regula Macharii, Regula patrum tertia*, and *Regula quattuor patrum*.

(85) Large parts are quoted from Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*; Fructuosus, *Regula communis*; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*; *Regula Cassiani*; *Regula cuiusdam patris*; *Regula Basilii*; *Regula Ferrioli*; *Regula Magistri*; *Regula Pachomii*; *Regula orientalis*; *Regula patrum secunda*; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*; and *Regula Tarnatensis*.

(86) Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*; *Regula Caesarii ad uirgines*; *Regula Donati*.

(87) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 127.

(88) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 51 and pp. 70–84, esp. p. 80: "Ainsi, les extraits des textes reproduits dans la *Concordia* ne sont pas tirés du *Codex*. Le scribe de la *Concordia* dépend donc directement de la version des textes insérés dans le recueil qui a servi à la composition du *Codex*".

The Manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum*

The *Concordia regularum* is preserved in six manuscripts that contain either the entire text or large parts of it, and four fragments, one of which has been recently discovered and edited by Martin Claussen (siglum *R* in this edition).[89] The three other fragments can be ignored for this edition since they do not contain any parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[90] The newly discovered fragment *R*, which was hidden in the binding and the book cover of manuscript Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 503 and 506, however, contains a large part of the third chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Martin Claussen shows that the fragment he discovered, belongs to an independent branch of the manuscript tradition of the *Concordia regularum*, possibly even a preliminary version of text that may already have been produced in last decade of the eighth century.[91] It is therefore included in this edition.

Bonnerue lists variants of all the other manuscripts in his critical edition which will be used here in lieu of the manuscripts themselves. His reconstruction of the *Concordia regularum* is indicated with the siglum *c*.[92] Cases in which Bonnerue decided to emend the text or not to follow the stemmatic evidence are indicated as *coni. Bonnerue*.

The six manuscripts that Bonnerue used to establish the text are:

F Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, s. IX, pp. 1–95, 202–271, 388–417.[93]
F' Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, s. X–XI, pp. 96–201, 272–387.
V Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 60, s. XI, fols 4r–109r.[94]
W Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 36, s. XI, pp. 2–286.[95]
T Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, 69, s. X, fols 1r–176v.[96]
P Paris, BnF, lat. 10879, s. XII, fols 5v–129v.[97]
A Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 108, s. XII, fols 1r–144r.[98]

(89) Claussen, Martin, 'Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 806: a little-known manuscript of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 23:1 (2015), pp. 1–42.

(90) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 36, s. X–XI, fol. 103v–105r; Paris, BnF, lat. 2974, fol. 75r–75v, s. IX; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 54, s. X–XI, fol. 12r–14r. See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 172.

(91) Claussen, 'Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie', pp. 15–18.

(92) One short section of the *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 19.9–11, is used twice in the *Concordia regularum* with some minor variants. The second fragment is documented as C'.

(93) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 163–166; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 13–14; Mostert, Marco, *The library of Fleury: a provisional list of manuscripts*, Hilversum: Verloren 1989, pp. 163–164; Bischoff and Ebersperger, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. 2, pp. 347–348.

(94) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 166–168; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14.

(95) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 168–169; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 15.

(96) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 169; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 15.

(97) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 170; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14; Delisle Léopold Victor, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés a la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613*, Paris 1863–1874, part I, p. 100.

(98) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 170–172; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, p. 14; Rose, Valentin, *Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Berlin: Asher 1893 (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vol. 12), pp. 227–228.

The newly found fragment is:

R Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 503 and 506, s. IX^{in}.[99]

The manuscripts *F/F'* and *V* provide the complete text of the *Concordia regularum*. Manuscript *F/F'* originates from Fleury. The double siglum follows Bernhard Bischoff's observation that a part of the Fleury manuscript (*F*, comprising pp. 1–95, 202–271, 388–417) had been written at the beginning of the ninth century while the rest (*F'*, comprising pp. 96–201, 272–387) had either been produced in the later ninth century (according to de Vogüé and Neufville) or even in the tenth or eleventh centuries (according to Villegas).[100] The separation between *F* and *F'* has no relevance for this edition, since both parts hold the same position in the stemma, but it is reproduced in accordance with Bonnerue's edition.

Manuscript *V* comes from the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme. Manuscript *W*, originating from the Monastery of Saint-Vanne in Verdun, comprises about 60% of the text. Manuscript *T*, whose provenance was the Cistercian Monastery of Santa Cruz near Tarragona, is less complete than *W*. Manuscript *P* comes from the Monastery of Notre-Dame de Lyre in Normandy. Manuscript *A* was preserved at the *Collegium Claromontanum* of the Jesuits in Paris and may have originated from the Monastery of Saint-Arnould in Metz. *T*, *P*, and *A* share lacunas and belong to the same family.[101]

Bonnerue's apparatus criticus is not restricted to variants that are directly relevant for the establishment of the text. He gives all *lectiones singulares* and documents all changes in gender (with regard to *M*).[102] Since all editorial decisions of Bonnerue were checked for this edition, a complete reproduction of Bonnerue's apparatus was not regarded as necessary. All variants that might challenge or confirm the decisions made for the establishment of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and all variants that may be the result of a deliberate change of the text are documented in the apparatus criticus of this edition.

The *Editio princeps* of Nicolas Hugues Ménard (*siglum me*)

When Lucas Holstenius edited his *Codex regularum*, he used a copy of *K* and also the *editio princeps* of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*, which was published twenty-two years before by Nicolas Hugues Ménard (d. 1644).[103] Ménard's edition (siglum *me*) is available

(99) The manuscript is a fourteenth-century copy of parts of Justinian's *Corpus iuris ciuilis*. See Claussen, 'Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie', p. 7.

(100) Neufville/de Vogüé in their introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, in *SC* 181, p. 318; Villegas, 'La "Regula Monasterii Tarnatensis"', p. 10, n. 2. Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 164–165 follows Neufville/de Vogüé.

(101) For a stemma, see Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 161–196.

(102) Bonnerue's criteria of his edition are explained in *CCCM* 168, pp. 197–204.

(103) Ménard, Hugues, *Concordia regularum auctore S. Benedicto Anianae abbate*, Paris 1638. See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, pp. 64–69; Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 23–25.

as a reprint in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 103.[104] Holstenius not only reconstructed the missing part of c. 24 on the basis of Ménard's text, but on some occasions he also preferred the readings of Ménard against his copy of the *Concordia regularum*. Ménard used for his edition the two most important preserved manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum*, *F*|*F'* and *V*, which were also used in Bonnerue's edition. Ménard's edition is therefore of no relevance for reconstructing the text of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Variants in Ménard's edition, however, are reproduced in the apparatus criticus if they found their way into Holstenius' and Migne's edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In a few cases Holstenius chose to reproduce variants from the apparatus of Ménard. They are documented in this edition as *me**.

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*

The History of the Text and the Place of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel[105] wrote his commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* probably as a contribution to the monastic reforms that culminated in the synods of Aachen in 816/817.[106] Unlike Benedict of Aniane, Smaragdus did not quote complete chapters of monastic rules, but composed his texts by combining smaller segments into a running text. Smaragdus' commentary is divided into three books: the first two books, which comprise almost two thirds of the text, comment on the rather theological and programmatic first seven chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*. For this part of his work, Smaragdus used a wide range of patristic texts.[107] The last part of Smaragdus' work is a concise commentary on the remaining 64 chapters of Benedict's Rule. For this part Smaragdus used mostly the textual material that is provided in Benedict's *Concordia regularum*.

(104) *PL* 103, Paris: Migne 1851, col. 701–1380.

(105) On Smaragdus' life and works, see Engelbert/Spannagel, *CCM* 8, pp. xxii–xxx; Anton, Hans Hubert, 'Smaragd von St Mihiel', in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, Hamm (Westf.): Bautz 1995, col. 644–648 (bibliography); Jenal, Georg, 'Smaragdus', in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 674–675; Ponesse, Matthew D., 'Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian monastic reform', in: *Revue bénédictine* 116:2 (2006), pp. 367–392; id., 'Standing Distant from the Fathers: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and the Reception of Early Medieval Learning', in: *Traditio* 67 (2012), pp. 71–99; Rädle, Fidel, 'Smaragdus', in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, Munich: Artemis Verlag 1995, col. 2011–2012; Kramer, *Rethinking Authority*, pp. 123–168.

(106) On the Aachen reforms, see Semmler, Josef, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils 816', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), pp. 15–82; De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: *c. 700–c. 900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622–653 and pp. 995–1002 (with further references); Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016.

(107) Smaragdus' main source for the first two books of his *Expositio* was the *Glosae in Regula Sancti Benedicti ad usum Smaragdi abbatis Sancti Michaelis*, which consists of a glossary and a florilegium of patristic quotations arranged along the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*, ed. Matthieu van der Meer, *CCCM* 282, Turnhout: Brepols 2017.

The *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* contains 39 quotations from the *Regula cuiusdam*. Most of them have not been changed deliberately. Only in a few cases has Smaragdus shortened or rearranged the text.[108] Just like Benedict of Aniane, Smaragdus regarded the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a highly relevant source. Only three other monastic rules are quoted more often than this text: the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Cassiani*, and the *Regula Basilii*.

Usually Smaragdus shares his variants with the *Concordia regularum* (as it is presented by Bonnerue), which confirms that Smaragdus used Benedict's *Concordia* and not the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as we find it in the *Codex regularum*. There are, however, cases in which Smaragdus shares variants with *M* against all manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum*. Therefore Smaragdus is used as a witness for this edition whenever it is unclear whether to follow the manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum* or *M*.

The Edition and its Manuscripts

Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, the editors of Smaragdus' *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti* for the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*,[109] selected eleven of the fifty-five preserved manuscripts and fragments for establishing their text.[110] They limited their apparatus criticus to variants that could have appeared in the autograph. All *lectiones singulares* are omitted.[111] In general there is no need to go beyond Engelbert/Spannagel's edition,[112] with two exceptions in which some of the manuscripts enhance our understanding of problematic passages. Both of them are discussed in the commentary:

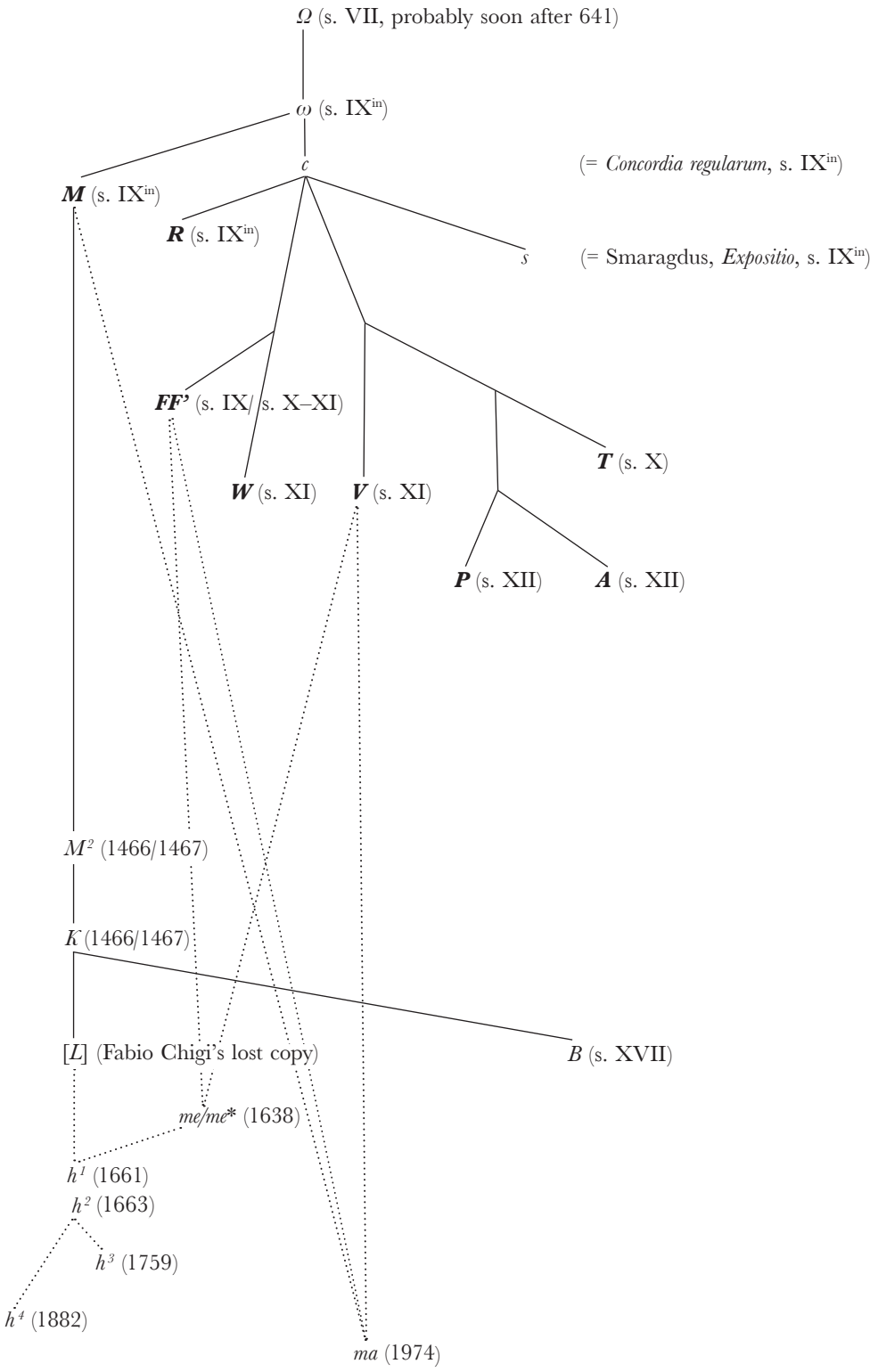
2.2 Shows that some of the copyists of Smaragdus' *Expositio* decided independently that *dedecus* makes more sense than *decus*.

8.11 Some copyists of Smaragdus emendate independently from each other *iuxta* to *iusta*, which makes much more sense.

The Stemma of the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines*

Based on the stemmata of Bonnerue and the insights of Martin Claussen, the following stemma for the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be established. Dotted lines indicate which manuscripts and editions have been used for the available editions.

(108) Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 33.4, *CCM* 8, pp. 242–243; c. 66.4, pp. 323–324; and c. 66.7, p. 325. See commentary on c. 3.22 and c. 17.2 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, p. 80 and p. 124.
(109) Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, *CCM* 8.
(110) Listed in *CCM* 8, pp. xv–xx.
(111) *CCM* 8, pp. lxxx–lxxxi.
(112) Bonnerue does the same in his edition, see *CCSL* 168, p. 193.


Ω (s. VII, probably soon after 641)
ω (s. IX^in)
c
(= *Concordia regularum*, s. IX^in)
M (s. IX^in)
R (s. IX^in)
s
(= Smaragdus, *Expositio*, s. IX^in)
FF' (s. IX/ s. X–XI)
T (s. X)
W (s. XI)
V (s. XI)
P (s. XII)
A (s. XII)
*M*² (1466/1467)
K (1466/1467)
[*L*] (Fabio Chigi's lost copy)
B (s. XVII)
*me/me** (1638)
*h*¹ (1661)
*h*² (1663)
*h*³ (1759)
*h*⁴ (1882)
ma (1974)

THE EDITION OF THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*

The Presentation of the Text

The edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* generally follows M^{pc} unless *M* provides clearly erroneous readings and the *Concordia regularum* provides a correct text. All possible variants are documented in the apparatus criticus.

Better readings in the *Concordia regularum* (which presumably appear in the subarchetype ω) can be found in:

1.3 imitantur *F V P A*] imitant *M W c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)
1.5 obtineat *V T P A c*] obtinere *M F W K h*, ualeat *add.* M^2 *K h*
1.6 et[6] *c*] ut *M*
3.2 adherere *c*] adhere *M*
4.11 responsione M^2 F^{pc} *T P* A^{pc} *K h c*] responsioni *M* F^{ac} A^{ac}, responsiono F^{pc}, responsionis *V*
4.24 ne minimum *c*] neminum *M*, neminem *K h*
9.9 ab M^2 *K h s c*] *om. M*
9.9 a *me h s c*] *om. M*
12.21 ceruisiam *me h c*] cervisam *M V T*
12.22 unaquaque *me h c*] unaquaeque *M*
15.6 cura M^{ac} *me h s c*] curae M^{pc}
15.11 prout M^2 *K h c*] pro *M* V^{ac}
16.5 fuerit[1] *om. M*
17.7 fuerint *me h s c*] fuerant *M*
18.5 obstinatae *s c*] obstinata *M K h*, obstinate *T*
19.5 mensium *me h s c*] mensuum *M*
20.5 unguenta *me h s c*] ungenta *M*, *ungunta* F^{ac}, ungiuenta F^{pc}
20.10 credulitate K^{pc} *me h s ma c*] crudelitate *M*

In a number of cases, preference is given to conjectures of Pierre Bonnerue in his edition of the *Concordia regularum*:

1.16 quot M^2 *K h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] quod *M F T*
7.2 uerecunde *V T P A c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] uerecundae *M F' W*
15.7 mutent *V T P me c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] mutant *M F A*, immutent *h*
22.5 certe (*coni. Bonnerue*)] certe si *M F' V K me h*
22.9 copia *V me h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] copiam *M F'*

In one case preference is given to M^{ac}:

1.2 lucubrat M^{ac} *P A c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] lugubrat M^{pc} *F W V T*

Three times preference is given to readings of Losen or Holstenius where other witnesses are missing because these sections do not appear in the *Concordia regularum*:

5.20 donasse *h*] dones *M*
5.21 nullaue *h*] nulla ire *M*
11.1 pentecostes M^2 *K h*] pente *M*

At eight occasions one has to assume an error in the archetype *ω,* which was corrected in one or more manuscripts. A decision against stemmatic evidence was made in:

10.9 pluribus cibis *F' me h s*] pluriores cibi *ω M W V T P A c*
12.21 quae *h*] *om. ω M F' V*^{ac} *W T P A me*, qui *V*^{pc} *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)
16.6 et^{2} *add. F'*^{pc} *me h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] *om. ω M F'*^{ac} *V T P A*
16.6 possit *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] possis *ω M F'*^{ac} *T A*^{ac}, possibile *h*
20.7 officio *F'*^{pc} *V T P A*^{pc} *me h s*] officia *ω M F'*^{ac} *W A*^{ac}
20.8 ut *add. V P A me h s*] om. *ω M F' W T c*
21.1 septis *F*^{pc} *me h s*] septa *ω M F*^{ac} *W V T P A*^{ac} *c*, septo *P A*^{pc}
22.14 commertium *V*] commeritum *ω F' c*, commertio *M K h*

In three cases the text is emended against every manuscript. All those emendations follow the suggestions by Matthew Ponesse:

12.1 egentis *coni. Ponesse*] egenis *ω M h c*
16.9 commiserit *coni. Ponesse*] *om. M c*, aliquem commiserit frater *add. s*, aliquam commiserit *h*
22.5 certe *coni. Bonnerue*] certe si *ω M F' V K me h*

Changes in Grammatical Gender in the *Concordia regularum*

Both the *Concordia regularum* and Smaragdus' *Expositio* change the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* into the male form. These changes are not documented in the apparatus criticus, whenever they are consistent. Errors related to the change of grammatical gender, either omitted changes or hyper-corrections, are documented in the apparatus. We found ten errors (in one or more witnesses) related to the change of gender:

2.7 quam *F'*] quem *c*
3.13 quas] quod *F' W*
3.24 quae *F'*^{ac} *W*] qui *c*
12.19 quae *F'*^{ac} *W T A*^{ac}] qui *c*
15.1 harum *F*^{ac} *T*^{ac}] horum *c*
15.1 quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua *F*^{ac}, que *V*^{ac} *P*
15.12 hae *V*] hi *c*, haec *F*^{ac} *T A*^{ac}, *om. P*, *del. A*^{pc}
17.2 ipsa] ipse *T P A*, ille *s*
20.2 elata *s c*] elatus *F'*^{pc} *P A*
24.6 deductam *F V W T A*^{ac}, deducti *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*), deductis

Sentence Numbering

For the parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that appear in the *Concordia regularum*, I follow Bonnerue's sentence numbering. The only exception is 2.13, where Bonnerue's sentence number is incorrect.[113]

(113) See Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168, p. 197.

Orthography

The text follows the orthography of *M* despite some inconsistencies, especially in the use of *e* in place of *ae* and vice versa. Purely orthographic variants (esp. ae/e, t/c mn/mpn) are not documented in the apparatus criticus, except for a few cases in which a variant could help to understand the text (for example 10.4 *holeribus*|*oleribus*). The letter u is reproduced as u, regardless whether it is pronounced as a vowel or as a consonant. The uncial letter U is presented as capital V.

Punctuation and Layout

Both *M* and *K* use an extensive system of punctuation, separating most of the subordinate clauses from the main sentences by periods, colons, semicolons, or by using an uncial N. A punctuation that consistently separates subordinate clauses (roughly according to the German rules of punctuation after the most recent spelling reform) comes closest to the original punctuation and is therefore applied here.

The layout of the text in *M* does not contain specific features that are worth reproducing (except for some additions in the margin, which are documented in the apparatus criticus). The chapter titles are in uncial letters (upper-case letters in the edition). In *M* the titles are written in red uncials, sometimes with a period at the end, sometimes without (which is normalized without a period in the edition). Usually the chapters are numbered; in some cases the numbering appears in the margin.[114] The text of each chapter starts with a large red initial (which is not documented in the edition).

Longer chapters that consist of clearly identifiable segments are divided in paragraphs. This paragraph division does not appear in *M* or in any of the other manuscripts. The folio numbering in the margin refers to *M*, the main witness of the text.

Biblical Quotations/*Apparatus biblicus*

Biblical quotations are marked in *italics* in the main text. Biblical allusions are not specifically marked in the main text but documented in the apparatus biblicus. The apparatus biblicus gives both traditional and revised Psalm numbering. Psalm quotations from the Latin translation of the Septuagint are indicated with (*LXX*).

The *Apparatus criticus*

The apparatus criticus is usually negative, except for cases in which identification with the main text would be unclear. Besides its critical function, however, the apparatus aims to make a comparison with the edition of Holstenius possible and to give as much diplomatic

(114) *RcuiV*, c. 10; c. 14; c. 15.

information about the manuscript *M* as possible. The apparatus therefore contains the following variants:

– All variants that theoretically could appear in the archetype (critical apparatus in the strict sense).
– All variants that appear in *h* or which have led to a variant in *h*. This includes a selection of variants from M^2, *K*, and *me* that are not relevant for the reconstruction of the text. Readings in *ma* that are arguable are documented as well.
– All first-hand corrections of *M*, even if they are purely orthographic. If the apparatus only gives M^{pc} on a reading that is reproduced in the main text, a correction is obvious but the original reading could not be reconstructed.
– Variants in the *Concordia regularum* or in Smaragdus' *Expositio* that may have been deliberate revisions by Benedict of Aniane or Smaragdus.
– All variants that point to errors or hyper-corrections with regard to the change of gender.
– All variants from the newly discovered fragment *R* (which applies only to chapter 3 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*).

Clearly erroneous *lectiones singulares* in the *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio* and all consistent changes of gender are omitted.

Emendations or editorial decisions against the stemmatic evidence are documented with the name of the emendator (*coni. Bonnerue*). Matthew Ponesse (Ohio Dominican University, Columbus, OH) made a number of suggestions for emendations which are documented as *coni. Ponesse*.

If a variant shares the reading of the main text against other variants belonging to the same group, it is documented before the square bracket. For example:

3.1 simul mercedem *s*] *tr. c*

means: *s* shares *simul mercedem* with *M*, while *c* gives *mercedem simul*.

15.1 quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua F^{ac}, que V^{ac} *P*

means *A* shares *quae* with *M* against *qui*, *qua*, and *que* in other versions.

In cases of errors of the archetype with reasonable emendations in some manuscripts (clearly better variants against stemmatic evidence), the better reading is documented in the main text and the reading of the archetype is documented as *ω*.

Apparatus fontium

Parallels in phrasing and terminology with the *Regula Benedicti* are indicated in **bold** in the main text. Obvious parallels with other texts such as the Rules of Columbanus, the *Regula Basilii*, and the *Institutiones* of John Cassian are marked as SMALL CAPS. In order to make comparisons easy, the apparatus fontium gives the full text of sources used directly (*Regula Benedicti*, Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, *Regula Basilii*, Cassian's *Institutiones*, and *Vita Columbani*). For the sake of consistency, all reproduced Latin texts use the lower-case letter u both for u and v and the upper-case letter V both for U and V.

Fortleben

The *Concordia regularum* of Benedict of Aniane and Smaragdus' *Expositio* have a double function as important witnesses for the reconstruction of the text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and as sources on the reception history. For each segment of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that appears in the *Concordia regularum*, the Fortleben-apparatus documents the chapter given by Benedict of Aniane. Since the manuscript evidence is not the same for all fragments used in the *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio*, the manuscripts are documented for every fragment. In order to show how a fragment was integrated in the commentaries, the chapter titles (for the *Concordia regularum*) and the introductory sentences (for the *Expositio*) are also documented.

Chapter 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only part of the Rule which left clear traces outside the works of Benedict and Smaragdus; it inspired chapter 22 of the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, one of the key texts of the monastic reforms of 816. The parallel section is quoted in the Fortleben-apparatus.

Evidence for the reception of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (esp. in the *Vita Bertilae*, *Vita Sadalbergae*, *Vita Segolenae*, the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, and the *Memoriale qualiter*) are documented in the commentary.

The Commentary

The commentary intends to stimulate and satisfy the curiosity of the reader. Special emphasis is put on the place of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the tradition of early monastic rules and on the biblical and patristic roots of the text. It usually begins with a list of regulations on the same general topic in other early medieval monastic rules and normative texts.[115] Occasionally this list is supplemented with references on the same topic in Merovingian and Carolingian hagiographic texts (without a claim of completeness). Lists of references to monastic rules are abbreviated and ordered chronologically. References to hagiographic texts are ordered alphabetically. A list of the abbreviations is given at the beginning of the edition.

The specific commentary focuses on parallel regulations in other rules, possible sources of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (based on parallels in formulation or content), traces of the use of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in later texts, and remarkable terminology or grammatical structures. The commentary especially documents all parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the hagiographic works of Jonas of Bobbio.

(115) All regulations on order, hierarchy, and mutual love are given in the commentary on c. 5; regulations on eating, drinking, mealtimes, and fasting are given in the commentary on c. 10; regulations on the care for monastic property and tools are given in c. 13; regulations on discipline, punishment, and excommunication are given in c. 18.

The Translation

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* forms a challenge for any translator. On the one hand, its Latin is convoluted, sometimes ungrammatical according to classical standards, and not consistent in its uses of tenses and modi. On the other hand, the text is – as will be shown in the commentary – extremely subtle and every phrasing, word choice, or grammatical construction potentially carries an important meaning. For this reason preference is given to a translation that stands as closely to the original text as possible instead of producing a free and easily readable rendition – as Jo Ann McNamara did.[116] The result is not at all a "beautiful" text. No translation fully renders the meaning of the original and is free from – debatable – interpretations. Matthew Ponesse and Matthieu van der Meer provided indispensable help with the production of this translation.

Audio Edition

Various monastic rules contain provisions on being read aloud to the community or to monks and nuns who were in the process of entering the monastery. In order to give an impression how the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may have sounded, we have provided an audio file (read by Matthieu van der Meer).[117]

De accedendo ad Deum

As an appendix to the edition, I provide the text and a translation of the short treatise *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum* that appears at the very end of the *Concordia regularum*. In the study I refer to the work as *De accedendo*. The text has recently been edited by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl. I reprint the text of her edition (aside from normalizing v to u) along with my own commentary on the content that is similar to the commentaries on each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The copyist of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* – and probably Benedict of Aniane himself – regarded *De accedendo ad Deum* as a treatise that stood at its own. Since the rest of fol. 216v of the Munich manuscript of the *Concordia regularum* is left empty, the text may have indeed been the very last of the collection. As I will show in Chapter 7 of this study, stylistic, semantic, and content-related observations indicate that *De accedendo ad Deum* originally formed a part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, possibly as its final chapter.

(116) McNamara, Jo Ann and John E. Halborg, *The Ordeal of Community*, Toronto: Peregrina Publishing 1993.

(117) To access on the Open Access platform of Brepols: https://doi.org/10.1484/A.13049939.

EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*

List of *Sigla*

ω		Subarchetype of the "*Codex regularum*" on which all extant manuscripts are based
B		Brussels, Royal Library, 8126–8141 (3597), not used in this edition
M		Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fols 207–214v
	M^{ac}	*M* before ninth-century correction
	M^{pc}	*M* with ninth-century correction
	M^{2}	Late medieval corrections ascribed to Arnold Losen
K		Cologne, Historisches Archiv, W. fol. 231, fols 200v–209
c		Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, ed. by Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168A, Turnhout 1999, on the basis of the following manuscripts:
	F	Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, pp. 1–95, 202–271, 388–417
	F'	Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 233, pp. 96–201, 272–387
	V	Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, 60, fols 4r–109r
	W	Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 36, pp. 2–286
	T	Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, 69, fols 1r–176v
	P	Paris, BnF, lat. 10879, fols 5v–129v
	A	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillips, 108, s. XII, fols 1r–144r
c^{bis}		Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 34.8 ed. by. Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168 A, p. 301: *Regula cuiusdam*, c. 19.9–11 appears twice in the *Concordia regularum*
R		Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 506, s. $VIII^{ex}/IX^{in}$, from ed. Martin Claussen
s		Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, ed. Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel, *CCM* 8, Siegburg 1974
me		Nicolas Hugues Ménard (ed.), *Concordia regularum, auctore S. Benedicto Anianae abbate*, Paris 1638, reprinted in Migne, *PL* 103, cols 701–1380
me^{*}		Variants from the apparatus of Ménard as documented by Bonnerue if they influenced the *editio princeps* of the *Regula cuiusdam*
h		$h^{3} = h^{4}$
h^{3}		Lucas Holstenius and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, vol. 1, Augsburg: Ignatii Adami & Francisci Antonii Veith 1759, pp. 394–404

h^4	Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 88, Paris 1862, cols 1053–1070
ma	Mayo, Hope, *Three Merovingian Rules for Nuns*, vol. 2, Cambridge, MA 1974, pp. 142–213
coni. Bonnerue	conjectures of Pierre Bonnerue in his edition of Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*
coni. Engelbert/Spannagel	conjectures of Pius Engelbert and Alfred Spannagel in their edition of Smaragdus' *Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*
coni. Ponesse	conjectures suggested by Matthew Ponesse in personal conversations

List of Abbreviations of Monastic Rules Used in the Edition[118]

2RP	*Regula patrum secunda*
3RP	*Regula patrum tertia*
AugOM	Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*
AugPraec	Augustine, *Praeceptum*
EuagMon	Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*
FruPac	Fructuosus of Braga, *Pactum*
LOrs	*Liber Orsiesii*
RAM	Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*
RAV	Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*
RBas	*Regula Basilii*
RBen	*Regula Benedicti*
CaesRM	Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*
CaesRV	Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*
RCas	*Regula Cassiani*
RColC	Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*
RColM	Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*
RColV	Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, female version
RCom	*Regula communis*
RCons	*Regula consensoria*
RcuiP	*Regula cuiusdam patris (ad monachos)*
RcuiV	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*
RDon	*Regula Donati*
RFer	*Regula Ferrioli*
RFruc	*Regula Fructuosi*

(118) This list of abbreviations of monastic rules is based on Bonnerue's edition of the *Concordia regularum*.

RI	*Regula Isidori*
RIVP	*Regula quattuor patrum*
RLea	*Regula Leandri*
RM	*Regula Magistri*
RMac	*Regula Macharii*
ROr	*Regula orientalis*
RPac	*Regula Pachomii*
RPac Inst	*Regula Pachomii, Praecepta et instituta*
RPac Iud	*Regula Pachomii, Praecepta atque iudicia*
RPac Leg	*Regula Pachomii, Praecepta ac leges*
RPac Pr	*Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*
RPS	*Regula Pauli et Stephani*
RT	*Regula Tarnatensis*

Other Abbreviations

VCol	Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*
VIoh	Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis*

REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES

207[a] INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA

I Abbatissa monasterii qualis esse debeat
II Qualis debeat esse praeposita monasterii
III De monasterii portaria
IIII Qualis debeat esse cellararia monasterii
V De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo
VI De assidue danda confessione
VII De non manifestandis sororum confessionibus
VIII Qualiter ad signum dominicum surgendum est
VIIII Qualiter in monasterio silentii regulam uel diurno opere uel ad mensam debeant custodire uel ad mensam quomodo sit legendum
X De ratione mensae qualiter administrandum uel obseruandum sit
XI Quibus congruentibus horis hieme uel aestatis tempore sit reficiendum
XII Quomodo cotidianis diebus manibus sit operandum
XIII De utensilibus uel subpaellectilibus
XIIII Qualiter in scola debeant dormire
XV De cura infirmantium qualis esse debeat
XVI De casibus qui per neglegentiam aut euentu superueniunt
XVII De eo quod nulla monacha in monasterio debeat proprium aliquid iudicare
XVIII De culparum excommunicatione
XVIIII Qualis debeat esse excommunicatio
XX De his quae per sedulam correptionis curam saepius correptae emendare nolunt
XXI De receptione sororis
XXII Qualiter inuicem se humilient uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint seruanda praecepta
XXIII De non defendenda proxima uel consanguinea in monasterio
XXIIII De nutriendis infantibus

EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA

INCIPIT…EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA *codd.: M K*; *edd.: h (h³ h⁴)*

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA…EXPLICIVNT CAPITVLA *om. h⁴* | CAPITVLA] REGVLE CVIVSDAM. *add. K*, REGULAE CUJUSDAM PATRIS *add. h³* | I…XXIIII *h³ uses Arabic numbers* | XIII subpaelectilibus *M*[ac]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS

I. Of what sort the abbess of the monastery should be
II. What sort of person the prioress of the monastery should be
III. On the porter of the monastery
IIII. What sort of person the cellarer of the monastery should be
V. On loving each other and on obeying each other
VI. On giving confession continuously
VII. About not revealing the confessions of the sisters
VIII. How one ought to rise after the sign of the Lord
VIIII. How they should guard the rule of silence in the monastery both in daily work and at table, and how reading should be done at table
X. On the order of the table: how it should be administered and observed
XI. At which appropriate hours one should eat during the seasons of winter and summer
XII. How one should do manual work during regular days
XIII. On the tools and implements
XIIII. How they should sleep in a common room
XV. On the care of the sick– how it should be performed
XVI. On accidents which occur through negligence or by chance
XVII. On [the topic] that no nun in the monastery should claim anything as her own
XVIII. On the excommunication for offences
XVIIII. Of what sort excommunication should be
XX. On those who do not wish to better themselves after they have been reproached more often in keeping with the continuous care of reproach
XXI. On the readmission of a sister
XXII. How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts
XXIII. On not defending a relative or a family member in the monastery
XXIIII. On children– how they should be brought up

HERE END THE CHAPTERS

207[b] INCIPIT TEXTVS REGVLAE

I. **ABBA**TISSA MONASTERII **QVALIS ESSE DEBEAT**

[1]Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, [2]ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. [3]Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant. [4]Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur **doctrina**m ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, [5]ne si in aliquo uoci opus **contra**dixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. [6]Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi. Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium

1.2 Cfr Ps. 1, 2 | **1.6** Cfr Tit. 2, 7

1.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
1.1–19 *codd.: MFVWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*

1.tit. TEXTVS REGVLAE] REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES *K*, REGULA CUJUSDAM PATRIS AD VIRGINES *h* | Abatisa *M* | **1.2** lucubrat $M^{ac}PAc$ (*coni. Bonnerue*)] lugubrat $M^{pc}FVWT$ | **1.3** imitantur *FVPA*] imitant *MWc* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | **1.5** ne si] nisi M^{ac} | obtineat *VTPAc* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] obtinere *MFWKh*, ualeat *add.* M^2Kh | **1.6** et[6]] ut *M*

1.tit. *RBen* 2.tit.: **Qualis debeat esse abba**s.
1.26 *RBen* 2.4–6: Ideoque abbas nihil extra praeceptum Domini quod sit debet aut docere aut constituere uel iubere, [5]sed iussio eius uel **doctrina** fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur, [6]memor semper abbas quia **doctrina**e suae uel discipulorum oboedientiae, utrarumque rerum, in tremendo iudicio Dei facienda erit discussio.
RBen 2.11–13: Ergo, cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet **doctrina** suis praeesse discipulis, [12]id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam uerbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini uerbis proponere, duris corde uero et simplicioribus factis suis diuina praecepta monstrare. [13]Omnia uero quae discipulis docuerit esse **contra**ria in suis factis indicet non agenda, ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobus inueniatur,…

1 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 5.24, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. I.

HERE BEGINS THE TEXT OF THE RULE

I. OF WHAT SORT THE ABBESS OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

[1] The abbess of the monastery must be noble not so much in birth as in wisdom and sanctity, [2] so that she, who toils by night over her speaking in order to educate the souls by correct instruction, does not contradict [her speaking] through her own deeds. [3] For indeed, subordinates imitate the appearance of their superiors' deeds more than they lend their ear to the teaching that is introduced [to them]. [4] Therefore, [the abbess] must join sacred works to sacred speech, so that one who imitates her teaching based on her word may imitate her way of life based on her work, [5] lest if in anything the work contradicts the word, the profit of the word does not achieve result. [6] Therefore, she should be in such a way adorned through both the word and the work that the work accords with the word and the word with the work. She should be embellished with the flower of continence

1. Regulations on the duty of the abbot/abbess in other rules and monastic norms and in hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 115 | *LOrs* 7–11; 13–16; 40 | *RBas* 15 | *AugPraec* VII | *RIVP* 1.10–18; 2.1–9; 5.11–14 | *ROr* 1; 16–17 | *3RP* 2–3; 11 | *CaesRV* 18.1; 27.1; 35.4–10; 41; 47; 61; 64 | *RAM* 34; 43; 50 | *RT* 23.5–14 | *RFer* 30; 37–38 | *RM* 2; 7.53–56; 93 | *RBen* 2; 64 | *RI* 2; 9.3; 20.1 | *RFruc* 2; 19 | *RCom* 3; 10–11 | *RcuiP* 19–20; 22–24 | *RD* 1; 4; 59; 77 | Cassian, *Collationes* XVIII.4 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, pp. 252–253 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278 | *Institutio canonicorum* 123; 138 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 7; 14; 19 | Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, *SC* 345, pp. 418–438 | *V. Anstrudis* 4 | *V. Bertilae* 5–6 | *V. Geretrudis* 2; 6 | *V. Rusticulae* 22 | *V. Sadalbergae* 25.

1. References to the abbess in the *Regula cuiusdam*: 2.7–8; 3.11; 3.17–19; 4.9; 6.23; 7.1–6; 8.11; 9.7–17; 10.1; 10.5–6; 10.14–17; 12.6–9; 13.1–15; 15.6–10; 16.1; 17.1–9; 19.1–8; 22.12–13

1.1 *VCol* II.1: *ex Burgundionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate*; I.14: *et genere et prudentia nobilem*; II.23: *genere nobilis*. On nobility of the abbot/abbess and nobility by birth and morals: Jerome, *Ep.* 108.1; *V. Aldegundis* 2; *V. Amati* 2; *V. Austrebertae* 4; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 1; *V. Bertilae* 1; *V. Eustadiolae* 1; *V. Germani Grandiuallensis* 1; *V. Leobae* 3; *V. Romarici* 2; *V. Rusticulae* 1; *V. Sadalbergae* 1; *V. Segolenae* 1.4; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 1; *Virt. Geretrudis* 6; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.9.
1.3–4 Exemplary behaviour of the abbess/abbot, cfr *RIVP* 2.3–9; *CaesRV* 35.6; *RM* 2.11; *RI* 2.2; *RcuiP* 19.1–3; Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 2–3, *SC* 345, pp. 424–428; *V. Aldegundis* 21; *V. Austrebertae* 12; 14; *V. Leobae* 3; 11 | *V. Bertilae* 6: *Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila* ***exemplu****m et* ***forma pietati****s omnibus per* ***continentia****m et plenissimam dilectionem, et non solum per sanctum* ***eloqui****um, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu* ***religionis*** *studio subditorum instruebat* ***mores****, ut se* ***inuicem diligerent*** *(RcuiV* 5.1–3*)* ***caritatis affectu*** *(RcuiV* 22.1*) puriterque et caste seu et sobrie in omnibus conuersarent, atque ad cursum uel orationem semper essent paratae, hospitumque et* ***pauerpum curam gerer****ent (RcuiV* 4.13*), dilectionis studio et proximi amore*. See also *V. Segolenae* 30.31: *nec docuit uerbis, quod non implevit exemplis*; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.19: *…et exemplis uitae caelestis esse coepit et monitis*.
1.3 *Etenim*: twelve times in *RcuiV*; twelve times in all monastic rules together; 18 times in *VCol*; twice in *VIoh*; otherwise rare in hagiographic texts. | *aurem accomodare*: *VCol* I.prologue; I.3; I.15; II.4; II.9.
1.4–6 Cfr *RBas* 130.
1.4 On the abbess/abbot as teacher: Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9; Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, *CCCM* 44, p. 99; *V. Austrebertae* 11; *V. Bertilae* 5; *V. Leobae* 3; *V. Rusticulae* 5; *V. Segolenae* 30.31.
1.5 *Fructus* in a (positive and negative) metaphorical sense appears in *RcuiV* 2.15; 6.17; 9.4; 9.20; 12.12; 12.13; also five times in *VCol* and once in *VIoh*.
1.6–8 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.5–10; 3.23. | The abbess represents the monastery, but the everyday interactions with outsiders seem to be assigned to the porters. Cfr also *CaesRV* 36.5; 61.2–3. | Similar lists of virtues: *V. Anstrudis* 4; *V. Filiberti* 4; *V. Sadalbergae* 17; 25.
1.6 *Sic ergo*/*sic tamen* (rarely in other rules): *RcuiV* 5.6; 9.18; 10.10; 12.2; 12.18; 14.5; 14.9; 15.6; 17.10; 21.4; *De accedendo* 2; 22. | *castitatis flore*: Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 5 | *V. Bertilae* 1: *ore laudabilior*.

desideriis imitabilis exemplo. 7 Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda. 8 Erga **peregrinorum** et hospitum **sollici**tudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta.

9 Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat ut ad cultum relegionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat. 10 Sic **misericordi**ter bonitatis dona distribuat, quatenus ex **nimi**a bonitate facinorum fomenta non **nutri**at. 11 Sit ergo bonis bona per meritum, sit malis mala per flagellum, quod mediante scientia agendum est, iuxta Psalmistae
207va orationem dicentis: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scien|tiam doce me, Domine*. 12 In utroque etenim abbatissae cauendum est ne aut **nimi**a bonitate in subiectarum cordibus **uitia nutri**at, aut nimia disciplinae austeritate ea quae leni increpatione sananda fuerant, rigida **correptione** diripiantur. 13 Incautis etenim sic **bland**a per**suasion**e subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat. 14 Sanis uero **moribus** ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant. 15 Nihil etenim prodest coepisse, si in opere bono quod coeperant non studeant perseuerare. 16 Habeat ergo tot **anim**os mater quot **habe**t in suo regimine filias, ut iuxta omnium mores **omnium** nouerit **uiti**a cohercere.

1.7–9 Cfr I Thess. 5, 14 | **1.11** Ps. 118/119, 66 (*LXX*) | **1.15** Cfr Matth. 10, 22

1.7 ut *W*] et *c* | **1.8** praesta] praestans M^2, praestus $FVWTPA$, praesto *h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | **1.9** religionis M^{pc} | **1.13** saniei VPA^{pc} *me h* | quoddammodo M^{ac} | medendo *me h* | **1.14** hortando M^2 *Kh* | **1.16** quot M^2 *Kh c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] quod MFT | coherceri $M^{ac}FWT$

1.8 *RBen* 53.15: Pauperum et **peregrinorum** maxime susceptioni cura **sollici**te exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur; nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.
1.10–12 *RBen* 64.9–14: Oportet ergo eum esse doctum lege diuina, ut sciat et sit unde proferat noua et uetera, castum, sobrium, misericordem, 10 et semper *superexaltet* ***misericordi****am iudicio* (Iac. 2, 13), ut idem ipse consequatur. 11 Oderit **uitia**, diligat fratres. 12 In ipsa autem **correptione** prudenter agat et ne quid **nimi**s, ne dum nimis eradere cupit aeruginem frangatur uas; 13 suamque fragilitatem semper suspectus sit, memineritque calamum quassatum non conterendum. 14 In quibus non dicimus ut permittat **nutri**ri **uitia**, sed prudenter et cum caritate ea amputet, ut uiderit cuique expedire sicut iam diximus,…
1.13–15 *RBen* 2.31–32: Sciatque quam difficilem et arduam rem suscipit regere animas et multorum seruire **moribus**, et alium quidem **bland**imentis, alium uero increpationibus, alium **suasion**ibus; 32 et secundum uniuscuiusque qualitatem uel intellegentiam, ita se omnibus conformet et aptet ut non solum detrimenta gregis sibi commissi non patiatur, uerum in augmentatione boni gregis gaudeat.
1.16–19 *RBen* 2.37–40: Sciatque quia qui suscipit **anim**as regendas paret se ad rationem reddendam, 38 et quantum sub **cura** sua fratrum se **habe**re scierit numerum, agnoscat pro certo quia in die iudicii ipsarum **omnium** animarum est redditurus Domino rationem, sine dubio addita et suae animae. 39 Et ita, timens semper futuram discussionem pastoris de creditis ouibus, cum de alienis ratiociniis cauet, redditur de suis sollicitus, 40 et cum de monitionibus suis emendationem aliis subministrat ipse efficitur a **uiti**is emendatus.

and chastity, praiseworthy in the mouth of everyone, through her example imitable for the desires of everyone. 7 She should be adorned with the benevolence of love, so that she delights the hearts of all the faithful. 8 [She should be] excellent in the attendance of strangers (*peregrini*) and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and needy.

9 She should correct the idleness of offenders to lead [their] lascivious and feeble minds back to a way of life of piety. 10 She should mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness in such a way that she does not kindle the fuel of their misdeeds out of too much kindness. 11 Therefore she should be good to the good according to merit; she should be evil to the evil through the scourge. This ought to be done mediated by knowledge, according to the prayer of the Psalmist, who says: *Lord, teach me kindness, discipline, and knowledge.* 12 Therefore, either way the abbess ought to take heed: she should neither nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects through too much kindness, nor should they who should have been healed by gentle exhortation, be destroyed by too great a strictness of reproach. 13 She should therefore in such a way assist the reckless with mild persuasion that she pours, as it were, the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood. 14 But to those of sound character she should offer these things by admonishment, so that what they have begun to do, they may bring to an end by improving themselves. 15 For indeed, there is no gain in having begun something, if they are not eager to persist in the good work that they have begun. 16 Therefore, the mother should have as many souls as she has daughters under her guidance, so that according to the character of each of them she may know to restrain the vices of all. 17 So

1.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 15.9. | Care of the sick: *CaesRV* 32.3; *RBen* 36.10 | Care for the poor and guests: *CaesRV* 27.1; 38.1; 43.3; 61.2–3; *RI* 21.5; *RCom* 10; *Institutio canonicorum* 141; *VCol* II.4 | *V. Bertilae* 2: *…de caeteris sororibus sub ditione suae matris piam gereret ista sollicitudinem; infirmorum, infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur*; *V. Geretrudis* 6; *V. Segolenae* 2.6.

1.9–19 Cfr Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 4, *SC* 345, pp. 430–432.

1.9–15 Cfr *RBen* 2.23–30 (without parallels in phrasing); *V. Wandregiseli prima* 15.

1.9 *VCol* II.10: *corrigere delinquentes* | *rationem reddere*: *AugPraec* VII.3; *CaesRV* 35.8; etc. | *ignauia* (not in other rules): three times in *RcuiV*, also in *De accedendo* 8, ubiquitous in Columbanus' works | *cultus religionis*: *RcuiV* 24.5; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I.5; I.10; II.11; II.12; II.23; *VIoh* 1; *V. Vedastis* 3.

1.10 *Fomenta*: *RcuiV* 5.16; 20.5; *RBen* 28.3; *VCol* II.1; II.2 | *nutrire* in a similar sense: *CaesRV* 24.5–6.

1.11–17 Cfr *RBen* 27. The motive of *discretio* and finding balance between moderation and strictness, and the necessity of an individual assessment of the nuns is an important topic in this Rule. See e.g. *RcuiV* 2.6; 2.19; 3.15.

1.11 *Bonitate et disciplina*: *VCol* II.23 | *scientia*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

1.12 Cfr *RT* 8.5 (*blanda exortatione*). | *subiecta* (for a nun): *VCol* II.11; *V, Sadalbergae* 25.

1.13–14 Cfr *RBen* 64.11–15; *CaesRV* 35.7–8: *Corripiant inquietas, consolentur pusilanimes, sustineant infirmas* (applies to all superiors). | *VCol* II.1: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta absciderétur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur. VIoh* 2: *…ut precedencium monachorum studia imitando prosequerentur et celestiis antidoti pocula prebendo, quo peccatorum sanies pelleretur, omni nisu adortatus est.*

1.13 The text provides *eorum* instead of *earum*. | *cura medendi* (not metaphorical): *RcuiV* 15.8.

1.14–15 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.3; 8.8; 17.4.

1.15 On *perseuerantia*: Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 21; *V. Sadalbergae* 28.

1.16 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.1; *RM* 2.7/33; *RcuiP* 24.1–6; *V. Bertilae* 5: *Quasi ergo mater proprios filios uel filias diligebat cunctos,…*

1.17 *In omnis* appears 13 times in *RcuiV* and 15 times in *VCol*.

17 Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat. 18 Agat omnium **cura**m, ut de **omnium** profectu **merced**is **rec**ipiat lucra, 19 ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.

II. QVALIS DEBEAT ESSE PRAEPOSITA MONASTERII

1 Praeposita monasterii non aetate saenili sed moribus constituenda est. 2 Multas etenim prolixitas annorum attollit, sed decus torpentis uitae ad infantiae in**maturi**tatem tepescendo reducit. 3 Constituenda ergo est praeposita moribus grauis, sermone sollers, ingenio fortis, consideratione uigil, cursu inpi|gra, 4 correptione pia, disciplina moderata, actu casta, **moribus sobr**ia, dispensatione equa, humilitate ornata, patiens, mitis, **non turbulent**a, non iracunda, 5 non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata, non prodiga, non garrula, sed omni actu religionis ornata, 6 quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare.

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1.18 Cfr Philem. 1, 21–25; I Cor. 3, 8/14; on *merces*, cfr Marc. 9, 41; Matth. 5, 12; Matth. 5, 46; Matth. 6

2.3–6 Cfr I Tim. 3, 1–10; Tit. 1, 7–9

1.17 ne *V*] nec *me h c* | piaetas M^{ac} | piaeti M^{ac} | **1.18** lucru M^{ac}, lucrum *c* | **1.19** quandocunque *h* | ad inuicendum M^{ac} | suplementum M^{ac}

2.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
2.1–18 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
2.1–9 *ed.: s*

2.tit. preposita M^{ac} | **2.2** decus] dedecus A^{pc} *s me h*, decu A^{ac}, cfr commentary | **2.2** tepecendo M^{ac} | **2.3** ergo est] *tr. s c* | **2.5** superbae M^{ac}

1.18 *RBen* 64.6: …scientes pro hoc se **rec**epturos **merced**em bonam, si illud caste et zelo Dei faciant, sicut e diuerso peccatum si neglegant.

2.1–8 *RBen* 31.1–4: Cellararius monasterii elegatur de congregatione, sapiens, **maturi**s **moribus**, **sobr**ius, non multum edax, non elatus, **non turbulent**us, non iniuriosus, non tardus, non prodigus, 2 sed **tim**ens Deum; qui omni congregationi sit sicut pater. 3 **Cura**m gerat de omnibus; 4 sine iussione **abba**tis **nihil faciat**.

2 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 27.16, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam.
2.1–9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 65.21, *inc.* …deinceps autem qualis esse debeat ex sententiis patrum demonstrandum est. "Praepositus…

great should the providence for all be that neither love takes away the place of punishment, nor punishment that of love. [18] She should perform the care of all so that she receives the profits of her reward from the progress of all [sisters], [19] so that she, as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, receives as much profit for her toils as protective measures she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy.

II. WHAT SORT OF PERSON THE PRIORESS OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

[1] The prioress of the monastery ought not to be appointed because of her old age but because of her character. [2] For indeed, the abundance of years extols many, but it reduces the splendour of life of someone inactive to the immaturity of infancy by becoming tepid. [3] Therefore, a prioress ought to be appointed who is serious in her character, skilful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, energetic in service, [4] loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behaviour, sober in character, equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, [5] not defiled by the vice of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous, but adorned with every behaviour of piety, [6] so that she knows how to support those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid.

1.18–19 Cfr *RM* 93.88–90. Both use here *praesentis uitae*.
1.18 Other reward formulae: *RcuiV* 2.15; 3.6; 3.22; 3.25; 4.14; 4.21; 5.11; 9.20; 12.23; 13.5; 15.9; see also *RBen* 5.18; *CaesRV* 27.1; *RD* 1.20. *CaesRV* 35.8–9 emphasizes the superior's responsibility rather than her reward. | *V. Rusticulae* 7; 24; 28; *V. Vedastis* 1: *mercedis lucra*.
1.19 *Presidium*: *RcuiV* 6.16. See also *RcuiV* 22.3 on the *ambitus uirtutum*. | *corruptio praesentis uitae*: Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* XXI.2, *CCSL* 141, p. 175 | Cfr also Caesarius, *Sermo* 5, c. 5, *CCSL* 103, p. 29 on the *praemia*, *lucra*, and *munera* a priest would receive for his strict *cura animarum*.

2. Other monastic rules and norms on the *praeposita/praepositus* and on *seniores*: *RPac, praefatio Hieronymi* 2 | *RPac Pr* 101 | *RPac Inst* 17–18 | *RPac Iud* 9 | *RPac Leg* 14 | *LOrs* 7–11; 14–18 | *AugPraec* VII | *ROr* 2–5; 16–17; 20–21; 29; 46 | *CaesRV* 18.1; 35.1–4 | *RT* 23.1–12 | *RFer* 17 | *RPS* 4.1–2; 5; 7; 9; 14.2; 17.1; 27–29; 31; 35–36; 39.1 | *RM* 11; 92 | *RBen* 21; 65 | *RI* 21.1 | *RFruc* 2; 19 | *RCom* 11 | *RcuiP* 19–20; 24–25 | *RD* 5 | *Institutio canonicorum* 139 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 24.

2. References to the *praeposita* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 7.1; 9.9; 10.17; 11.7; 12.4; 12.9; 12.19; 12.27; 16.4; 22.17; 22.21

2.1–6 *RcuiV* and *RD* 5 apply independently from each other the duties of the *cellararius* as described in *RBen* 31.1–2 to the *praeposita*. For similar lists of qualifications, see *RPac Inst* 18; *RM* 92.11–25; Pelagius, *Verba Seniorum* I.8, *PL* 73, col. 855C–856A; *V. Wandregiseli prima* 11.
2.2 On *decus/dedecus*: three manuscripts of Smaragdus *Expositio Regulae* emendate *decus* to *dedecus*: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275), s. IX^{ex}; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 1025, s. XII; København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. S. 176. *VIoh* 19 also uses *decus* in the context of old age: *plenus etate corporis et decore religionis*.
2.3–5 *V. Geretrudis* 2.
2.3 *Cursus impiger*: Ambrose, *De Abraham libri duo* I.6.45 | *sollers/solers* (also *RcuiV* 14.4): *VCol* I.2; I.24; II.1, otherwise rare.
2.4 *VCol* II.10: *piis correptionibus*.
2.5 *VCol* II.1: *arrogantiae uitio maculati*.
2.6 On motivation, see, e.g., *RcuiV* 2.13; 2.16–18; 3.25; 4.23–24; 10.14; 12.23; 16.5; 22.5. | *tepescens*: five times in *RcuiV*, otherwise rare.

7 Super quam abbatissa requiescat, ut in nullo ab eius praeceptis deuiet, 8 sed in omnibus subdita et in iussis senioris detenta **nihil**que **abbatis**sae **uoluntat**i sit **contra**ria, aut **faciat** aut **ordin**et faciendum, sed omnia per eius INTERROGAtionem, iuxta illud quod scriptum est: *INTERROGA PATREM TVVM ET ADNVNTIABIT TIBI, MAIORES TVOS ET DICENT TIBI.* 9 INTERROGANDVM semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum CONSILIO animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent. 10 Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio. 11 Quae rei qualis dispendii fuerit occasio, Scripturae ueritas adtestatur, qui, omissam dominationem undecim tribuum, uix cum una tribu inter tot praessurarum dispendia, absque mortis crudelitate reliquum uitae peregit.

12 Debet namque esse omnium necessitatum tam corporis quam animae prouida, ut et subsidia presentis necessitatis porrigat, et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat. 13 Humiles et propter Christum subiectas honorando in sublime prouehat, sese uero attollentes castigationis | flagello ad gradus humilitatis retrahat. 14 **Cura**m in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris reperiatur fuscata, 15 ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.

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16 Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias

2.7 super…requiescat] biblical language, cfr e.g. Ps. 4, 9; Is. 11, 2; Mich. 3, 11 | **2.8** Deut. 32, 7 | **2.9** Cfr Is. 56, 10–11 | **2.10–11** Cfr III Reg. 12, 6–19; II Par. 10, 5–19 | **2.12** Cfr I Tim. 3, 4 | **2.15** Cfr Ps. 127/128, 2 | **2.16** Cfr Act. 3, 1

2.7 quam *F*] quem *sc* | **2.8** nihilque] nihil quod *Vh* | contrarium *h* | tibi] *om. h* | **2.9** absque] a *meh* | **2.11** rei] res *VM²Kmeh*, regi *TPA* | attestatur *M²Kmeh* | omissa dominatione *h* | **2.12** ut] *om. PA* | excitanda *F'VTPA*[ac] | **2.14** negligentiae *M²Kmeh* | **2.16** seniores *h* | earum *h* | negligentias *M²Kmeh* | aliquod *c* | illicite *M²Kmeh*

2.7 *RBen* 65.16: Qui tamen praepositus illa agat cum reuerentia, quae ab abbate suo ei iniuncta fuerint **nihil contra abbatis uoluntat**em aut **ordin**ationem **faci**ens.
2.8–9 *RColM* 9: Ergo si nihil sine CONSILIum est INTERROGANDVM. Inde etiam per Moysen praecipitur, *INTERROGA PATREM TVVM ET TE ANNVNTIABIT TIBI, MAIORES TVIS ET DICENT TIBI.* (Deut. 32, 7)

7 The abbess should rest above her, so that [the prioress] deviates by no means from her precepts, 8 but she should be subordinate in all regards and be bound by the commands of [her] senior. And she should never do anything that is opposed to the will of the abbess, or assign it to be done, but do all things by asking [the abbess], according to that which has been written: *Ask your father and he will make it known to you;* [*ask*] *your elders and they will tell you*. 9 One must always ask, so that the inferior souls by no means differ from the advice of the elders – [that] by no means the sheep turn away from their path without the will of the shepherd. 10 For Roboam dismissed the advice of his elders, following the advice of the younger. 11 The truth of Scripture testifies to what a cause of loss this matter was: [Roboam] spent, after he had lost governance over eleven tribes, with just one tribe in the midst of so many damages of hardship, the rest of his life without the cruelty of death.

12 In fact, [a prioress] ought to be provident to all necessities, both of body and soul, so that she provides the supply of the present needs and incites the hearts of those under her to sing the praise of the Creator, rousing them by persistent admonition. 13 She should in an approving manner raise to the heights the humble and those who are for Christ's sake subjected but draw those who exalt themselves back to a state of humility by the scourge of castigation. 14 She has to have such attentive care for the belongings of the monastery – be they vessels or implements – that by no means she be found darkened by the gloom of negligence, 15 so that, when she applies every care of sacred work, she receive from the Almighty the profit of [her] toil.

16 Every Saturday after the Ninth Hour of prayer, both the senior prioress and the junior prioresses should visit the beds of all the sisters, and they should do [that] in order

2.7–11 This section can be read as a reply to the warnings against installing a *praepositus* in *RBen* 65. Compare also to *RBen* 3.

2.7 Contradicting *RBen* 64.16 on the abbot: *quia numquam requiescit*. | *in nullo*: six times in *RcuiV* (four times in this chapter), only nine times in all other rules together.

2.8–10 On *interrogare*, see also *Ordo Casinensis I* 2, *CCM* 1, p. 101.

2.8 Cfr *RBen* 65.8; 65.16–18; *RcuiP* 1.5. | Deut. 32, 7 appears in *RColM* 9 and Columbanus, *Epistula* 1.2. | On the necessity of *consilium*: *V. Balthildis* 16.

2.9–10 Cfr *RBen* 3.12–13=*RD* 2.12–13; Cassian, *Collationes* II.11.7.

2.10 Possible sources on Rehoboam: Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam* III.4; Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 21(42), *PL* 44, col. 907; Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum libri tres* II.18.92–93, *PL* 16, col. 128B.

2.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.1; *CaesRM* 16. | *VCol* I.22: *corda excitare*; *VCol* II.1: *corda subditorum*.

2.13 Cfr *CaesRV* 35.1. | The sentence numbering in Bonnerue's edition (*erigat humiles,* 13 *et propter…*) does not make sense here.

2.14 Sacredness of vessels and tools: cfr *RBen* 31.10; *RColC* 15. See also Diem, 'The stolen glove'. | *tenebras negligentiae*: Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* XIII.3, *CCSL* 141, p. 91; Ps.-Rufinus, *Commentarius in LXXV psalmos*, XVII.29, *PL* 21, col. 707C; cfr also *RM* 91.33. | *VCol* II.6: *fructus recipiant*; *VIoh* 1: *laboris fructus reciperet*; *V. Sadalbergae* 27: *fructum laboris*.

2.15–2.19 The "reward formula" in 2.15 reads like a concluding sentence, cfr *RcuiV* 1.19; 3.25. | *CaesRV* 35.8–9 emphasizes the responsibility of the superiors rather than their expectation of rewards. | The remainder of this chapter (*RcuiV* 2.16–2.19) speaks, differently from the previous section, of several *praepositae* instead of only one. It may have been added at a later stage. *RM* 11 assumes as well that a monastery has several priors.

2.16–18 Cfr *RBen* 22.6–8; *RI* 13.2; *RFruc* 17; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.25.

2.16 Cfr *CaesRV* 9; 30.2; *CaesRM* 22.11; *RAM* 7.1; *RAV* 5; *RT* 7.4–6; *RM* 82.28; *RBen* 55.16–18; *RI* 13.2; *RFruc* 2; *RD* 24. | The rule uses *eorum* instead of *earum*. | On hiding things near one's bed, see also Council of Tours (567) 15. | *sine commeatu* also in *RcuiV* 3.11; 4.8; *VCol* I.15 | *RD* 23.1: *tam iuniores quam etiam seniores*.

inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum. 17 Itemque post conpletam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant. 18 Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. 19 Et eas quas tarditate uel segnitia culpabiles reppererint, prout culpa uel aetas fuerit, aut increpatione aut flagello corripiant.

III. DE MONASTERII PORTARIA

1 Portaria seu ostiaria **monasterii** tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate **sen**ili, *quibus mundus* … si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent, 2 sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: *Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* 3 Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt? 4 Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae, ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant: *Auerte*

3.1 quibus mundus] cfr Gal. 6, 14 | **3.2** Ps. 72/73, 28 (*LXX*) | **3.4** Ps. 118/119, 37

2.17 expergiscentem M^{ac} *VPA*^{ac} | **2.19** signitia M^{ac}, seginitie *h* | reperint *me h*

3.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
3.1–25 *codd.: MF'VWK; edd.: me h ma c*
3.1–2 *ed.: s*
3.4–25 (auerte oculos…recipiant mercedem) *cod. R* (from ed. Claussen)

3.1–4 *RBen* 66.1: Ad portam **monasterii** ponatur **sen**ex sapiens, qui sciat accipere responsum et reddere, et cuius maturitas eum non sinat uagari.

3 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 71.4, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. III.
3.1–2; 3.5–7; 3.10–11; 3.20–21 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 66.4, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum quidem magister ait "Portarii…

to investigate their negligence: whether anything may be found retained illicitly and without permission. 17 Likewise, after Compline they should visit the beds of all [the sisters] with lanterns, so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters]. 18 This is to be done likewise at all night-time services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity. 19 And those whom they find guilty of tardiness or sluggishness, they should chastise with exhortation or by the scourge, according to guilt or age.

III. ON THE PORTER OF THE MONASTERY

1 A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought be of the sort who builds up reward for all the nuns together: [sisters] who are old in age, to whom the world [is crucified] if they desire nothing of the present pomp any more, 2 but let all say, clinging with all affection of the heart to the Creator: *It is good for me to adhere to God, to place my hope in the Lord God.* 3 For what should they desire from present vanities? For they have begun to love Christ after they have despised superficial things. They have understood through contemplation of the mind that the highest good remains in Christ. 4 Therefore, [porters] should be very steadfast in the state of their mind, so that they may say to the Lord in prayer with

2.17 Cfr *RBen* 55.16–17; *RM* 44.19. | Parallels in terminology: *V. Austrebertae* 15; *Mirac. Austrebertae* 3 | On rising for prayer: *RcuiV* 14.15 | *VCol* I.3: *…ut de suo ingenio cognoscant uel flagrantem ubertate sensum uel neglegentiae somno torpentem, coepit ab eo ex dificilium quaestionum materia sensus querere.* In *V. Austrebertae* 15, the abbess herself controls the dormitory.

2.18 *Cursus* as reference to liturgy is not used in *RBen* and *CaesRV* (here rather: *opus Dei*), but it is common in the Rules of Columbanus (esp. *RColM* 7) and in several other rules, for example *2RP*; *RAM*; *RAV*; *RFer.* | *Tepiditas* appears in *CaesRV* 15.2; *VCol* II.7; foundation charter of Solignac 4 (*MGH SRM* 4, p. 748); otherwise rare. | On motivation, cfr *RColM* 1; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9. | On raising for prayer, cfr *RBen* 22.8; on being angry when awoken from sleep, cfr *RBas* 75–76. | Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 9; *V. Bertilae* 2: *et ad cursum diuinum uel ad orationem cum feruore mentis deuotissime festinaret.*

2.19 Cfr *RBen* 30.2–3 on punishment according to age. | *segnitia*: *VCol* I.17; *V. Eligii* II.43; otherwise rare.

3. Other monastic rules and norms on the *portaria/portarius*: *RPac Pr* 53 | *ROr* 26; 40–41 | *CaesRV* 30.1; 43.2–4 | *RT* 11 (on the *prouisor*) | *RM* 95 | *RBen* 66 | *RI* 21.2 | *RD* 60 | *Constitutiones Corbeienses* 18 <VI, 1> | *Institutio canonicorum* 117; 143 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 26.

3. Reference to the *portaria* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 9.12

3.1–3 *V. Sadalbergae* 12 (in a different context): *…flagrabatque instantissime animus, ut, spreta faleramenta saeculi pompisque mundanis postpositis, ad uirtutum culmen* (cfr *RcuiV* 22.8) *apicemque sanctitatis ualeret ascendere*; *VCol* I.10: *faleramenta saeculi et praesentium pompam*; *V. Wandregisili altera* 3.15: *praesentium pompam facultatum contemnentes*; *V. Geretrudis* 2: *senilem antecessit aetatem.* | The term *faleramenta* appears in the *VCol* I.prologue; I.10; I.14 (*faleramenta praesentis uitae*); II.1; II. 9; II.12. It may have been a neologism created by Jonas. | *VCol* II.23: *calcando perfuncturia.*

3.1 *RBen* 66 uses *portarius*, *VCol* I.22 uses *ostiarius*. | Old age of the porter: *RM* 95.1–4; *RBen* 66.1 | *omnes simul (congregatio)* also in *RcuiV* 3.12; 11.6; 18.3; *VCol* I.5 | The fact that *quibus mundus, si qui…* is retained in most manuscripts (except for two later manuscripts of Smaragdus' *Expositio*) shows that the audience of the *RcuiV* could easily fill in the obvious lacuna: *…crucifixus est*, according to Gal. 6, 14. This biblical verse appears also in *RcuiV* 17.2; 23.2; and in numerous other monastic rules: *RBas* 4; 82; *RM* 91; *RAM/RAV* prologue; *CaesRV* 52.7; *RColM* 4; *RcuiP* 11.4; *RLea* 17; *RFruc* 1. See also Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 7.9; *VCol* II.13.

3.2 *V. Bertilae* 1: *pleno cordis affectu.*

3.3–5 Cfr Cassian, *Collationes* XXIV.23.

208[b] *oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos.* [5] Tale semper | superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur, iuxta quod Dominus ait: *Sic luceat lux uestra coram omnibus hominibus, ut uideant opera uestra bona et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est.* [6] Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.

[7] Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis pacientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant. [8] Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. [9] Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.

[10] **Pauperum, peregrinorum** et hospitum **cura**m inter omnia habentes, quia in his Christus rec**ipitur**, sicut ipse ait: *Quaecumque his minimis fecistis, mihi fecistis.* [11] Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid **accipere**, **nullatenus sine** commeatu **abbatis**sae facere praesumant. [12] Et quodcumque a

3.5 Matth. 5, 16 | **3.7** Cfr II Cor. 13, 1 | **3.9** Cfr Is. 2, 11; Prou. 9, 16 | **3.10** Cfr Matth. 25, 40; on *pauperi, peregrini*: Leu. 19, 10 and 23, 22

3.5–7 *ed.: s*
3.10–11 *ed.: s*
3.13–16 *ed.: s*
3.20–22 *ed.: s*

3.1 portarii *c*, portarius *F'Ws* | seu ostiaria] *om. s* | ostiarii *c*, ostiarius *F'W* | simul mercedem] *tr. F'V*, simul *om. Ws* | quibus mundus si quae] qui *V*, quibus mundus sequi *F'Wme*, quibus mundus silet h^1, quibus mundus crucifixus est si qui *s* (*coni. Engelbert/Spannagel, see also commentary*) | **3.2** adhere M^{ac} | domino *om. h* | **3.3** perfunctoriis contemptis *hc*, perfunctorii *F'*, perfunctori *V*, perfuntorii *W*, contempti *F'VW* | **3.4** ergo] *om. c* | meos] nostros *h* | **3.5** ostendant *V*] ostendam *RF'W* | uestra] *om. R* | omnibus] *om. h* | **3.6** lucre *R* | **3.8** singule M^{ac} | **3.9** num quamquam M^2 | sed] se *R* | dimisso $M^{ac}R$, remisso *h* | uultu] *om. R* | **3.10** recipitur] suscipitur *Rsc* | quaecumque his] quod uni ex *s* | **3.11** foris *Rsc* | **3.12** uel] et *Rc* | antea] ante ea *R* | cellarium *F'c*] cellararium *RVW*

3.10 *RBen* 53.15: **Pauperum** et **peregrinorum** maxime susceptioni **cura** sollicite exhibeatur, quia in ipsis magis Christus sus**cipitur**; nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.
3.11 *RBen* 54.1–2: **Nullatenus** liceat monacho neque a parentibus suis neque a quoquam hominum nec sibi inuicem litteras, eulogias uel quaelibet munuscula **accipere** aut dare **sine** praecepto **abbatis**. [2] Quod si etiam a parentibus suis ei quicquam directum fuerit non praesumat suscipere illud, nisi prius indicatum fuerit abbati.

the Prophet: *Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way.* [5] They should always show such an example to those who arrive, that also outside [the monastery] the name of the Lord be glorified by strangers, according to what the Lord says: *So should your light shine before all men, that they see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.* [6] And inside [the monastery] let them acquire the profits of reward from their fellow sisters while they take in their turn care of all outside.

[7] They should be so secure in character with humility – the mistress of the virtues – that they show the favours of all patience in their friendly conversation. [8] They should never speak alone or in pairs without a third as a witness. [9] They should never look attentively at lay persons or clerics by lifting up their eyes, but should speak what is necessary with a face lowered through humility and eyes cast down.

[10] Above all things they are to take care of the poor, strangers (*peregrini*), and guests, because in them Christ is received, just as He himself says: *Whatever you have done for the least of these, you have done for me.* [11] They should by no means dare to give anything to the outside [world], to serve anyone, or to receive anything from outside without the permis-

3.3–8 Cfr *V. Bertilae* 2: *Totum uoluit esse in Christo et cum Christo quod uixit. Non oculum uoluptati, non aurem ludibrio, non animum accommodans uoluptati, semper se regens anchora grauitatis, talem se intra septa monasterii tractauit, ut esset in multis utilitatibus matri spiritali similis.*

3.3 Similar rhetorical questions can be found in *RcuiV* 9.6; 17.2; 17.3; 17.8; 23.2–3; 23.4; *De accedendo* 8–9; *VCol* II.25. All of them express the incompatibility of certain acts with the monastic decision to leave the world and to live a monastic life. Other examples in *RBas* 21; *CaesRV* 21.5; 24.5–7; 52.4–5; *CaesRM* 13.14; *RT* 14.8; *RFer* 8.3; *RI* 13; *RD* 52.10. | The term *manere* is used in a similar manner ten times in the *RcuiV* and 13 times in *VCol*.

3.4 Similar construction in *De accedendo* 5: *et cum eodem* [*Prophetam*] *dicere possimus: Inquisiui Dominum…*

3.5–10 *RcuiV* 1.6–8 assigns this task to the abbess. See also Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 5, *SC* 345, pp. 434–438.

3.5 Cfr *RT* 11.1–2. Matth. 5, 6 appears also in *RFruc* 11.

3.6 On *humilitas* as *magistra uirtutum*: Cassian, *Collationes* XV.7 | *consodales*: *VCol* II.13 (cfr *MGH SRM* 4, p. 134, footnote g); *VIoh* 9: *suis consodalibus*; *V. Balthildis* 2; 16; *V. Bertilae* 2. Much more common is *sodales*.

3.7 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.6.

3.8 On mutual control and witnesses: *RPac Pr* 56; *ROr* 22; *3RP* 8; *CaesRV* 36.5–6; 50.3; *RT* 4.1; *RFer* 4.5–6; *RLea* 17; *RCom* 15; *RColC* 15; *RD* 57; and especially *CaesRV* 23.6; 38.1; 51.3 | *CaesRV* 38.1 describes the abbess as the only person who interacts with the outside world. See also *V. Anstrudis* 9; *V. Sadalbergae* 22. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, p. 246; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

3.9 On looking and eye contacts: *RcuiV* 10.12; *AugPraec* IV.4; *CaesRV* 23; *RBen* 7.62–63; 53.23–24 | *VCol* I.17: *intentis oculis*.

3.10 On the care for guests and pilgrims: *RPac Pr* 50–55; *RBas* 98; *RIVP* 2.36–40; *2RP* 3.14–15; *RMac* 20; *RAM* 14–16; 48; *RAV* 14; John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines*, *PL* 72, col. 860B; *RM* 19.18; 79; *RBen* 53.21–22; 66.3–4; *RI* 1; 9.1; 23; *RFruc* 9; *RcuiP* 12.4–5; Rufinus, *Historia monachorum* XVII.5; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 18–19; *V. Balthildis* 12; *V. Segolenae* 2.6. | The only other sources that quote Matth. 25, 40 in a similar way are Alcuin, *V. Vedastis*, dedication letter; Smaragdus, *Summarium in epistolas et euangelia*, *PL* 102, col. 567D; Odo of Cluny, *Collationes* III.26, *PL* 133, col. 609C.

3.11–12 Giving and receiving gifts, cfr *RPac Pr* 53; *RBas* 31; *RCas* 21; *RMac* 24; *2RP* 1.10; *CaesRV* 25.1–2; 30.4–5; 43.1–2; 51.5; *CaesRM* 15; *RT* 19.1; *RI* 19.4; *RColC* 15; *RD* 53; 60.3. | *VCol* I.15: *nullum alium esse, qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset*. The expression *sine commeatu* appears also in *RcuiV* 2.16; 4.8; *commeatus* appears nine times in *RcuiV*, once in *RD*, three times in *VCol*, but in no other rule. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 247; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent qui hoc exhibuit.

13 Fabulis quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet **audieri**nt, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis **refer**ant. 14 **Si** horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, **regulari** paenitentia castigentur. 15 Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas
208va confitentis | cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur. 16 Si uero CONTVMACIE CRIMEN INCVRRIT, et modum paenitentiae augebit.

17 Claues ostiorum uel portae nullatenus penes se nocte retineant, sed ad abbatissam nocte deferentes praesentent et mane post secundam recipiant. 18 Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocae implere studeant, ut ab occasu solis uel cum fuerit opus necessitatis perfectum, usque ad secundam abbatissa claues retineat, 19 nisi necessitas euenerit, ut per comeatum abbatissae nocte retineantur et post secundam denuo tribuantur. 20 A signo uespertino usque ad secundam impletam nullatenus portarum fores aperiantur, neque ullus a foris introitus patefiat, sed si necessitas talis aduenerit, ut post uesperam sit deliberandum, per fenestram quae in eadem porta fuerit, totum deliberetur.

21 Si talis necessitas hospitum uel peregrinorum aduenerit ut hora refectionis cum sororibus esse non possint, post **cum coci**s uel ministris, uel cum reficiendi

3.13 quas] quos *R*, quod *F'W* | ad portam uel] *om. s* | aurem] autem *h* | nolentes *me h* | castigentur *R* | **3.15** satisfactionem *R* | patefaciant *me h* | **3.16** occurit *h* | **3.17** retineat *R* | nocte *R* | praesentes *R* | **3.18** cellariae M^{ac} *h*, cellarii F^{2ac}, cellararii F^{2pc} *R* | ut *RWc*] et *F'Vme* | necessitate *Rc* | **3.20** uespertino] uesperna *R* | necessitas] *add.* hospitum *R* | talis] *om. s* | ut…deliberandum] *om. s* | quae…fuerit] *om. s* | **3.21** habuerunt *R*

3.13–14 *RBen* 67.5–6: Nec praesumat quisquam **refer**re alio quaecumque foris monasterium uiderit aut **audieri**t, quia plurima destructio est. 6 Quod **si** quis praesumpserit, uindictae **regulari** subiaceat.
3.21 *RBen* 38.10–11: Frater autem lector hebdomadarius accipiat mixtum priusquam incipiat legere, propter communionem sanctam, et ne forte graue sit ei ieiunium sustinere. 11 Postea autem **cum coqui**nae hebdomadariis et seruitoribus **refici**at.

3.13–16 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 67.6, *inc.* Hic et alius pater dicit "Fabulis…

sion of the abbess. 12 And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented them.

13 They should by no means lend their ears to the stories they hear at the gate from worldly people or from anyone. And if they hear or notice something against their will, they by no means should repeat it to their fellow [nuns]. 14 If they transgress in anything about which we have spoken, they should be castigated with penance according to the rule. 15 If they reveal [their transgressions] with a humble apology, the guilt of the offender should be determined in as much as one can observe the humility of the [sister] who confesses. 16 But if she commits the crime of obstinacy, she will also increase the measure of penance.

17 They may under absolutely no circumstances retain the keys to the doors or to the gate at night, but they should deliver [the keys] to the abbess and present them, and receive them back in the morning after the Second Hour. 18 The cellarers, the bakers, and the cooks should strive to follow the same [rule], so that after dusk, or when the necessary work is completed, the abbess keeps the keys until the Second Hour, 19 unless the necessity occurs that they are kept overnight with the permission of the abbess and are handed out again after the Second Hour. 20 From the sign for Vespers until the completion of the Second Hour the doors should by no means be opened to the outside, nor should any entrance from outside be open. But if such necessity occurs that consultation must be held after Vespers, everything should be consulted through the window that is to be in the same gate.

21 If such needs of guests and pilgrims arise that [the porters] cannot be with the sisters at the hour of the meal, they should eat afterwards with the cooks or servants or whenever

3.12 *RD* 56.3–5 on visitors: *Cumque partes, quas ipsa uoluerit, circumierint, protinus aut in salutatorium aut ad portam redeant,* 4 *ubi deinceps, si abbatissae uisum fuerit, illa si uoluerit praesente uel reliquis eulogias accipiant aut reliquum, quod offere decreuerint.* 5 *Hae uero, quae ministrant, et omnes non alibi nisi in refectorio, ubi decretum est, aliquid accipere praesumant. RD* 58.4–5: *Sed si aliquis tam de parentibus, propinquis uel quicumque eis uoluerit inpendere aliquid quantum decreuerit, per potarias in monasterium transmittat,* 5 *et ipsae secundum sanctam consuetudinem sibi, ut expedit, praeparent.* Both sections belong to the few parts of the *RD* that were not quoted verbatim from *CaesRV*, *RBen*, or *RColC*. | See also *VCol* I.14 and *VCol* I.22 on Flavia and Procula giving gifts to the monastery and receiving prayer. In the case of Procula, the *ostiarius* is even mentioned. | On praying for external people, cfr *CaesRV*, prologue.4–6; 25.4–7; 30.5; 43.2–3; 51.5; 72.2; *RT* 11.4; *RFer*, dedication letter.4; *RM* 76; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10; *V. Eustadiolae* 5; *V. patrum Iurensium* 172; *V. Rusticulae*, prologue.30; *V. Segolenae* 20.21; 24.26; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 3. See also Bobbio Missal, no. 438/440, ed. Elias Avery Lowe, London: Harrison 1920, p. 130.
3.13–16 Cfr *RColC* 4; *RD* 28.
3.13 Cfr *RPac Pr* 57; 85–86; *2RP* 3.16; *ROr* 13; *RAM* 5; *RAV* 3; *RT* 2.3; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 36. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251: *Saeculares fabulae longe sint a uobis*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 280.
3.14 *CaesRV* 43.4; *RD* 60.5 | *regulari paenitentiae*: *RColC* 4; 9; 15.
3.16 *Contumacie crimen incurrit*: *RColM* 1; Columbanus, *Epistula* 1.3; *VCol* II.16.
3.17 On keys: *RCas* 34.1; *CaesRV* 28.4; 32.4; 59.2 (with a similar provision); *RAM* 21; *RAV* 17; *RM* 79.18–21; 93.13; 93.37; *RD* 11.1; *V. Anstrudis* 15; *VCol* I.17.
3.18–19 On the *Secunda Hora*: Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, p. 118.
3.18 *V. Bertilae* 2: *studebat adimplere.*
3.20 Cfr *CaesRV* 38.3; 59.1–3; *RM* 95.22–24.
3.21 Cfr *RPac Pr* 50; *RBas* 107; *RBen* 53.16–17. | *hora refectionis* (also in RcuiV 11.4) appears six times in *VCol.*

spacium habuerint, **refici**ant. 22 **Vasa** uel reliqua utensilia quae ad opus hospitum baiulant, **ac si sacrata** Deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant cuius res deripiendo non reseruant. 23 Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per
208vb abba|tissae ordinationem ministrent. 24 Intus uero tantummodo quae sacram Deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.

25 Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum Dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.

IIII. **QVALIS** DEBEAT ESSE **CELLAR**ARIA **MONASTERII**

1 **Monasterii cellar**aria **sapiens** et religiosa ex **omni congregatione elig**enda est, quae non sibi, nec suis uoluntatibus, 2 sed toti **congregationi** aequanimiter et piae placeat dispensando, 3 nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam

3.25 Cfr I Macc. 2, 54

4.3 Cfr Prou. 12, 13

3.22 opus] *om. R s c* | hospitum *F*$^{\text{'ac}}$ *WR*] hospitium *F*$^{\text{pc}}$ *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*), hospitem *V*, *add.* usus *s* | sacrata *Vs*] sacra *R c* | gubernent atque] *om. s* | per ipsarum *M*$^{\text{pc}}$ | diripiendo *M*^{2} *K me h* | reseruant] seruant *R s c* | **3.23** Intra] de hospitibus *add. in marg. M* | edere] aedere *M* | hospitale *R c* | **3.24** quae *F*$^{\text{'ac}}$ *W*] qui *c* | religionem *M*^{2} *K me h* | aedere *M*$^{\text{ac}}$ | **3.25** curae] culture *F'*, culturae *V*

4.tit. *codd.: M K; edd.: h ma*
4.1–24 *codd.: M F V T P A K; edd.: me h ma c*
4.12 *ed.: s*

4.1 cellaria *h* | non] nec *h ma* | **4.3** placre *M*$^{\text{ac}}$ | per] *om. h* | ut] *om. K h*

3.22 *RBen* 31.10: Omnia **uasa** monasterii cunctamque substantiam **ac si** altaris uasa **sacrata** conspiciat.

4 *RBen* 31: De **cellarar**io **monasterii**, **qualis** sit.
1 **Cellar**arius **monasterii eleg**atur de **congregatione**, **sapiens**, **matur**is **moribus**, **sobri**us, **non** multum **edax**, **non elat**us, **non turbulent**us, **non iniuriosus**, **non tard**us, **non prodig**us, 2 sed timens Deum; qui **omni congregationi** sit sicut p**ater**. 3 **Curam** gerat **de omnibus**; 4 sine iussione **abbatis nihil** faciat.

3.22 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 66.5, combined with a quotation from *RM* 95.1–3 (Duobus…abbati).

4 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 40.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. IIII.

they have the time to eat. 22 They should administer and guard the vessels or other tools which they bring for the service of the guests as if they were consecrated to God, lest through their carelessness they do not receive the reward of Him, whose belongings they do not preserve from being snatched away. 23 Within the confines and doors of the monastery they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] outside in the guesthouse, just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. 24 But we determine that only those may eat and drink inside who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.

25 The doorkeepers should always act in such a way that they preserve the wording of the rule and have the zeal of God in all things, so that they receive an uncorrupted reward for the work of their eagerness and care.

IIII. WHAT SORT OF PERSON THE CELLARER OF THE MONASTERY SHOULD BE

1 A wise and pious cellarer of the monastery ought to be chosen from the entire congregation 2 – one who pleases not herself or her own will but the entire congregation by managing in an even-tempered and loving manner. 3 And she therefore should not strive

3.22 Cfr *RBas* 104; *RIVP* 3.28–30; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.19.3; *CaesRV* 32.4–5; *RM* 16.11; 79.3–4/14–15; *RBen* 31.10; *RCons* 8; *RcuiP* 28.1–4; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 4. | *VCol* I.22: *uelut sacrata omnia quae ad uirum Dei pertinebant attingere non auderent.*

3.23 Cfr *CaesRV* 36; 39; 53; *Institutio sanctimonialium* 28. | For *septa monasterii*, cfr *RcuiV* 20.9; 21.2; *VCol* I.20; II.5; II.17; II.19; *RD*, dedication letter.15; 31; *V. Amati* 3; *V. Bertilae* 2: *intra septa monasterii*; *V. Geretrudis* 2; *V. Germani Grandiuallensis* 6; *V. Rusticulae* 3; *V. Walerici* 2; 3. | Guest house, cfr *RM* 79; *RBen* 53.21; *RI* 23.2. | *VCol* I.19: *se et oportuna aptaque loca ad hoc habere parata, quo omnium hospitum aduentus suscipiatur.*

3.24 Cfr *CaesRV* 37. | On *censemus*, see pp. 172-174.

3.25 *Tenor regulae|tenor regularis* appears also in *RcuiV* 15.12; 20.9; Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 3.1, *SC* 345, p. 426; *RD*, dedicatory letter; *VCol* II.1; II.10; II.13; *VIoh* 2; 3; 19; *V. Germani Grandiuallensis* 5; *V. Sadalbergae* 19. | *zelum Dei*: Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17 | The expression *in omnibus* appears eleven times in *RcuiV* and 13 times in *VCol*. Similar concluding statements (all using *ut in omnibus*) can be found in *RcuiV* 10.2; 23.3; 24.11. | *VCol* II.25: *…nisi qua hi qui simile simplicitate uiuunt et oboedientiae ac mortificatione uoluntariae subiciuntur, similem remunerationem expectent claritatemque aeterni luminis potiantur?* | *CaesRV* 35.8–9 emphasizes the responsibility of the superiors, rather than the expected reward.

4. Monastic rules, norms, and saints' lives on the cellararia/cellararius: *RPac Pr* 77–78; 137 | *LOrs* 26 | *RBas* 107; 111–113 | *AugPraec* V.9 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.22 | *RIVP* 3.23–27 | *ROr* 25 | *CaesRV* 28.4; 30.1 | *RAM* 7 | *RAV* 5 | *RT* 10.6–8 | *RPS* 25–26 | *RM* 16; 21 | *RBen* 31; 64.5–6 | *RColC* 8 | *RI* 21.2 | *RCom* 6 | *RD* 61 | *Institutio canonicorum* 140 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 25 | *Constitutiones Corbeienses* 14–15 <5> | Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10 | *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 2; 21 | *V. Filiberti* 37 | *V. Caesarii* I.6 | *VCol* I.7; I.16; II.11 | *Vita patrum Iurensium* 68 | *V. Sadalbergae* 19–20.

4. References to the cellararia in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines: *RcuiV* 3.12; 3.18; 12.20; 12.29; 15.9

4.1 Cfr *CaesRV* 30.1; *RM* 16.62. | The position of the cellararia is the only one that is chosen from all nuns – probably because her acting directly affects the community. *V. Caesarii* I.6 describes how Caesarius had to be deposed as cellararius because of his austerity.

peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat. 4 Id est, ut nihil extra debitam mensuram pro qualibet familiaritate pro gratia meriti dispensando distribuat, sciens *quia iustus Dominus iustitiam a saeculo dilexit aequitatem uidit uultus eius.* 5 Sit ergo omnibus iusta dispensatione grata; 6 sit **moribus matur**a; sit **sobri**a, **non edax**, **non elat**a, **non turbulent**a, **non iniuriosa**, **non tard**a uel pigra, sed in omnibus actibus bene composita, 7 quae **congregationi omni**, id est tam senioribus quam etiam iunioribus, pro affectu et m**ater**no ordine debeat ministrare. 8 **Curam de omnibus** sibi commissis rebus **habeat**. 9 **Nihil** tamen **sine** commeatu **abbatis**sae **fac**ere praesumat.

10 Sorores tam seniores aetate quam iuniores nullatenus conturbet. 11 Et **si** ali**qu**a sororum **ab e**a **inrationabiliter aliqu**id poposcerit, leni responsione cum uoce **humilitat**is contra **ration**em **petenti deneget**. 12 In **infirmi**tate positis sororibus diligenti **cura** et promptissimo affectu ministret. 13 Similiter **pauperum**
209[a] **curam gerat,** | 14 **in omnibus tim**orem Domini praeponens et **sciens** se illi exinde **rationem redditur**am, si non pro eius preceptis inplendis **h**aec **omni**a

4.4 Ps. 10/11, 8 (*LXX*) | **4.5–7** Cfr I Tim. 3, 1–10; Tit. 1, 7–9 | **4.12** *rationem reddituram*] biblical language, e.g. Luc. 16, 2; Act. 19, 33; Act. 25, 8; Rom. 14, 12 | **4.14** Ioh. 12, 26

4.4 familiaritate] uel *add. c*, uel *om. FA* | **4.6** uel] non *c* | **4.11** responsione $M^2 F^{pc} TPA^{pc} Kh\,c$] responsioni $MF^{ac}A^{ac}$, responsiono F^{pc}, responsionis *V* | **4.14** proponens *h* | et M^{pc} | dono *h*

5 Quae iubentur custodiat; 6 fratres non contristet. 7 **Si qu**is frater **ab e**o forte **aliq**ua **inrationabiliter** postulat, non spernendo eum contristet, sed **ration**abiliter cum **humilita**te male **petenti deneget**. 8 Animam suam custodiat, memor semper illud apostolicum quia ***qui*** *bene* ***ministrau****erit gradum bonum sibi adquirit.* (I Tim. 4, 13) 9 **Infirm**orum, infantum, hospitum **pauperum**que cum omni sollicitudine **curam gerat**, **sciens** sine dubio quia pro **h**is **omni**bus in die iudicii **rationem redditur**us est. 10 Omnia uasa monasterii cunctamque **substantiam** ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. 11 Nihil ducat **neglegen**dum. 12 Neque **auaritiae** studeat, neque **prodig**us sit et stirpator **substantia**e monasterii, **sed omnia** mensurate faciat et secundum iussionem abbatis. 13 **Humilitate**m ante **omnia** habeat, et cui substantia non est **quod tribuat**ur, **sermo responsion**is porrigatur bonus, 14 ut scriptum est: ***Sermo bonus super datum*** *optimum.* (cfr Eccli. 18, 17) 15 **Omni**a quae ei iniunxerit abbas, ipsa **habeat sub cura** sua; a quibus eum prohibuerit, non praesumat. 16 Fratribus constitutam annonam **sine** aliquo tyfo uel **mora** offerat, ut non **scandaliz**entur, **memor** diuini eloquii quid mereatur *qui* ***scandaliz****auerit unum de pusillis.* (Matth. 18, 6) 17 Si congregatio maior fuerit, solacia ei dentur, a quibus adiutus et ipse aequo animo impleat officium sibi commissum. 18 Horis competentibus dentur quae **danda sunt** et petantur quae petenda sunt, 19 ut nemo perturbetur neque contristetur in domo Dei.

4.12 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 31.9.

to please since she would, on the one hand, lead herself into the ruin of sin and, on the other hand, the others as well through the offence of transgression by agreeing with her. 4 That is [to say], that she should distribute nothing above the appropriate share by giving out for the sake of friendship or for the sake of doing a favour, knowing this word: *Because the Lord is just and has loved justice in the world, his face sees equity*. 5 Therefore, she should be favourable to all by just provision; 6 she should be of mature character; she should be sober, not gluttonous, not haughty, not disordered, not unjust, not slow or lazy, but in all [her] behaviour well disposed, 7 so that she should serve the entire congregation – that is, both the elders and the juniors – in keeping with affection and maternal order. 8 She should take care of all things entrusted to her. 9 Yet she should not dare to do anything without the permission of the abbess.

10 She should by no means disquiet the sisters – neither those of older age nor the younger. 11 And if any sister unreasonably demands something from her, she should deny [it] in a gentle response with a voice of humility to the one who requests against reason. 12 She should serve the sisters who are in a state of sickness with loving care and the most ready affection. 13 Likewise, she should perform the care of the poor, 14 placing above all the fear of the Lord, and knowing that she thereafter will have to give account to him, if she does not do all of this for the sake of fulfilling his commands, keeping always him in mind who says: *Whoever serves me, let him follow me.* 15 Therefore let us join the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do.

4.5–7 Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* I.8, *PL* 73, col. 855C–856A; *V. Geretrudis* 2; *V. Sadalbergae* 25; and *V. Rusticulae* 6 provide a similar list of virtues.
4.5 Cfr *RBen* 4.34–40.
4.6 On *non edax*, cfr *RM* 16.62–66.
4.7 *VCol* I.5; II.7: *paterno affectu*; *V. Bertilae* 7: *materno affectu*. Very rare in other monastic rules.
4.9 Cfr *CaesRV* 30.7; *RM* 16.32; *V. Sadalbergae* 20. | *sine commeatu* also in *RcuiV* 2.16; 3.11; *VCol* I.15.
4.11 *VCol* I.3; I.22: *humili uoce*.
4.12–13 *V. Bertilae* 2: *De caeteris sororibus sub ditione suae matris piam gereret ista sollicitudinem; infirmorum, infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur*.
4.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 32.1–4; *RM* 70. | Similar constructions with *positus|posita* appear twelve times in the *RcuiV* and 23 times in the *VCol*.
4.13 Cfr *VCol* I.22: *minister totum simul pauperi tribuit, nihil ad necessitatem communem reseruans*. | *V. Bertilae* 6: *et pauperum curam gererent*. For other parallels, see commentary to *RcuiV* 1.3–4.
4.14 Cfr *RM* 16.27–31.

faciat, memor semper illius qui dixit: *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur.* 15 Omni ergo OPERi bono quod facimus Domini **tim**orem iungamus. 16 Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo **NEGLEGEN**TIae DAMNa INCVRRaT. 17 **Auaritiae** et cupiditatis pestem omnino fugiat. Similiter sicut non auara, sic **non** sit **prodig**a, 18 id est, sicut dona omnipotentis Dei sub auaritiae uitio occultando subtrahere non debet, sic sine iusta dispensatione nimis fenerando COMMVNEM **substantia**m non debet diripere, **sed omnia** per discretionem temperando pensare. 19 Et si non habeat quod ab ea quaeritur, **quod tribuat sermo**ne leni sine ulla asperitate in **responsion**e procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat, 20 iuxta QVOD SCRIPTVM EST: *Fauum mellis sermones boni.* Et illud: ***Sermo bonus super datum*** *bonum.* 21 Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si **omnia** cum **humilitate** ac pietate studuerit agere. 22 Et quamuis quod petitur non sit unde tribuatur, nullatenus respondeat se non habere, sed dicat fideli uoce: *Dominus dabit.* 23 Ea uero quae **danda sunt**, **sine mora** tribuantur, ne **scandali** OCCASIO aut offensionis casus ex ipsa tarditate generetur. 24 **Memor** semper praeceptorum Domini, qui ne minimum suorum PATITVR **scandaliz**ari.

V. DE SE **INVICEM** DILIGENDO VEL SIBI INVICEM **OBOEDIEN**DO

1 Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura
209b debeant, per euan|gelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, 2 cum dicit: *Hoc est prae-*

4.20 Cfr Prou. 16, 24; Eccli. 18, 17 | **4.22** Cfr II Tim. 2, 7; Iob 1, 21 | **4.24** Cfr Matth. 18, 6

5.2 Ioh. 15, 12–13

4.19 responsione] sermone *c*, sermonem *PA* | **4.20** iuxta] illud *add. h* | fauum] fauus V^{pc} *PA me h* | bonum] optimum *FT* | **4.21** commissum] bonum *add. VTPA* | ac] et *me h* | agere] facere *h* | **4.24** Memor M^{pc} | ne minimum *c*] neminum *M*, neminem *Kh*

5.tit.–26 *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*

5.1 ab] ad *h* | **5.2** est M^{pc}

4.15–24 *RBas* 107: Interr. Si is qui circa cellarium uel coquinam uel alia huiuscemodi OPERa occupatus est non occurrat adesse in ordine psallentium uel ad orationem, nihil DAMNI PATITVR in anima? Resp. Vnusquisque in OPERe suo obseruare debet propriam regulam sicut membrum in corpore, et DAMNum habebit si NEGLExerit in eo quod iniunctum est ei, sed et communem fratrum utilitatem neglegens amplius periclitabitur. 2 Et ideo mente et deuotione complere debet id QVOD SCRIPTVM EST *Cantantes et psallentes in cordibus uestris domino.* (Eph. 5, 19) 3 Si enim corporaliter non occurrit adesse cum ceteris ad orationis locum, in quocunque loco inuentus fuerit quod deuotionis est expleat. 4 Oportet tamen obseruare ne forte quis possit complere in tempore suo quod complendum est et occurrere, sed dum loqui uult OCCASIOnes nectit tanquam in ministerii opere occupatus. 5 Quod qui facit et offendiculum ceteris praestat, et ipse NEGLEGENTIS crimen INCVRRIT.

5.tit. *RBen* 71.tit. Vt **oboedien**tes sibi sint **inuicem**. (but no further parallel in this chapter)

5 Omitted in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* and in Smaragdus' *Expositio*.

16 In such a way should [the cellarer] take care of all things that in no regard does she incur the harm of negligence. 17 She should altogether flee the pestilence of greed and avarice. Just as she should not be greedy, she also should not be lavish, 18 that is to say, just as she must not hold back the gifts of the Almighty God by hiding them out of the vice of greed, she also must not destroy the common resources by squandering too much without just provision. But she must weigh everything out by being moderate through [her] discretion. 19 And if she does not have what is asked of her, what she gives out should come forward with gentle words lacking any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response, 20 according to that which is written: *Good words are like a honeycomb*. And this word: *Speaking well is above a good gift*. 21 If she strives to do everything with humility and love, she will know that the work entrusted affects in this way the reward. 22 And although there is nothing from which can be handed out what is requested, she should by no means answer that she has not got it, but she should say with a sincere voice: *The Lord will give*. 23 These things that are to be given, should be given out without delay, lest out of tardiness itself the occasion of scandal or the opportunity of a complaint arises. 24 [She should] always be mindful of the precepts of the Lord, who does not endure that the least of his people be scandalized.

V. ON LOVING EACH OTHER AND ON OBEYING EACH OTHER

1 The Lord shows through the Gospel of John with how much care the nuns in the monastery should love each other in Christ, 2 when he says: *It is my precept that you love*

4.16 *VCol* I, prologue: *ne neglegentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae*; *VCol* II.12; II.13: *damnum incurrere*; *VIoh* 7: *adque neglegentiae damnum patri nuntianda properant*.
4.18 Cfr *RColM* 8 on discretio
4.21 Cfr *RIVP* 3.26–27.
4.22 Cfr *RBas* 113; *RBen* 2.35–36.

5. Monastic rules, norms, and saints' lives on internal order, hierarchy, peace, and mutual love: *RPac Inst* 10; *RPac Iud* 1–6; 10–11; 15; *RPac Leg* 5–13 | *LOrs* 54 | *RBas* 1–3; 15; 17; 37–39; 41–46; 64; 100; 155 | *AugOM* 1 | *AugPraec* I.2; I.8; VI | *RIVP* 1.8–9 | *2RP* 1.5–6 | *RMac* 2–3; 7 | *ROr* 30 | *CaesRV* 21.6; 26; 33; 34.2–6 | *CaesRM* 12–13; 19 | *RAM* 12–13; 39 | *RAV* 10–11; 29 | *RT* 14; 19.10 | *RFer* 2–3; 7–9; 21–23; 39.34–47 | *RPS* 1; 38 | *RM* 11.63–74; 63; 65; 92 | *RBen* 63 | *RLea* 5 | *RFruc* 8 | *RCom* 13 | *RCons* 6 | *RcuiP* 2; 3.6–7; 15.1/4 | *RD* 20.13–18; 52; 66 | *Ordo Casinensis I* 12, *CCM* 1, p. 104 | Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 6.1 | Columbanus, *Instructio* 11.1 | *VCol* I.5; II.12 | Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.62 | *V. Bertilae* 16 | *V. Segolenae* 31.32.

5. References to internal peace and mutual love in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.7; 1.17; 1.18; 2.4; 4.1; 4.7; 4.12; 4.21; 6.30; 15.1–2; 15.12; 20.5; 20.7; 21.3; 22.1–10; 23.6–8. 24.1–5

5.1 The construction of this sentence is reminiscent of *RColM* 5 and of *De accedendo* 1–2. *Monacha* (also in *RcuiV* 5.1; 7.4; 9.6; 12.9; 17.title; 17.5; 22.21) does not appear in other monastic rules except for *RD*, but it appears in Columbanian monastic texts.
5.2 Cfr *RBas* 38.

ceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis. [3] Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis.* [4] Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit, [5] iuxta Apocalipsin: *Et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo.* [6] Sic ergo soror sororem propter Christum diligat, ut Christum a se per temporalem dilectionem non repellat, [7] quae uera et secundum Christum *dilectio* est *proximae malum non operatur.* [8] Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu sed piaetatis ministerio. [9] Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum sed secundum Deum maneat amor. [10] Sic enim a Domino praecipitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* [11] Si soror sororem diligat sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet. [12] Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, [13] sicut scriptum est: *Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* [14] Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat, [15] sicut Iohannes Apostolus testatus est dicens: *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida e*st. [16] Diligatur proxima,
209va ne per | aliqua discordiae fomenta retenta proprii facinoris uinculo non soluatur, [17] sicut Dominus in Euangelio testatus est dicens: *Si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater uester caelestis dimittet uobis peccata uestra.* [18] Remittamus proximis, ut ab omnipotente remittatur nobis. [19] *Date*, inquit, *et dabitur uobis.* [20] O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse, [21] si nulla

5.3 Ioh. 13, 35 | **5.4** Cfr Iac. 5, 16 (cfr *RcuiV* 6.14) | **5.5** Apoc. 1, 5 | **5.7** Rom. 13, 10 | **5.9** Cfr Eph. 2, 2 | **5.10** Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14 | **5.11** Cfr Matth. 5, 46 | **5.13** Sap. 2, 24 | **5.15** I Ioh. 3, 15 | **5.17** Matth. 6, 15 | **5.19** Luc. 6, 38

5.4 ad invicem *h* | **5.3** Sic] Si *h* | **5.7** quae] quia *h* | operari *h* | **5.10** diligis M^{ac} | **5.11** piaetatis M^{ac} | **5.13** introiuit *K*, introivit *h* | **5.14** cruentationis] cruenta homicidii *h* | **5.15** sicuti *h* | **5.20** donasse *h*] dones *M* | **5.21** Si] *om. h* | nullaue *h*] nulla ire *M*

each other. No one has a greater love (*dilectionem*) *than to lay down the soul for one's friends.* [3] And this [word]: *In this everyone will recognize that you are my disciples: if you love each other.* [4] We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate him through mutual love (*dilectio*) who has loved us, [5] according to the Apocalypse: *And he washed us from our sins in his blood.* [6] A sister should therefore love a sister for Christ's sake in such a way that she does not cast Christ away from herself through worldly love (*dilectionem*). [7] This love (*dilectio*), which is true and according to Christ, *does not do evil to one's fellow.* [8] Therefore, a fellow [sister] is to be loved not with affection of the flesh, but with the service of love (*pietas*). [9] She is to be loved with purity, is to be loved with piety, is to be loved with mildness, and is to be loved with love (*caritas*), so that in every love (*amore*) Christ is always found. Love (*amor*) should not remain in favour of the world but in favour of God. [10] In such a way it is prescribed by the Lord: *Love your neighbour as yourself.* [11] If a sister should love a sister as herself, she will never incur the stain of sin, but adorned by the practice of love (*pietatis*) and love (*dilectionis*) she will receive eternal reward. [12] Love (*dilectio*), therefore, should always remain within the heart, so that it extinguishes the poison of the ancient enemy's malice, through which he opened the entrance of death in the beginning by deceiving the Protoplast [Adam], [13] as it is written: *But through the envy of the devil death will enter into the world.* [14] A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she incurs the crime of bloodshed through the stain of hatred, [15] as the Apostle John has testified, saying: *He who hates his brother is a murderer.* [16] A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she not be freed from the bond of her own misdeed, because some sparks of discord have been retained, [17] as the Lord has testified in the Gospel, saying: *If you do not forgive men their sins, your heavenly father will not forgive you your sins either.* [18] Let us forgive our fellow [sisters], so that we may be forgiven by the Almighty. [19] *Give*, he says, *and it shall be given to you.* [20] Oh, what a just exchange! Oh, what

5.3 Cfr *RBas* 2; *CaesRM* 13.10. Jonas probably used *RBas* 2, which shares the variant *si inuicem diligatis* instead of *si uos inuicem diligatis*.
5.4–5 *RcuiV* 20.7–8.
5.6 *VCol* I.5: *Tanta pietas, tanta caritas omnibus, ut unum uelle, unum nolle, modestia atque sobrietas, mansuetudo et lenitas aeque in omnibus redolebat.*
5.7 *Vera dilectio*: Columbanus, *Instructio* 11.1.
5.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 23; *AugPraec* VI.3; *CaesRV* 61.1; *RT* 22.11; *RD* 77.1; Jerome, *Epistula* 22 *ad Eustochium* 17.
5.9 *VCol* II.25: *eius puritatis et religionis in omnibus imitatores essent.* See also *V. Segolenae* 5/6.8.
5.11 Cfr *RColM* 6. | *VIoh* 16: *contagione peccatorum maculatus* | *VCol* I.11; II.13: *pietatis cultus* | *De accedendo* 23: *ad aeterna praemia tendat*; *VCol* I.10; II.14: *aeterna praemia caperent*; *VIoh* 1: *et eterne uite premia capere*; *V. Bertilae* 9: *corona praemii aeternam recepit*; *V. Geregrudis*, prologue: *ad aeterna praemia obtinenda…*
5.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 49.4. | *VCol* I.3: *antiquus hostis*. Jonas refers to Adam in a different context in *VIoh* 18, describing *gula*, *elatio*, and *superbia* as the primordial sins.
5.14–18 Cfr *CaesRM* 13. | *VCol* II.12: *Scriptum est enim: Date et dabitur uobis, et alibi in oratione: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Non enim dimisisti sodalibus totum, quia tibi inlatas molestias retinuisti.*
5.14 *VCol* II.16: *contumaciae crimen incurrere.*
5.16 *VCol* II.10: *discordiae fomitem.*
5.17–24 Cfr Caesarius, *Sermo* 39.1; 235.3; *VCol* II.12.
5.17 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.2–4; *CaesRM* 13.4; *RBen* 13.13. | *Passio prima Leodegari* 23 quotes exactly the same variant of Matth. 6, 15. | *V. Rusticulae* 18.
5.18–26 *RcuiV* 20.7–8 | Cfr *Historia monachorum* I.3.19; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV.62.
5.19 Luc. 6, 38 is also used in *VCol* II.12.

iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur! 22 Sic et Apostolus ortatur dicens: *Estote inuicem benigni misericordes, donantes inuicem, sicut et Deus in Christo donauit uobis*. 23 Nihil aliud dare precipimur nisi quod nobis dare petimus. 24 Sic et orando dicimus: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. 25 Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a debito. 26 Soluamus ergo per dilectionem et amorem proximos, ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus. AMEN.

VI. DE ASSIDVE DANDA CONFESSIONE

1 Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta Scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrauit. 2 Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum rudem semper custodiat, 3 sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit*. 4 Sic quippe beatus Dauid orando Domino dicebat: ***Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non operui. Dixi: confi-***
209vb ***tebor ad|uersum me iniustitiam meam, et tu remisisti impiaetatem peccati mei.*** 5 Quantum ualet pura et non tarda confessio, ut sic secura eam subsequatur inpetratio! 6 Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo. 7 Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrauit spem. 8 Non enim precessit spei fidutiam, quia memi-

5.22 Eph. 4, 32 | **5.24** Matth. 6, 12

6.2 Cfr Gen. 1, 2 | **6.3** Prou. 4, 23 | **6.4** Ps. 31/32, 5 (*LXX*) | **6.5** Cfr Num. 15, 28 | **6.6** Cfr Iob 23, 6 | **6.8** Ps. 129/130, 4 (*LXX*)

5.22 hortatur *Kh* | **5.25** relaxamur *Kh* | piaetate M^{ac}

6.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
6.1–23 *codd.: MF'VTPAK*; *edd.: me h ma c*
6.24–30 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK*; *edd.: me h ma c*

6.1 crebra F'^{ac} *me h* | sit danda] *tr. h* | **6.4** meum *om. h* | meam] Domino *add. c* | peccati] cordis *add. c* | **6.8** sanctum] a *add. me h* | inluminatum *h*

6.4–17 *RBen* 7.44–48: Quintus humilitatis gradus est si omnes **cogitat**iones malas cordi suo aduenientes uel mala a se absconse commissa per humilem confessionem abbatem non celauerit suum. 45 Hortans nos de hac re scriptura dicens: ***Reuela** ad **Domin**um **uiam tuam et** spera in eum*. (Ps. 36/37, 5 [*LXX*]) 46 Et item dicit: *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius*. (Ps. 105/106, 1 [*LXX*]); Ps. 117/118, 1 [*LXX*]) 47 Et item propheta: ***Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci et iniustitias meas non operui.*** 48 ***Dixi: Pronuntiabo aduersum me iniustias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei.*** (Ps. 31/32, 5, [*LXX*])

6.1–23 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 15.9, *inc*. Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VI.

loving compassion to have received in giving and to have given in receiving, [21] if no growth and no nourishment of contention is retained! [22] In such a way the Apostle also encourages us, saying: *Be kind and merciful to each other, giving to each other, just as God in Christ has given to you.* [23] We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us. [24] In such a way we also say when we pray: *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.* [25] By forgiving our debtors we ourselves are relieved from debt. [26] Let us therefore release our neighbours by love (*dilectionem*) and love (*amorem*), so that God releases us from our crimes through love (*pietate*) and mercy. Amen.

VI. ON GIVING CONFESSION CONTINOUSLY

[1] The tradition of many fathers has shown in accordance with a series of scriptures how frequently and with what accurate care confession is to be given. [2] Therefore, confession is to be given at all times, so that at all times it guards the state of the mind which is growing old and is rough, darkened by the gloom of sins through daily allurement, [3] just as Scripture taught when it said: *Guard your heart with all vigilance, for out of it comes life.* [4] In such

5.19 Luc. 6, 38 is also used in *VCol* II.12.
5.21 *VCol* II.1: *…qui et iurgiorum, ut credebatur, incrementa ministrabat.*
5.24 Matth. 6, 12 is also used in *VCol* II.12. | Cfr *RM Thema* 2.57–66; *CaesRM* 13.3.
5.25 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.2.
5.26 Chapters of rules ending with *amen*: *CaesRV* 65; *RLea* 5; *RCom* 19; *RColM* 7; *De accedendo*.

6. Monastic rules, norms, and hagiographic works on confession: *RBas* 21; 117; 199–200 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.9; IV.16; IV.37 | Cassian, *Collationes* II.13; XX.8.3 | *RCas* 10.2; 29 | *CaesRV* 25.1 | *RM* 3.63; 10.61–65; 15; 80.1–7 | *RBen* 4.50/57; 7.44–48; 46.5–6 | *RI* 13.3–5; 16.2 | *RFruc* 12 | *RCom* 12; 13; 19 | *RColV* 33–36 | *RD* 3.50; 19.3–5; 23; 41 | Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula* 14; 34; *Regula interpolata* 18; 31 | Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus CXXIV*, no XII.13–14 | Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II.7, *PL* 59, col. 451A-B | Caesarius, *Sermo* 59; 234.4; 235.3–4 | Augustine (?), *Sermo* 254, *PL* 39, col. 2215–2216 | Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 3.14 | Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Euangelia* XL.2, *CCSL* 141, pp. 394–398 | Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII | Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* B 30 | Columbanus, *Instructio* 1.1–2 | *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue.6 | *Canones Hibernenses* II.3–4 | *Canones Wallici* A 34 | *Paenitentiale Vinniani* 5 | *Memoriale qualiter I* I.2, *CCM* 1, p. 233; II.5, p. 234; II.7, p. 238; IV, p. 243; VI.17, p. 259 | *Memoriale qualiter II* I.2, p. 269; II.4, p. 269; II.7, p. 271; VII, p. 280; VIII.19, p. 282 | Theodomar, *Ep. ad Theodoricum* 23, p. 134 | Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum* 16 | Irish rules: *Rule of Ailbe* 10; 29; *Rule of Ciarán* 16; *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin* 6; *Rule of Carthage*, *Duties of the Confessor* 1–22; *Duties of the Abbot* 18; *Rule of the Céli Dé*, pp. 208–209/ pp. 88–89; *Rule of Tallaght* 20–27; 74; *Testimony to the monastery of Sinchell the Younger; Alphabet of Devotion* 1 | *Passio Praeiecti* 19 | *V. Adelphii* 2 | *V. Amati* 11 | *V. Antonii* 55 | *V. Balthildis* 16 | *V. Bertilae* 2; 6 | *VCol* II.1; II.3; II.12; II.13; II.17; II.19; II.22: II.24 | *V. Eligii* I.7; II.8; II.25 | *V Filiberti* 14 | *VIoh* 8 | *V. Segolenae* 23.24–25 | *V. Wandregiseli prima* 17 | Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.25; V.13.

6. References to confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 3.15; 5.5; 7; 16.5–10; 21; 22.17–18

6.1 *RcuiV* 5; 6; 9; 15; 16; 22; *De accedendo*; and *RColM* 5 begin with an invocation of the Bible or the *sancti patres*. | *Sagax* appears nine times in *VCol*; *RD*, dedication letter.1/22; *RBen* 27.5. | *scripturarum series* (also *RcuiV* 9.1): *VCol* I.3; II.9.
6.2 *VCol* I.3: *saeculi inlecebris* | *status mentis*: *RcuiV* 22.6 (in no other rule) | On *tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum*, cfr Cyprian, *Heptateuchos*, *Genesis* 1, v. 3, *CSEL* 23, p. 1: *Dum chaos et nigrae fuscabant cuncta tenebrae.*
6.4 Cassian, *Collationes* XX.8.3
6.4 Ps. 31/32, 5 is quoted in a similar way in *RBen* 7.47–48; Caesarius, *Sermo* 59.1 quotes a different translation. See also *V. Segolenae* 23.24. | Cfr *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue.6.

nerat se olim per spiritum sanctum Domino inluminatus dixisse: *Quia apud te est propiciatio, et propter legem tuam sustinui te Domine.* 9 Et iterum: *Quia apud Dominum misericordia est et copiosa apud eum redemptio.* 10 Apud quem misericordiam perhennem agnoscit, apud eum copiosam et redemptionem. 11 Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam. 12 Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpae inueniatur medicina. 13 Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata. 14 Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* 15 Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur! 16 Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium. 17 Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus adquiritur. ***Reuela***, inquit Psalmista, ***Domino uiam tuam, et*** *ipse te enutriet.* 18 Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima COTIDIANO ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur.

6.9 Ps. 129/130, 7 (*LXX*) | **6.14** Iac. 5, 16 | **6.17** Cfr Ps. 36/37, 5 (*LXX*); Ps. 54/55, 23 (*LXX*)

6.13 confiteantur *F*', confitemini *h* | **6.14** dicendo] dicente *TP*, *om. F'VA c* | hortatur M^2 *Kh c* | inuicem] ut saluemini *add. VPA* | **6.16** cupiatur *h* | **6.17** Magis *h* | fructum *c*

a way, indeed, did blessed David say in prayer to the Lord: *"I made my offence known to you, my faults I did not cover". I said, "I will confess my fault before me, and you have relieved me from the ungodliness of my sin".* 5 So strong is a plain and timely confession that it is followed by sure gratification! 6 Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, [David] lamented through confession and glorified his forgiveness through receiving it. 7 He revealed his crime in grief, and by giving [confession] he restored [his] hope. 8 For he did not pass over the assurance of hope, because he recalled that once, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, he had said to the Lord: *For with you is atonement, and on account of your law I expected you, Lord.* 9 And again: *For with the Lord is mercy, and with him is plentiful redemption.* 10 [David] recognizes that with the one who has endless mercy there is also plentiful redemption. 11 Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption. 12 Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. 13 Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgives us our sins. 14 In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another and pray for each other.* 15 It is known how much love of the mild judge has been poured upon us, so that the misdeed contracted through wretched acts is dissolved by mutual prayer. 16 The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, protection is obtained. 17 For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences. The Psalmist says: *Reveal to the Lord your way, and He will feed you.* 18 If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy.

6.5 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* III, Ps. 101: *de impetratione securus est.* | *pura confessio*: *RcuiV* 16.5; 16.8; 16.9; *Memoriale qualiter I* II.5, *CCM* 1, p. 234.

6.6 The masculine form (*confessus*) indicates that the entire passage 6.4–8 refers to David and not directly to the nuns. | *De accedendo* 8: *et facinorum mole obstante*. Cfr also Cassian, *Collationes* I.18; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Ps. 129*, *Sermo ad plebem*. | *ingemuit confitendo*: Ambrose, *Apologia Prophetae Dauid* II.5.

6.7 *Redintegrare*: *RcuiV* 7.2; Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* A 8; *VCol* I.7; II.6: *omnia saluti redintegraret*; II.8. The term does not appear in any other rule.

6.9 Ps. 129/130, 7 appears as well in Eligius, *Sermo* 18=*V. Eligii* II.15. See also commentary to *RcuiV* 6.27.

6.14–16 *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 267: *Tunc decantet septem penitentiae psalmos tripertite, uidelicet primos tres pro sororibus defunctis, item duos pro abbatissa et congregatione, postremos duos pro quibus sibi uisum fuerit.*

6.14 Cfr *RBen* 8.44–48. | Iac. 5, 16 is also used in Caesarius, *Sermo* 59.1. | *Memoriale qualiter I* II.5, p. 234: *Iterum conuenientes ad Primam, dum percompletur ipsud officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum donent confessiones suas uicissim puriter supplici corde certatim pro se orantes*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.4, p. 269.

6.15 *De accedendo* 26: *sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat.* On *iudex clemens*, cfr also *VCol* I.4; II.11; *V. Eustadiolae* 5. | *mutua praece* appears here for the first time. | *erumnosus* (also *RcuiV* 17.3) appears four times in *VCol* but in no other monastic rule.

6.16 Cfr *RM* 15.16–27; *RI* 16.2. | Instead of following *RBen* 7.45, the author combines two Psalms: Ps. 36/37, 5 and Ps. 54/55, 23. The same hybrid appears in the *Penitentiale Vallicellianum E.62*, ed. Adriaan Harmen Gaastra, *CCSL* 156C, p. 66, l. 351-352. | Compare the use of *presidium* with *RcuiV* 1.9; 22.3 (on the *ambitus uirtutum*); and *De accedendo*.10.

6.18 Cfr *CaesRV* 24.5–6, also using *uulnus* and *nutrire*.

210[a] 19 Sed quibus horis congruentibus cotidiana delicta sunt | ABLVEnda, a nobis inserendum est. 20 Quicquid post conpletorium per opace noctis spacia MENs uel caro per FRAGILITATEm deliquerit, post secundam PER CONFESSIONEM curandum est expiari. 21 Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, **cogitat**u tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu ut PVRGetur censendum est. 22 Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae ADTRAXerit, ante conpletam confitendum est. 23 Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante conpletorium faciendum est.

24 Hae uero sorores quae **pro grauibus culpis** in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent. 25 Et expleto cursu egredientes **ante fores** ecclesiae in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur. 26 Et egrediente congregatione supra

6.20 conpleturium M^{ac} | fragilitatem] facilitatem *h* | per[3]] *om.* M^{ac} | **6.23** conpleturium M^{ac} | **6.24** pro] *om. c* | grauibus] grauioribus *F'VTPA* | **6.25** Et] *om. c*

6.24–30 *RBen* 44.1–4: Qui **pro grauibus culpis** ab oratorio et a mensa excommunicantur, hora qua opus Dei in oratorio percelebratur, **ante fores** oratorii **prostrat**us iaceat nihil dicens, 2 nisi tantum posito in terra capite, stratus pronus omnium de oratorio exeuntium pedibus; 3 et hoc tamdiu faciat usque dum abbas iudicauerit satisfactum esse. 4 Qui dum iussus ab abbate uenerit, uoluat se ipsius abbatis, deinde omnium uestigiis ut **or**ent **pro** ipso.
6.19–22 *VCol* II.19: Erat enim consuetudinis monasterii et regulae, ut ter in die PER CONFESSIONEM unaquaeque earum MENTem PVRGAret, et qualemcumque rugam mens FRAGILITATE ADTRAXisset, pia proditio ABLVEret. In hanc ergo labem MENTes supradicatrum puellarum diaboli iacula dimerserant, ut nulla confessio uera ab ore prodiret, seu quae in saeculo commiserant, seu quae COTIDIANa FRAGILITas ADTRAhebat, uel in cogitatione uel in sermone uel in opere, ne uera confessio per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati.

6.24–30 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 32.4, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VI.

19 But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences. 20 Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. 21 But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought during the daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. 22 But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline. 23 The abbess, however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given. Likewise, this ought to be done after the Ninth [Hour] and before Compline.

24 But these sisters who are bound in penance on account of serious guilt, should not stand in the church with the others who take Communion, but should sing the service separated [from the rest] in another church. 25 And when [their] service has been completed and they leave, let them be instructed to stand outside of the church in which those who are receiving Communion complete the service. 26 And when the congregation leaves, [the

6.19–22 *RColC* 1: *Statutum est, fratres carissimi, a sanctis patribus, ut demus confessionem ante mensam siue ante lectorum introitum aut quandocumque fuerit facile* [*de omnibus non solum capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis*] *quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant. Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata, quia ut scriptum est, Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit* (Sir. 19, 1) *ut detur confessio ante mensam, ante introitum lectulorum uel quandocumque fuerit facile. RD* 23.1–4: *Inter ceteras regulae obseruantias hoc magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniores monemus sorores,* 2 *ut assidue et indesinenti studio tam de cogitatu quam etiam de uerbo inutili uel opere seu aliqua commotione animi confessio omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momentis semper donetur,* 3 *et matri spiritali nihil occultetur,* 4 *quia statutum est hoc…* (further following the *Regula coenobialis*, see above).
6.19 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.2.
6.20–22 Theodomar, *Ep. ad Theodoricum* 23, *CCM* 1, p. 134 requires two confessions per day.
6.20 Cfr *RD* 19.3–5: *Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus,* 4 *demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.* (Ps 32/33, 22) 5 *Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniorem: "Da commeatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri".* The same passage (with small variants) appears in the fragment of a female version of the *Regula Columbani*: *RColV* 33–36. This is one of sections of this fragments that do not appear in in *RCol C.* See Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 203–204.
6.21 *Expleto cursu*: *RcuiV* 6.25; 7.4; 7.9; *RColC* 2; *RD* 26.2. *Expleto cursu* appears in no other rule. Cfr also *VCol* II.23: *expleto psallendi officio.* | *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, p. 238: *…necesse est enim ut omnes nostras neglegentias, id est cogitationum, linguae uel operis, in praesenti uita per ueram confessionem et humilitatem semper iudicentur, ut non post mortem nos reos faciant.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.
6.22 *Memoriale qualiter I* VI.17, p. 259: *Recepto silentio, cum reuerentia intrent ad Completam, orent cum intentione mentis, dent confessiones suas alternatim, incipiant Completam.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.19, p. 282.
6.23 *Peracta oratione*: *VIoh* 2; 7; 13.
6.24–30 Cfr *RM* 14.1–78; 15.19–27; *RColC* 9; *RI* 18.1; *RD* 34.4; *VCol* II.13. | *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, p. 237: *Post haec, qui culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater ad domnum abbatem aut praepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus, cum ille senior dixerit Quae est causa frater? Ille qui ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondat Mea culpa, domne; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit, iudicetur exinde culpabilis.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.
6.24 Different churches within the monastery: *V. Austrebertae* 13; *V. Sadalbergae* 17.
6.25 Cfr *RM* 13.63; 14.
6.26 *Contritio cordis*: *RcuiV* 19.8; *De accedendo* 7 | Cfr *RBen* 44; 71.8; *RColC* 3. | *supra humum*: *RcuiV* 22.18; *VCol* I.21 | *humo prostratus*: *VCol* II.3; II.7.

humum **prostrat**ae rogent **pro** se Dominum ex**or**ari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, 27 meminentes illud: *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.* 28 Et: *In humilitate nostra memor fuit nostri Dominus.* 29 In oratione posita semper penitens dicat: *Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele,* 30 ut ira arguentis iudicis et in proximo uindictam reddentis per piae mentis affectum ac humili oratione sedetur.

VII. DE NON MANIFESTANDIS SORORVM CONFESSIONIBVS

210b 1 Abbatissa uel praeposita uel quaelibet | seniorum sororum, cui ab abbatissa fuerit commissum ut confessiones recipiat, crimina minora uel maxima nullatenus manifestent, nisi solo iusto iudici qui omnium confitentium crimina lauat. 2 Illa etenim quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est, iustum habens testem Deum, a quo et mederi exspectat. 3 Ea uero senior quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem. 4 Nulla tamen monacharum uel confessionem recipere uel paenitentiam dare sine ordinatione abbatissae praesumat, 5 ne uitium commissum abbatissae caeletur, sed omnia per eius noticiam agantur. 6 Si uero inuenta fuerit quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur, graui paenitentiae sententia corripiatur, quia delicti fomitem abbatissae uoluit occultare.

6.27 Ps. 50/51, 19 (*LXX*) | **6.28** Ps. 135/136, 23 (*LXX*) | **6.29** Ps. 50/51, 11 (*LXX*) | **6.30** Cfr Iudae. 1, 15
7.1 iusto iudicii] cfr Ps. 7, 12; II Tim. 4, 8

6.27 deus M^{pc} | **6.30** reodentis M^{ac} | ac] hanc *h*, hac *F'me*

7.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
7.1–6 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*

7.tit. MANFESTANDIS M^{ac} | **7.1** uel^{2} *c*] aut *VWPA* | soorum M^{ac} | ab] *add. M* | fuerit commissum] *tr. c* | soli $VTPA^{pc}$ | **7.2** enim *h* | uerecunde *VTPA c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] uerecundae *MF'W* | **7.5** omnia per eius] ei omnia per *c*, eius omnia per *VT* | notiam M^{ac} | **7.6** hunc] hoc VPA^{pc} *me h* | sentia M^{ac} *T*, scientia *h*

7 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 15.11, *inc*. Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VII.

penitents] should ask, while prostrated on the ground, that [the congregation] implore the Lord on their behalf in order that the serious deeds be erased through contrition of the heart, 27 recalling this: *God does not dismiss a contrite and humbled heart.* 28 And: *The Lord was mindful of us in our humility.* 29 In the position of prayer the penitent should say at all times: *Turn away your face from my sins, and erase all my injustice*, 30 so that the anger of the judge who accuses and imposes punishment in the future, is calmed through the disposition (*affectus*) of the loving mind and with humble prayer.

VII. ABOUT NOT REVEALING THE CONFESSONS OF THE SISTERS

1 The abbess, prioress, or any of the elder sisters to whom it is entrusted by the abbess that she receives confessions, should by no means make lesser crimes or the greatest ones known, except only to the just judge who washes away the crimes of all who confess. 2 For she who has confessed her wounds in shame, has confessed not for the purpose of receiving disgrace but for the purpose of restoring health, having God as a just witness from whom she also expects that he heals her. 3 But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendour of her own mind. 4 But none of the nuns should dare to receive confession or impose a penance without the order of the abbess, 5 lest a committed vice be concealed from the abbess, but everything is to be done with her knowledge. 6 But if [a sister] is found who dares to violate this purpose of the rule, she is to be reproached with a severe sentence of penance, because she wanted to hide the motive (*fomes*) of an offence from the abbess.

6.27 Ps. 50/51, 19 appears also in Eligius, *Sermo*18=*V. Eligii* II.15 (see also commentary to *RcuiV* 6.9).

7. Monastic rules on the secrecy of confession: *RBas* 122; 200 | *2RP* 2.13 | *ROr* 32.1–2 | *RBen* 46.5–6 | *RT* 8.1–3 | *RFer* 39 | *RM* 80 | *RBen* 27.3; 46.5–6 | *RI* 13.3

7.1 On the abbess hearing confession: *VCol* II.22.
7.2 *Mederi* (metaphorically): *RcuiV* 1.13; 7.2; 20.4 | *salutem redintegrandam*: *VCol* II.6: …*et ueteres maculas delens, omnia saluti redintegraret.* | *iustus iudex*: *VCol* I.28; II.10; and esp. II.19; II.24.
7.2–3 Both the "medical" aspect of confession and the harm that confession could cause to unauthorized ears are described in *RBas* 200.
7.3 *Cum grauitate et moderatione* (different context): *RBen* 42.11 | *RBen* 70.3 prescribes that sins have to be reproached in presence of the entire community as a deterrent.
7.4–6 Cfr *RBen* 70.2.
7.6 *VCol* I.19: *uiolare conaris.*

VIII. QVALITER AD SIGNVM DOMINICVM SVRGENDVM EST

1 Quandocumque uel **diurnis** uel nocturnis **horis ad opus diuin**um **signu**m insonuerit, **mox cum summa festinatione** surgendum est, ac **si** praeco regis insonet, **omni** opere quod **in manibus** habebatur postposito, 2 ut **nihil operi Dei praeponatur**, sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi Dei innixa 3 **cum** omni **grauitate** et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina **currat**. 4 Quod si **morose** et segniter ueniens **post primi psalmi qui** in cursu canitur finem, nouerit se a **suo ordine,**
210va dum cursus expletur, reuocari, | 5 ut **in loco ultim**o posita, id est **in** eo **loco qu**i **talibus neglegentibus** fuerit deputatus, ad**st**are et ibi cum **uerecundia**e metu expectare, 6 et post in**plet**um cursum prolixa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium **satisfac**ere. 7 **Nam foris** omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae **dormi**ant **aut** in aliquo **maligno** hosti adeundi detur occasio. 8 **Intus** etenim

8.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
8.1–12 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
8.1–3 *ed.: s*
8.5–7 (id est…satisfacere) *ed.: s*
8.7–12 *ed.: s*

8.1 Quandocumque] De excommunicatione *in marg. M* | **8.2** sonito M^{ac} | **8.3** pietati *me h* | **8.4** Quod] Et *h* | veniat *me h* | suo ordine] suordine M^{ac} | reuoca M^{ac} | **8.5** ut] et *me h* | positam *h* | eo loco] loco ultimo *s* | deputatus] iubeatur *add. s* | **8.6** inpletum] expletum *me h* | coetum] ceteram M^2 | **8.7** détente M^{ac}

8.1–10 *RBen* 43.1–9: De his qui ad opus Dei uel ad mensam tarde occurrunt.
Ad horam **diuin**i **offici**i, **mox** auditus fuerit **signu**s, relictis **omni**bus quaelibet fuerint **in manibus**, **summa cum festinatione currat**ur, 2 **cum grauitate** tamen, ut non scurrilitas inueniat fomitem. 3 Ergo **nihil operi Dei praeponatur**. 4 Quod **si** quis in nocturnis uigiliis post gloriam psalmi nonagesimi quarti, quem propter hoc omnino subtrahendo et **morose** uolumus dici, occurrerit, non **st**et in **ordine suo** in choro, 5 sed **ultim**us omnium **st**et aut **in loco qu**em **talibus neglegentibus** seorsum constituerit abbas, ut **uide**antur ab ipso uel **ab omnibus**, 6 usque dum con**plet**o opere Dei publica **satisfac**tione paeniteat. 7 Ideo autem eos **in ultimo** aut seorsum iudicauimus debere **sta**re ut, **ui**si **ab omnibus**, uel pro ipsa **uerecundia** sua emendent; 8 **nam**, si **foris** oratorium remaneant, erit forte talis qui se **aut** recollocet et **dormi**t, aut certe sedit sibi foris uel fabulis uacat, et datur occasio **maligno**;

8.1–10 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 52.34, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII.
8.11–12 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 54.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. VIII.
8.1–3 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.3, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magister ait "Quandocumque…
8.5–7 (id est…satisfacere) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.7, attributed to Cassian.
8.7–10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 43.9, *inc.* Hinc et alibi scriptum legimus "Nam…

VIII. HOW ONE OUGHT TO RISE AT THE SIGN OF THE LORD

[1] Whenever the sign for the divine work at the Hours of the day or the night resounds, one ought to rise directly with the greatest hurry, as if the herald of the King resounds. And they should lay aside all work that was held in their hands, [2] in order that nothing is set before the work of God. But the mind, which is attentive to the sound of the herald and inclined to the work of God, [3] should move swiftly with all dignity and gentleness to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love. [4] But if someone comes slowly and sluggishly after the end of the first Psalm that is sung in the service, she should know that she is recalled from her rank until the service is completed. [5] Put in the most distant place, that is in that place which is assigned to such negligent nuns, she should stay there and wait with the fear of shame. [6] After the completion of the service she should give satisfaction through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave. [7] For they should by no means be set apart outside, lest they sleep because they were kept from sleep, or an opportunity is given to the enemy to approach them with something malign.

8. Other monastic rules and norms on punctuality at prayer: *RPac Pr* 3; 5; 9–10; 121 | *RBas* 75 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; IV.12 | *RCas* 16–17; 39.2 | *2RP* 6.31–39 | *ROr* 12 | *3RP* 6 | *CaesRV* 12 | *CaesRM* 11.2–3 | *RAM* 30 | *RAV* 24 | *RT* 5.1 | *RFer* 13 | *RPS* 4 | *RM* 11.114–117; 32–33; 54–55; 73 | *RI* 6.1 | *RColC* 14 | *RcuiP* 31 | *RD* 13–14 | *Institutio canonicorum* 126–121 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 15–17 | *Memoriale qualiter I* I.1, *CCM* 1, pp. 231–232; III.9, pp. 239–240 | *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 268.

8. References to liturgy and communal prayer in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.17–19; 3.12; 6.13–16; 6.23; 6.24; 6.26; 6.29; 9.8; 10.7; 10.13–16; 12.9–11; 12.16–17; 12.24; 12.28; 14.15; 19.5

8.title *Signum dominicum* is unique. Other rules use *signum*.
8.1–3 Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.12 | *Memoriale qualiter I* I.1, *CCM* 1, p. 230: *…et sic ad oratorium festinet psallendo psalmum Ad te, domine, leuaui animam meam* (Ps. 24/25)*, cum summa reuerentia et cautela intrans…*; I.3, pp. 233–234: *Cum autem inchoante aurora diei signum sonauerit, omnes festinantes occurrant cum hilaritate cordis, quasi deum clementem ac misericordem sibi placabilem factum, Matutinas Laudes, prompta mente, uocibus modulatis, nec nimis producte, nec multum correpte, cum summa grauitate et honestate persoluere*; III.9, pp. 239–240: *Cum ad opus diuinum horis canonicis auditum fuerit signum, sicut continetur in regula, relinquentes statim quicquid in manibus est, sic tamen ut non pereat, tunc conueniant simul ad introitum oratorii…*; IV , p. 250: *Cito ad oratorium hora canonica audito signo recurrant*. Similar *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 268; I.3, p. 269; VII, p. 280. | The use of *praeco* in combination of *insonere*/*sonitum* needs an explanation. Possibly it is the person mentioned in *RcuiV* 8.11 who is in charge of the nightly service. Therefore the nuns have not only to follow this call but also listen to it with their mind (*mente intenta*). Cfr also *De accedendo* 26; *VCol* II.4; *VIoh* 4.
8.1 *Opus diuinum*: cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.12; *RBen* 19.2; *RM* 54.1. Jonas otherwise uses *opus Dei*, which is also the preferred term in the *Regula Benedicti*.
8.3 *VCol* II.4: *Grates simul parentes conditori referunt*; II.6: *Gratias deinde refert omnipotenti.* | *V. Bertilae* 2: *cum omni enim grauitate et mansuetudine.*
8.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 2.17–19. | *nouerit se*: *RBen* 27.6; 63.8.
8.5–6 This sentence is corrupt. The *ut*-clause has no finite verb. A main verb is missing in the sentence. | Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; *RcuiP* 31.1–2.
8.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 65.1–3. | Migne and Ménard emendated *ut* with *et* against the manuscript evidence. Their reading makes more sense but I retain *ut* as *lectio difficilior*.
8.6 *VCol* II.10: *uerecundiae metu pepulit*; cfr also *RcuiV* 8.5.
8.7 Cfr *RPac Pr* 11; *2RP* 6.32/37; *RT* 6.1; *RPS* 5. | Cfr Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II.4 on a monk wandering around outside during prayer because he was possessed by a demon.

posita **nec totum perd**it quod coeperat, et uerecundia ac metu frangitur, dum **ab omnibus uide**tur. 9 Et quando caeterae expleto **offici**o foras egrediuntur, illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita duodecim psalmos supra cursus seriem cantet. 10 Si uero ex toto cursum suum perdiderit, praecipuae nocturnis horis in quibus nullum aliud opus inpedit, superpositione damnetur.

11 **Hora**s uero ad cursum pro**curare** iuxta dispensationem **abbatis**sae debet cuicumque ordinatum fuerit, id est quae mente **sollicit**a et inpigra fuerit ad hoc opus idonea inuenta, **ut op**us **Dei** non tardetur. 12 Si uero qualibet occasione a iusto ordine deuiatum fuerit ut non secundum suum ordinem horae custodiantur, superpositione damnetur.

VIIII. QVALITER IN MONASTERIO SILENTII REGVLAM VEL DIVRNO OPERE VEL AD MENSAM DEBEANT CVSTODIRE, VEL AD MENSAM QVOMODO SIT LEGENDVM

1 REGULAm **SILENTII omni tempore** seruandam sanctarum SCRIPTVRArum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *CVLTVS IVSTITIAE SILENTIVM ET PAX.*

9.1 Cfr Is. 32, 17

8.9 super *Kh* | **8.10** alium *h* | impendit M^2 *Kmeh s* | suppositione *h* | **8.11** iuxta] *see commentary* | procurere *F'VWP* | impigra M^2 *Kmeh s* | **8.12** suum ordinem] *tr. s c* | suppositione *h*

9.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
9.1–10 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK*; *edd.: me h ma c*
9.1–3 (Regulam…meis) *ed.: s*
9.8–10 *ed.: s*
9.11–18 *codd.: MFWK*; *edd.: me h c*

9.tit. QVOMO *M*

9 sed ingrediantur **intus**, ut **nec totum perd**ant et de reliquo emendent. 10 **Diurnis** autem **horis**, qui **ad opus** Dei **post** uersum et gloriam **primi psalmi**, **qui** post uersum dicitur, non occurrerit, lege qua supra diximus, **in ultimo st**ent, 11 nec praesumant sociari choro psallentium usque ad **satisfac**tionem, nisi forte abbas licentiam dederit remissione sua, 12 ita tamen, ut **satisfac**iat reus ex hoc.
8.11–12 *RBen* 47.1: Nuntianda **hora op**eris **Dei** dies noctesque sit **cura abbatis**: aut ipse nuntiare aut tali **sollicit**o fratri iniungat hanc **cura**m, **ut** omnia horis conpetentibus conpleantur.

9.1 *RColM* 2: SILENTII REGVLA diligenter custodienda decernitur, quia SCRIPTVM est: *CVLTVS* autem *IVSTITIAE SILENTIVM ET PAX.* (cfr Is. 32, 17) Et ideo ne reatus de uerbositate conquiratur, exceptis utilitatibus ac NECESSariis

8.11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 47.1, *inc.* Hinc quidam pater ait "Horas…
8.12 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 47.1, following a fragment from Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17: …uel eadem festinus anticipet", "Si uero qualibet…

9.1–9 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 51.8, *inc.* Ex regula Cuiusdam cap. VIIII.
9.1–3 (Regulam…meis) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 42.1, *inc.* Hinc et alibi legitur "Regulam…

8 Because the one who is placed inside does not lose the entirety of what she had begun, and she is crushed by shame and fear, while she is being watched by everyone. 9 And when the others go outside after completing the service, she, who is placed in the church because of her tardiness, should sing twelve Psalms on top of the series of the service. 10 But if she misses her service entirely, especially during the Hours of the night, at which nothing else constrains the work [of God], she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.

11 A nun who has been appointed by the arrangement of the abbess, that is, who has been found suitable for this work because of her attentive and energetic mind, must make provisions for the Hours of the service, so that the work of God is not delayed. 12 But if for whatever reason a digression from the just order occurs, so that the Hours are not kept according to their order, she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.

VIIII. HOW THEY SHOULD GUARD THE RULE OF SILENCE IN THE MONASTERY BOTH IN DAILY WORK AND AT TABLE, AND HOW READING SHOULD BE DONE AT TABLE

1 A series of Holy Scriptures has demonstrated that the rule of silence ought to be kept at all times, as it is said through the Prophet: *The service of justice is silence and peace.* 2 For one

8.8 *Frangere*: *RcuiV* 20.7; *VCol* I.7; I.19; II.7; II.9. The expression also appears in Visigothic rules. | *coeperunt*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.14–15.

8.9 *RColC* 12: *Et qui non audierit sonitus orationum, XII psalmos.* | Additional prayer as form of penance does not appear in the *RB.* | *In ecclesia posita* (also in *RcuiV* 11.2): *VCol* I.17; I.20.

8.10 Cfr *RColC* 14, but without *superpositio.* | The precise meaning of *superpositio* is unclear. See pp. 434-436.

8.11 Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* II.17; *RM* 31.1–32.4; 52.3; *RD* 15.1–2. | *V. Austrebertae* 16 tells a miracle of a nun who almost failed to awaken the community in time for service. When the nuns finally gathered in the church, the dormitory collapsed. Cfr also *VIoh* 16. | On *iuxta*: a number of manuscripts of Smaragdus' *Expositio Regulae* provide *iusta* instead of *iuxta*, which cannot be supported by the stemma but makes a lot more sense: Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aemilian. 26, s. X; Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 1, s. IX^{ex}; Valvanera, Archivio del Monasterio, A.D. 954; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275), s. IX^{ex}. Cfr ed. Engelbert/Spannagel, p. 270.

9. Regulations on silence in other monastic rules and norms: *RPac Pr* 8; 33; 59; 60; 86; 88; 94; *RPac Inst* 18; *RPac Iud* 10 | *RBas* 12; 40; 130; 136–137 | *EuagMon* 47; 94 | *RIVP* 4.13; 5.2–6 | *2RP* 2.11–12; 6.39; 7.46 | *RMac* 15.7–8; 18 | *ROr* 5; 36; 44 | *3RP* 7 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.17 | *CaesRV* 9.3; 10; 18.2–3; 19.2–5; 20.1–2 | *CaesRM* 8–9 | *RAM* 35; 49 | *RAV* 32 | *RT* 2.4; 8.8–10; 9.4 | *RFer* 24–25; 29 | *RPS* 37 | *RM* 8–9; 11.30–62; 30; 47; 50.19–26; 68 | *RBen* 6; 7.57–61; 38.5–7; 42.1/9–11; 48.5; 52.1 | *RLea* 30 | *RI* 3.3; 9.2; 13.2–3 | *RFruc* 2; 6; 16 | *RColM* 2 | *RColC* 15 | *RcuiP* 8; 16 | *RD* 3.51–54; 4.1; 16.2–4; 17.8; 17.10; 18.3; 19; 20.2–16; 21.6–7; 25.3; 28; 32–33; 35; 37.17; 45–47; 49; 52; 71; 75.14–16 | *Ordo Casinensis I* 10, *CCM* 1, pp. 103–104 | *Memoriale qualiter I* III.8, pp. 238–239; IV, pp. 241–251; V.11, pp. 254–255; VI.17–18, pp. 259–260 | Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum* XVII.1.

9. References to silence and controlled speech in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.4–6; 3.7–10; 4.11; 4.19–22; 7.3; 12.9–12; 12.18–19; 12.22; 14.5–8; 14.15; 19.9–11; 22.4–5; 22.22–23; 23.7

9.1 Cfr *RBen* 7.56–58. | Is. 32, 17 (Vulgate): *Et erit opus iustitiae pax, et cultus iustitiae silentium, et securitas usque in sempiternum.* It is quoted as *cultus autem iustitiae, silentium et pax* in *RColM* 2 and *RD* 49.1, possibly on the basis of Ps.-Jerome, *Breuiarium in psalmos*, Ps. XXXVIII, *PL* 26, col. 941B, which formed the basis of Columbanus' lost commentary on the Psalms according to Walker, *Columbani Opera*, p. lxiv. | *scripturarum series* (also *RcuiV* 6.1): *VCol* I.3; II.9. I assume that *scripturae* refers to biblical books, though we should not be entirely sure. It might also refer to the *sancti patres*, i.e. the works of the church fathers.

9.2 Cfr Columbanus, *Instructio* 13.1.

2 TACENDVM namque EST ab **OTIOS**is et friuolis et **scurri**libus et prauis et malitiosis
210vb FABVLis, | 3 de quibus Propheta orabat, dicens: *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala.* 4 Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne DAMNAtionis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat, 5 quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de **OTIOSO** iuxta Domini praeceptum RATIONEM sumus REDDITVRI. 6 Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?

7 Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad conpletam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae commeatum loquendum est. 8 **A**b hora uero **conplet**ionis, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, **nulla** omnino **loqui** praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit. 9 Cui ab abbatissa fuerit ordinatum, loqui studeat, uel etiam a praeposita quae curam aliorum portat. 10 Ad mensam uero nulla penitus praeter abbatissam uel cui abbatissa praeceperit pro communi NECESSitate sororum loqui praesumat, 11 sed omnes intento animo gratias reddentes creatori in cordibus suis, cibi ac potus solidae mensurae largitione fruantur.

9.3 Ps. 140/141, 3–4 (*LXX*) | **9.5** Cfr Matth. 12, 36

9.2 Tacendum…dicens] et illud *s* | **9.3** mala *W*] malitiae *c* | **9.7** praeterquam *me h* | hora M^{pc} | **9.8** conpletionis M^{pc} | **9.9** ab M^{2} *Kh ma s c*] *om. M* | aliarum *h* | **9.10** abbatissa] ipse *s c*

opus est ut taceatur, quia iuxta SCRIPTVRAm *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum.* (Prou. 10, 19) Idcirco saluator ait: *Ex uerbis tuis iustificaberis et ex uerbis tuis condemnaberis.* (Matth. 12, 37) Iuste DAMNAbuntur qui iusta dicere noluerunt cum potuerunt, sed mala iniusta impia inania iniuriosa incerta falsa contentiosa contumeliosa turpia FABVLosa blasphema aspera ac flexuosa LOQVi GARRVLA uerbositate maluerunt. TACENDVM igitur EST de his et talibus et cum cautela et ratione loquendum est ne aut detractiones aut tumidae contradictiones in loquacitate uitiosa PRORVMPant.

RColC 15: In OMNI loco et opere SILENTII REGVLA magnopere custodiri censetur, ut omne quantum ualuerit humana fragilitas, quae prono ad uitia praecipitari solet cursu oris, mundemur uitio, aedificationemque potius proximorum, pro quibus saluator noster Iesus sanctum effudit sanguinem, quam delacerationem absentium in pectore conceptam et OTIOSa passim uerba, de quibus iusto sumus retributori RATIONEM REDDITVRI, ore promamus.

RBen 42.1: **Omni tempore silenti**um debent studere monachi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis.

9.2 *RBen* 6.8: **Scurrili**tates uero uel uerba **otios**a et risum mouentia aeterna clusura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aperire os non permittimus.

9.8–12 *RBen* 42.8–11 Omnes ergo in unum positi **comple**ant et, exeuntes **a complet**oriis, **nulla** sit licentia denuo cuiquam **loqui** aliquid – 9 quod si inuentus fuerit quisquam praeuaricare hanc taciturnitatis regulam, graui uindictae subiaceat – 10 excepto si **necess**itas hospitum **superuen**erit aut forte **abba**s alicui aliquid iusserit, 11 quod tamen et ipsud **cum** summa **grauitate et moderatione** honestissima **fia**t.

9.8–9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 42.11, *inc.* Hinc et alibi scriptum legimus "Ab…
9.10–11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 38.9, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magistri ait "Ad…
9.10–16 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 47.14, *inc.* Ex regula Cuiusdam cap. VIIII.

ought to refrain from idle, silly, ludicrous, improper, and malicious stories, [3] about which the Prophet used to say in prayer: *O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words.* [4] Indeed, one has to cease from superfluous stories, lest the soul catches the fruit of damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind, [5] since we are to give account not only of ludicrous or unjust but also of idle talk, according to the precept of the Lord. [6] What else should a nun strive for, other than to devote herself, both with the speech of the mouth and the desire of the soul, only to God, to whom she once and for all directed her desire?

[7] Therefore, during all the daily Hours, from the Second Hour until Compline, except at the table, whatever the usefulness for the sacred rule demands should be said by permission of the abbess. [8] But from the Hour of Compline, when prayer is given in order to obtain sleep, no one should dare to speak at all, unless a major need of the monastery demands it. [9] Whoever is ordered by the abbess – or also by the prioress, who takes care of the others – should be eager to speak. [10] But at table no one should dare to speak at all except the abbess, or one whom the abbess orders to speak on behalf of the common necessity of the sisters, [11] but with attentive mind (*animus*) all should give thanks to the Creator in their hearts and enjoy the dispensation of a substantial quantity of food and drink.

9.3 Ps. 140/141, 3–4 (*LXX*) appears in *RFer* 22.2; *RM* 11.44; 30.12.
9.4 Cfr *CaesRV* 19.2–5. | *ineffrenatus* is extremely rare.
9.5 Cfr *RcuiP* 8.4.
9.6 On perseverance after conversion: *RcuiV* 1.15; 3.1; 17.3 | *semel*: *RcuiV* 14.8; 17.3.
9.7 Cfr *CaesRV* 18.2.
9.8 *Oratio ad somnum capiendum*, see commentary to chapter 14 on sleep. *RM* 30.1–10 and *Memoriale qualiter I* VI.18, *CCM* 1, p. 260 and *II* VIII.20, p. 282 include such a prayer before going to sleep. | Silence after Compline: *RM* 30.11–27; *V. Aldegundis* 12. | *VIoh* 16: *cum somno caperet* | *VCol* I.30: *ad monasterii necessitatem*; *V. Sadalbergae* 20: *…quod in talibus rebus adesse necessitas poposcit.*
9.9 *RBen* 7.56; 42.10.
9.10 Cfr *2RP* 7.46; *RT* 8.8; *RColC* 1; *RcuiP* 16.1. | *VCol* II.7: *pro communi necessitate*; *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, pp. 237–238: *in communi necessitate*; *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

12 Portaria uero, quae pro **necess**ariis causis ad eloquium expetierit, **abba**tissae loqui permittatur, quia forsitan talis **superueni**t necessitas quae moram habere non debeat.

13 Ante mensam uero semper capitulus regulae unus aut amplius, si abba-
211[a] tissae placuerit, legatur, | 14 ut, cum cibus carnem reficit, lectio animam satiet. 15 Haec omnia **cum grauitate** animi **et moderatione** leni **fia**nt, quatenus in his omnibus Dominus delectetur. 16 Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollemnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda, 17 si ex permisso abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus, 18 sic tamen, ut praessa, non dissoluta uoce LOQVANtur, ne GARRVLA uoce in sonum PRORVMPentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur. 19 Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio Scripturarum quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum.

20 Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis studeant costodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere.

21 Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae necessaria conloquantur.

9.12 ad eloquium] alloquium *h* | abbatissae] abbatis *FW*, abbati *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | supervenerit *h* | **9.13** capitulum *Fmeh* | unum *Fmeh* | **9.16** Theophania *h* | pentecostes] pente M^{ac}

12 But the porter, who for necessary reasons asks to speak, should be allowed by the abbess to do so, because perhaps such a necessity arises that should have no delay.

13 But let one chapter of the rule always be read before the table, or more if it pleases the abbess, 14 so that reading may satiate the soul while food feeds the flesh. 15 All this should happen with a dignity of the mind and gentle moderation, to the extent that in everything the Lord may be pleased. 16 But on the feast days of the Lord, that is at the day of the birth of the Lord, the feast of Easter and of Epiphany, and at Pentecost, or if there are any other special sacred feasts of the Lord or of holy martyrs are to be celebrated, 17 we do not forbid to speak at table if it happens by permission of the abbess, 18 but in such a way, that they speak with a lowered voice and not with an unrestrained one, lest for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged. 19 And it should be such a conversation on the basis of a discussion of the Scriptures that it creates profit and not harm to the soul.

20 Those who receive silence as a penance should altogether be eager to keep it, so that they deserve to obtain the fruit through genuine mortification.

21 But two [sisters] who are stationed at whatever location, should by no means dare to speak without a third one as witness, but they should always speak what is necessary when they are put together [in groups of] three.

9.13–14 Reading at table: *AugOM* 7; *AugPraec* III.2; *CaesRV* 18.6; *CaesRM* 9; *RAM* 49; *RAV* 32; *RT* 8.10–12; *RPS* 16; 18; *RM* 24.4–5; 24.15; *RBen* 38.1; *RI* 9.2; *RFruc* 3; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17 | Reading the *regula*: *3RP* 1.4; *RAM* 1; *RAV* 1; *RFer* 5.4; *RBen* 58.12–13; 66.8; *RT* 23.15; *RPS* 41; *RM* 79.24; 87.3; 89.1/8; 90.5; 90.64; *RFruc* 2; *RD* 6.8; *Memoriale qualiter II* II.6, pp. 270–271.
9.13 On physical and spiritual nourishment, cfr *VIoh* 8.
9.14 Cfr *CaesRV* 18.2–6; *RM* 24.5; *RI* 9: *Et sicut illis corporalis cibus refectionem carnis praestat, ita mentem eorum spiritalis sermo reficiat.* | Cfr also Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 17.
9.15 Cfr *RBen* 7.59–61.
9.16 A similar listing of feast days appears only in a forged donation charter of Dagobert I for the monastery of St. Denis to 633/634, *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, vol. 1, no. 44, p. 116: *nec curiam nostram solempnem celebrabimus aut tenebimus in solempnitatibus dierum Pasche, Pentecostes, Natalis et Theophanie.* | *festa* for feast day: *RcuiV* 10.7; 10.9; 12.1; 12.14, also in *CaesRM* 25.1; *RAM* 55; *RAV* 40; *RPS* 10.1; *RM* 25; 27; 39; 43; 45; 81. Other rules (including *RBen*) use *festiuitas*; *CaesRV* uses both terms.
9.17–20 Cfr *RM* 9.49–51.
9.17 Cfr *2RP* 7.46; *CaesRV* 18.2; *RT* 8.10; *RcuiP* 16.1.
9.18 Cfr *RBen* 6.8; *RColC* 5; *RD* 49.9. | *garrula uoce*: *RColM* 2 | *sic tamen*, cfr commentary to *RcuiV* 1.6.
9.19 Cfr *RIVP* 2.42; *RcuiP* 8.6. | The juxtaposition of *damnum* and *lucrum* appears in *RBas* 75 in a different context.
9.20 Cfr *RcuiV* 12.12.
9.21 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.8; 12.18–19; *RLea* 30.

X. DE RATIONE MENSAE QVALITER ADMINISTRANDVM VEL OBSERVANDVM SIT

[1] Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobriaetate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum, [2] ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes. [3] Ministrandum namque est omnibus aequa libratione tam potus quam cibus, prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint. [4] Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus **duo** fercula, exceptis **pom**orum donis, de **legumin**ibus uel de holeribus conferta
211[b] seu | farinae qualibet consparsione. [5] Omnibus etenim aequa mensura ministrandum, praeter si aetas infirmior, quae sustinere non ualeat, aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. [6] Potus uero, si sycerae liquoris, id est ceruisae, mensura solita tri-

10.2 Cfr II Cor. 6, 4

10.tit. *codd.: M K; edd.: h ma*
10.1–18 *codd.: MF'VWTPA K; edd.: me h ma c*
10.9–11 (sufficere…pomis) *ed.: s*
10.13 *ed.: s*
10.14–15 (Et omnes…benedicere) *ed.: s*
10.17 *ed.: s*

10.1 debet *c* | abbatis *c*, abbas *F'VW* | **10.2** religionis M^2 *K me h* | **10.3** namque est] *tr. c* | aequali *h* | **10.4** cotidianis] de cibis *add. in marg. M* | de[1]] *om. c* | holeribus] oleribus *Kh* | **10.6** improbata M^2 *K me h* | **10.6** si *F'VWPA*] *om. TKh c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | ceruise *K*, cervisiae *h*

10.4 *RBen* 39.3: Ergo **duo** pulmentaria cocta fratribus omnibus sufficiant et, si fuerit unde **pom**a aut nascentia **legumin**um, addatur et tertium.

10 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 48.10, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam.

X. ON THE ORDER OF THE TABLE: HOW IT SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED AND OBSERVED

[1] It should be pondered by the wisdom of the abbess with how much uniformity and austerity the organization and the observance of the table should proceed, [2] so that the tinder of piety is strong in all [sisters], as it behoves the servants of God. [3] In fact, all are to be served both drink and food in equal measure, as the season, feast days, [days of] abstinence, or the daily practice requires. [4] Indeed, we decide that on regular days, aside from the gifts of fruit, two dishes suffice, which are filled with legumes or vegetables and some sort of pastry of flour. [5] For everyone is to be served with equal measure, unless a weaker age, which does not have the strength to sustain, or a sickness of the body, or the untrained novelty of a recent conversion cannot endure [this]. This has to be considered by the judgement of the abbess. [6] But drink, if it is of fermented fluid, that is to say beer,

10. Other monastic rules, norms, and saints' lives on eating, drinking, and fasting: *RPac Pr* 28–46; 54; 64; 73–80 | *RBas* 9.9–22; 48; 57; 88–91; 97; 128; 181 | *EuagMon* 38–39; 97 | *AugOM* 8 | *AugPraec* III.1–5 | *RIVP* 3.1–7 | Cassian, *Institutiones* V | *RCas* 4; 18; 35–36 | *RMac* 29 | *ROr* 36–38 | *3RP* 11 | *CaesRV* 12.2; 13.2; 14; 30.2–3; 39; 41–42; 67; 71 | *CaesRM* 9; 22; 24 | *RAM* 7; 50–53; *ordo conuiuii* | *RAV* 5; 34–36; *ordo conuiuii* | John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines* | *RT* 9.14–15; 10.1–4 | *RFer* 27; 35; 39.16–33 | *RPS* 16–21 | *RM* 19–28; 38; 53; 59; 61–62; 72; 73.8–12; 74; 77–78; 84; 90.4; 90.26 | *RBen* 35; 39–41; 49; 51; 56; 63.18 | *RLea* 13; 18–19; 24 | *RI* 9–11 | *RFruc* 3; 17–18 | *RCom* 5–6 | *RColM* 3 | *RColC* 1; 3; 8; 9; 13; 14; 15 | *RcuiP* 11 | *RD* 25; 33; 36; 58; 67; 76 | *Ordo Casinensis I* 1, *CCM* 1, p. 101 | Theodomar, *Ep. ad Karolum regem* 4, pp. 162–166 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 250 | *Memoriale qualiter II* IV.8, pp. 271–272; V.10–14, pp. 274–275; VI.17, p. 276; VII, pp. 277–281 | *Institutio canonicorum* 121–122 | *Historia monachorum* III.2–3 | Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum* I.3; XI.1 | *V. Anstrudis* 17

10. References to eating and drinking, cooking and baking in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 3.18–19; 3.21; 3.23–24; 9.4; 9.10–19; 11; 12.18–29; 15.7; 19.4–9; 24.7–11

10.1 The author of the *RcuiV* tends to turn the authority of the abbess into the true agent. We find similar expressions in *RcuiV* 10.5: *quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est*; 12.6: *hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est*; 16.1: *abbatissae iudicio pensandum est*; 19.3: *Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum*; 24.10: *abbatis arbitrio pensandum est.* These constructions do not appear in other monastic rules. | The expression *obseruatio mensae* appears in no other source. | This sentence may be inspired by Cassiodorus, *Variae* VII.14, *MGH AA* 12, p. 211: *Sed quantum amministratio tua inter mediocres agitur, tanta debet aequalitate trutinari…* | Compare the sentence structure to *RcuiV* 13.1–2.

10.2 Similar statements, all using *ut in om*nibus, can be found in *RcuiV* 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11; and in *VCol* II.11: *ut in omnibus paratam habeat*; II.12: *ut in omnibus sancti Spiritus gratia in ea uideretur flagrare.*

10.4 *RI* 9: *In utrisque temporibus refectio mensae tribus erit pulmentis; olerum scilicet et leguminum; et si quid tertium fuerit idem pomorum.* | *consparsio farinae*: *RColM* 3; *RPac Pr* 116. Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 4; 15; 21; and *V. Sadalbergae* 22 might refer to similar dishes. | *decernimus*, see pp. 172–174.

10.5 *Nouitas inprobata/nouitas probata*: cfr *RcuiV* 14.12 (in no other monastic text, but compare *RT* 4.3 on the use of *nouitas*). | *abbatissae iudicio*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1. | Special food regulations for the young and the sick, cfr *RPac Pr* 40–46; *RAM* 53; *RM* 26.14; *RcuiP* 11.2–3; *RColC* 13.

10.6–7 In *RcuiV* 9.11 we find *mensura solida* (substantial measure). It is possible that this is meant here as well. On drinking wine and the size of the portions of wine, cfr Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, prologue II.10–13; *Historia monachorum* III.1; *CaesRV* 30.4; *CaesRM* 19.19; *RFer* 39.24–33; *RM* 27; 30.7; *RBen* 40; 53.10–11; *RFruc* 3; *RcuiP* 11.5; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 10. The *RBen* and the *RM* allow the consumption of wine; *RcuiP* 11.5 prohibits it altogether. The *RcuiV* may be influenced by Jerome's strong advice to sacred virgins to abstain from wine except in cases of illness in *Epistula* 22 *ad Eustochium* 8. Jerome's letter is the only other source using *uini potio*. The custom to serve wine at the arrival of guest is mentioned in *V. Sadalbergae* 20; see also John of Arles, *Epistola ad uirgines* on not drinking with guests.

buatur. 7 Si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit, si labor uel festus dies uel hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitauerit, uini potio augenda est. 8 Et si duabus uicibus reficiendum sit, praeter uini potionem similis regula seruetur. 9 Festis uero diebus pro reuerentia sacrae sollemnitatis pluribus cibis, id est ternis uel quaternis ferculis, sunt corpora reficienda, 10 sic tamen, ut si pluriora sunt cibaria, numero sint minora, 11 ut corpora necessario cibo reficiantur, non nimia saturitate damnentur.

12 Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur. 13 Quando in mensam cibus administratur, nulla prius cibum comedat, quam signum ad benedicendum insonet. 14 Abbatissa uero uigilet ut confestim cum cibus ministratus fuerit signum tangere procuret. Et omnes, cum signum audierint, una uoce benedictionem rogent. 15 Quarum uocem abbatissa subsequatur dicens: Dominus dignetur benedicere. 16 Hoc ad omnia fercula uel pomorum ac potus administrationem obseruandum est.

17 Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere
211va ab altera praesumat, praeter | abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatissa commissum est.

18 Si uero aut nouitate aut temeritate aliqua haec quae supra diximus, fuerit transgressa, disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia.

10.7 abbatissae] *om. c* | uino $M^{ac}c$ | **10.9** pluribus cibis *F'meh s*] pluriores cibi $\omega MVWTPAc$ | **10.10** plura *meh* | **10.12** consideratione] oculorum *add. F'WA* | **10.17** praecipuae M^{ac}

10.9–11 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3, combined with a quotation from *RM* 26.1 (sufficere… pomis).
10.13 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3.
10.14–15 (Et omnes…benedicere) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3.
10.17 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 39.3.

should be given according to the accustomed measure. 7 If it is the wish of the abbess, the drink of wine is to be increased if work or a feast day or the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this. 8 And if there must be two meals eaten, the same rule should be observed, aside from the drink of wine. 9 But on feast days the bodies are to be nourished with more food, that is to say, with a third or fourth dish, out of reverence for the sacred feast, 10 but in such a way that if there are more dishes, they should be smaller in size, 11 so that the bodies are fed with necessary food and not condemned by too great a satiety.

12 When the sisters sit at the table, no one should lift up her eyes and look at another when she is eating, nor should she gaze at the share of someone else's food or drink with hostile consideration. 13 When food is served at the table, no one should eat food before the sign for the blessing resounds. 14 But the abbess should be watchful that she goes ahead with striking the sign immediately when the food is served. And all the sisters should ask for the blessing with one voice when they hear the sign. 15 The abbess should follow their voice with the words: "May the Lord deign to bless". 16 This is to be observed for all dishes and the serving of fruit and drink.

17 We decide in particular that no one should dare to give to another from her share or to receive anything from another, except for the abbess or the prioress to whom it is enjoined by the abbess.

18 But if anyone, on account of novelty or thoughtlessness, transgresses what we have said above, she should be corrected by the punishment of the rule in keeping with the boldness of having dared to be presumptuous.

10.7 On the arrival of guests, cfr *RM* 72; *RBen* 53.10; *V. Sadalbergae* 15; 20; 23.
10.8 Cfr *RBen* 40.5–7.
10.9 *De uirtutibus Geretrudis* 11: the feast of Gertrud gives reason for a *conuiuium*, even if it falls on the last Friday of Lent. | *VCol* I.9: …*ut cum dominicis festis uel quorumlibet sanctorum sacratae sollemnitatis adpropinquaret aduentus*.
10.11 *RColM* 3 | *RI* 9.4–5: *Per omnem autem hebdomadam fratres uiles olerum cibos ac pallentia utantur legumina*. (…) *Non erit usque ad satietatem reficiendum corpus, ne forte intereat animus, nam ex plenitudine uentris cito excitatur luxuria carnis*. (…) *Tanta cum discretione reficiendum est corpus, ut nec nimis abstinentia debilitetur, nec superflua edacitate ad lasciuiam moueatur*. Cfr also *RBas* 9.9–22; Cassian, *Institutiones* V.5.2; *RBen* 40.5; *RI* 21.3.
10.12 On preying at each other's dishes: *RPac Pr* 30; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.17; *RFer* 39.16–17.
10.14–16 Cfr *RM* 9; *RColC* 1; 3; 14; *RD* 25.1. | *RcuiV* 4.23.
10.14 *Memoriale qualiter I* V.14, *CCM* 1, p. 257.
10.15 *Dominus dignetur benedicere* appears only here and in two Mass formulae, which are edited in *PL* 78, col. 249B and *PL* 138, col. 1328C. | Prayers at table, cfr *RPS* 18; *RM* 23.2; 23.15–29; 27.1–3; 77.1–4.
10.17 Cfr *RPac Pr* 39; 98; 106; *RBas* 30; 88; 105; *ROr* 9; 39; *RFer* 39.16–23; *CaesRV* 42.1–4; *RBen* 34; *RD* 21.
10.18 *VCol* II.10: … *et iste praesumptae temeritatis audaciam*.

XI. **QVIBVS** CONGRVENTIBVS **HORIS** HIEME VEL AESTATIS TEMPORE SIT **REFIC**IENDVM

1 **A**b aduentu sacratissimae sollemnitatis, id est ab introitu **sanct**ae **pascha**e, quo inmaculati agni resurrectio celebratur, **usque** ad sacratam sollemnitatem **pentecostes** qua Apostolis spiritus sanctus fuit diffusus, id est quinquaginta dierum spatio, **ad sextam** horam est **refici**endum. 2 Similiter et uesperum erit **caen**andum, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit, ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret. 3 **A pentecosten** uero, **si** grauis **labor non** exigat, aut hospitum non cogat aduentus, usque ad quadragesimae inquoationem **ad nonam**, id est semel, reficiant, exceptis magnarum sollemnitatum euentibus, aut si labor grandis exigerit ut duabus reficiant uicibus. 4 Ab inquoatione **quadragesimae usque** sacratissimam sollemnitatem **pasca**e exceptis dominicis diebus **ad uesper**um **refic**iendum est, ut ante noctis inquoationem cum statione **luc**is refectionis impleatur hora.

5 Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobriaetate ueniant, ut nullum strepitum pedum uel

11.1–2 Cfr Matth. 9, 15; Marc. 2, 19; Luc. 5, 34

11.tit.-8 *codd.: MK; ed.: h ma*

11.1 sancti *h* | pentecostes M^2Kh] pentec' *M* | quia M^{ac} | **11.2** vesperi *h* | nullus] nec *add. h* | **11.3** pentecoste *Kh* | exigit M^{ac} | reficient *h* | exegerit M^2Kh | **11.4** inchoatione M^2Kh | usque] ad *add. h* | inchoationem M^2Kh | **11.5** venient *h*

11.1–4 *RBen* 41: **Quibus horis** oportet **refic**ere fratres?
1 **A sanct**o **Pascha usque Pentecoste**n, **ad sextam refici**ant fratres et sera **cen**ent. 2 **A Pentecosten** autem, tota aestate, **si labor**es agrorum **non** habent monachi aut nimietas aestatis non perturbat, quarta et sexta feria ieiunent usque **ad nonam**; 3 reliquis diebus ad sextam prandeant; 4 quam prandii sextam, si operis in agris habuerint aut aestatis feruor nimius fuerit, continuanda erit et in abbatis sit prouidentia. 5 Et sic omnia temperet atque disponat qualiter et animae saluentur et quod faciunt fratres absque iusta murmuratione faciant.

11 Omitted in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*.

XI. AT WHICH APPROPRIATE HOURS ONE SHOULD EAT DURING THE SEASONS OF WINTER AND SUMMER

1 From the arrival of the most sacred feast, that is from the beginning of holy Easter, at which the resurrection of the immaculate lamb is celebrated, until the sacred feast of Pentecost, at which the Holy Spirit has been poured forth on the Apostles, that is to say for the period of fifty days, one has to eat at the Sixth Hour. 2 Likewise one will also have to have a meal [at] Vespers, because the order of the holy season requires that no one who is part of the church should show [signs of] sadness. 3 But if heavy work does not require it, or the arrival of guests compels it, from Pentecost until the beginning of the forty days [of Lent] they should eat at the Ninth Hour, thus only once, except at the end of great feast days, or if heavy labour requires that they eat two times. 4 From the beginning of the forty days until the most sacred feast of Easter they should eat at Vespers except on the days of the Lord– so that the hour of the meal is completed before the beginning of the night while there is still light.

5 But when [the meal] is to be served, from each table one [sister] should rise, and they should come to the window of the kitchen with such moderation that they do not incite

11. Regulations on food and meals in this rule and in other rules: see chapter 10.

11.1–7 *Memoriale qualiter I* V.11–13, pp. 254–256: *Cum autem audierint cymbalum, cito et ordinate sine ullo strepitu festinent lotis manibus introire refectorium salutantes crucem uersis uultibus ad orientem; et cum secundo cymbalum sonuerit ad mensam, omnes congregati simul dicant uersum et orationem dominicam flectentes genua; data benedictione a priore sedeant singuli ordine suo ad mensas cum summo silentio; et nullus praesumat prius accipere quicquam cibi aut potus antequam domnus abbas, ipse tamen non tardet. Cum primum accipiat panem dicat fatri suo Benedicite, et ille respondeat Deus. Similiter faciant de potu, cum primum biberint. De ceteris uero pulmentariis, quae tunc in mensa sunt, non est necesse amplius benedictionem petere. Et antequam incipiant cibum sumere, petat lector benedictionem et incipiat legere, et sicut docet regula, nullius uox ibi audiatur, nisi solius legentis, nisi certe pro aedificatione aliquid exinde breuiter dicatur. Postea autem quicquid pulmentarium ex coquina ministratur, qui ministrant a nouissimis incipiant et usque ad domnum abbatem ministrando perueniant. Tunc sonent cymbalum tacite et dicant fratres Benedicite aequa uoce et producte. Data communi benedictione exspectent, sicut iam diximus, ut abbas prior accipiat, postea singuli dicentes alterutrum Benedicite. Quando prior benedicit cibum uel potum uel aliud quicquam, non sedendo sed stando benedicat.* Similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* V.10–12, pp. 274–275. | Cfr *RM* 28; *RcuiP* 11.2.

11.1 The expression *sacrata solemnitas|sacratissima solemnitas* usually refers to Easter. This is the only text that applies it to Pentecost.

11.2 The text gives the male form *nullus positus*. This might be an indication that there was a male version of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but it may also indicate a general statement. | *in ecclesia positus* (also in *RcuiV* 8.9): *VCol* I.17; I.20.

11.3 *Labor grandis*: *VCol* I.9; *De accedendo* 8.

11.4 Cfr *RM* 50.70–71.

11.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 18.4–6; *RD* 33.3–5 | *RPS* 18.2: *Non cum contentione et murmuratione et indignatione et clamosis uocibus et* ***strepitu pedum*** *et* ***son****u* ***uasorum*** *donum dei, sed cum caritate et quiete et dulcissimo disciplinae freno sumamus;…* | *RI* 9: *Refectorium pariter unum erit. Ad* ***singul****as* ***mens****as deni conuescentes resideant; reliqua turba paruulorum adsistent; tempore conuescentium fratrum omnes disciplina gerant silentium Apostolo obtemperantes, qui dicit: Cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent.* (II Thess. 3, 13) (…) *Nullus ad mensam clamor excitetur; soli tantum* ***praeposit****o sollicitudo maneat in iis quae sunt uescentibus necessaria. Abba citra langoris necessitatem cibos in conspectu pariter cum fratribus sumat. Neque aliut quam ceteri neque cultius quam ea quae in commune consistunt praeparari sibi quidpiam expectet; sicque fiet ut dum praesens est omnia diligenter* ***administr****entur, et dum communia sunt salubriter et cum karitate sumantur. Aequalia quippe erunt mensarum omnium fercula; similimisque alimentis cuncti reficiendi sunt fratres.* | The office of a *praepositus mensae* appears in *RColC* 9.

211vb uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent. 6 Et primum ad senio|rem mensam simul omnes ministrent. 7 Sic demum ad suam mensam qua sederint deferant fercula. 8 Praeposita mensae gubernet quomodo ex ipsa mensa mutuatim uicibus uel aetate iuniores, si fuerint, debeant ministrare.

XII. QVOMODO **COTIDIAN**IS DIEBVS **MAN**IBVS SIT **OPERA**NDVM

1 Operandum namque est omni **tempor**e praeter dies festos, ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium. 2 Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est ut **lectioni**s fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps **lectioni diuina**e **uace**tur. 3 Operatio manuum **a**b **hora** secunda sumat exordium et in horam nonam finem accipiat. 4 Ab hora uero nona lectio usitetur.

5 Et si aliqua proprium aliquod opus **faciendum** aut uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi aut quodlibet aliud opus per abbatissae uel praepositae commeatum faciat. 6 Et si forte opus fortius superuenerit, ut maturius arripiant operari uel propter feruentem aestum, hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est, 7 ut secundum quod tempus exigit aut fortioris laboris pondus uel ad sextam, ut iuste iudicauerit, ab opere sit quiescendum 8 et post quietem uel refectionem **usque ad uesperum** sit **oper**andum.

11.6 seniorum *h ma* | **11.7** mutuatim M^{pc}

12.tit. *codd.: MK; edd. h ma*

12.1–17 *codd.: MF'VWK*; *edd.: me h ma c*
12.9–13 (operis dei…castigetur) *ed.: s*
12.18–21 *codd.: MF'VWTPA*; *edd.: me h ma c*
12.22–29 *codd.: MF'VWTPA*; *edd.: me h ma c*

12.tit. DIEBVS *om.* M^{ac} | SIT *om.* M^{ac} | **12.1** egentis *coni. Ponesse*] egenis ω *M c h* | **12.5** aliqua] aliquando *me h* | faciet *h* | **12.7** pond M^{ac}

6 Ab idus autem septembres usque caput quadragesimae, ad nonam semper reficiant. 7 In **quadragesima** uero **usque** in **Pascha**, **ad uesper**am **refici**ant; 8 ipsa tamen uespera sic agatur ut lumen **luc**ernae non indigeant reficientes, sed luce adhuc diei omnia consummentur. 9 Sed et omni tempore, siue cena siue refectionis hora sic temperetur ut luce fiant omnia.

12.tit., 1–8: *RBen* 48.tit., 1–6/10–13: De **opera man**uum **cotidian**a.
1 Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis **tempor**ibus occupari debent fratres in labore **manuum**, certis iterum horis in **lection**e **diuina**. 2 Ideoque hac dispositione credimus utraque tempore ordinari: 3 id est ut a Pascha usque kalendas octobres a mane exeuntes **a** prima **usque hora** paene quarta laborent quod **neces-s**arium fuerit; 4 **ab hora** autem quarta **usque** hora qua sextam agent **lectioni uace**nt; 5 **post** sextam autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio, aut **forte** qui uoluerit legere sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet; 6 et agatur **nona** temperius mediante octaua hora, et iterum quod **faciendum** est **oper**entur **usque ad uesperam**.(…)

12.1–17 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 55.26, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam Patris [*sic!*] cap. XII.

any clatter of feet or dishes or any sound whatsoever. 6 And all of them together should first serve at the table of the elders. 7 Afterwards they should carry the plates to their table where they sit. 8 The prioress of the table has to direct how they ought to serve each other in turn at that table, or (whether) the younger, if there are any, ought to serve.

XII. HOW ONE SHOULD DO MANUAL WORK DURING REGULAR DAYS

1 One has to work at all seasons except for feast days, in order that enough capacity is obtained from which support can be given for their own need or for someone else's need. 2 But in such a way is manual work to be pursued that the profit of reading is not missed but, as determined by the season, attention is to be given to work and afterwards [time] should be made free for the divine reading (*lectio divina*). 3 Manual work should have its beginning at the second Hour and receive its completion at the Ninth Hour. 4 But after the Ninth Hour, reading should be practised.

5 And if [a sister] has to do any work for herself, either that clothes are to be sewn or washed or whatever other work, she may do so with the permission of the abbess or the prioress. 6 And if by chance heavier work comes up, so that they begin to work earlier, or because of the hot summer, the abbess has to consider with judgement 7 that according to what the season or the burden of heavier work requires, as she decides rightfully, one may rest from work until the Sixth Hour, 8 and after a rest or after meal they should work until Vespers.

11.8 *CaesRV* 18.4; *RI* 9.2. | *Memoriale qualiter I* V.14, pp. 256–257 and *Memoriale qualiter II* V.13, p. 275 on the *iuniores* serving the rest of the community.

12. Other monastic rules and norms on manual labor and the organization of the day: *RPac Pr* 15; 26–27; 58–72; *RPac Leg* 1–3 | *RBas* 82; 85–86; 131–132; 173 | *AugOM* 3; 9 | *RIVP* 3.6–22 | *RCas* 23; 33; 37–39 | *2RP* 2.11; 5.22–26 | *RMac* 8; 30 | *ROr* 6; 13; 24; 28 | *3RP* 5 | *CaesRV* 7–8; 14; 16; 19; 28.1; 29; 46; 57 | *CaesRM* 7; 14; 18 | *RT* 9–10 | *RFer* 19; 26; 28 | *RPS* 11; 13; 22; 32–33 | *RM* 18–19; 23; 50 | *RLea* 15 | *RI* 5; 9.7; 21 | *RFruc* 4; 6–7 | *RCom* 9 | *RcuiP* 12–14 | *RD* 20; 23.2; 29 | *Memoriale qualiter I* III, *CCM* 1, pp. 238–240; IV, pp. 244–251 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VI, p. 276; VII, pp. 277–281

12. References to manual work in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 3.17–20; 13.3–5; 16.2–4; 22.19

12.1 *Suffragium* appears five times in *VCol*, once in *VIoh*, once in *CaesRV*, prologue.5, but not in other monastic rules.

12.2–4 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, p. 251: *Certis horis et constitutis opera manuum non neglegant, quia uirtus est animae et corporis; certis iterum horis lectionem pleniter uacent, et si fieri potest, in una claustra sedeant, ut se inuicem uidentes cohortentur, et sub silentio legant, et ne unus alium iungat, nisi necessitas discendi exposcerit, ipsud tamen sine inquietudine alterius fiat*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 281.

12.2 *VIoh* 12: *oratione adque deprecatione intentionem dedit*. The terms *intentus* and *intentio* appear six times in *RcuiV*, 19 times in *VCol*, twice in *VIoh*, and four times in *De accedendo*.

12.3 Cfr *CaesRV* 19.1–2; *Memoriale qualiter I* III.10, p. 240: *A kalendis octobris usque in Pascha hora nona hoc faciant; a Pascha autem usque kalendas octobris hora tertia et hora undecima*. | *exordium sumere*: *RBas* 22 | *finem accipere*: unusual.

12.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum*. | On periods of reading, cfr *AugOM* 3; *CaesRV* 19.1; *RT* 9.5; *RM* 50.10–12; *RColM* 3.

12.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 8; 29; 46; 51.4; *RPS* 28; *RD* 20.9.

12.6 *Abbatissae arbitrio*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1. | *feruentem aestum*: *VCol* I.4.

9 Illud inter omnia uel abbatissa, si praesens fuerit, coerceat, aut praeposita quae eius uice relinquitur, ut nullam paenitus monacham **fabulis oti**osis praeter
212a necessariam interrogationem **uaca**re permittat. Sed in ipso opere | manuum operis Dei recordatio teneatur, 10 id est, ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, 11 interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat. 12 Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae fabulatione delectetur, silentii poena castigetur.

13 Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant. 14 Similiter ad caput sororum lauandum per singula sabbata uel balnearum usus per festas sollemnitates praeparent, 15 ut si sunt alia extrema facienda, penitentes faciant, ut dum mente humili et contrito corde haec propter timorem Domini faciunt, ab omnipotentis Dei misericordia celerius a suis delictis lauentur.

16 Quando ad opera eundum est, iste capitulus psallatur: *Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos, et opera manuum nostrarum dirige super nos, et opus manuum nostrarum dirige.* 17 Quando uero finitur opus, istud dicatur capitulum: *Benedicat nos Dominus Deus noster et benedicat nos Deus, et metuant eum omnes fines terrae.*

18 Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem. 19 Et si necesse fuerit ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat. 20 Et panem, quem faciunt per uices,

12.15 *contrito corde*] cfr Ps. 50/51, 19 | **12.16** Ps. 89/90, 17 (*LXX*) | **12.17** Ps. 66/67, 7–8 (*LXX*)

12.9 permittatur *F'V* | **12.12** Nam] Ac *h* | **12.13** focus $M^{ac}c$, focum V^{pc} | facient *h* | **12.14** festas] fectas $F'^{ac}W$, certas F'^{pc} | **12.15** Vt] aut V^{pc} *me h c* | facient *h* | mente $M^{pc}F'V^{pc}$] menti $M^{ac}c$ | **12.16** istud capitulum *h* | **12.17** dominus] deus *h* | **12.19** maneant *h* | quae $F'^{ac}WTA^{ac}$] qui *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | **12.20** cellariae *h* | omnia $M^{ac}VT$

10 A kalendas autem octobres usque caput quadragesimae, usque in **hora secunda** plena **lectio**ni **uace**nt; 11 **hora secunda** agatur tertia, et usque **nona** omnes in opus suum laborent quod eis iniungitur; 12 facto autem primo signo **nona**e **hora**e, deiungant ab opera sua singuli et sint parati dum secundum signum pulsauerit.

12.9–12 *RBen* 48.17–20: Ante **omnia** sane deputentur unus aut duo seniores qui circumeant monasterium horis quibus uacant fratres lectioni, 18 et uideant ne forte inueniatur frater acediosus qui **uaca**t **ot**io aut **fabulis** et non est intentus lectioni, et non solum sibi inutilis est, sed etiam alios distollit: 19 hic talis si – quod absit! – repertus fuerit, corripiatur semel et secundo; 20 si non emendauerit, correptioni regulari subiaceat taliter ut ceteri timeant.

12.9–13 (operis dei…castigetur) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 48.13, following *RBen* 48.10–13.
12.18–21 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 71.5, *inc.* Item ex eadem Regula cap. XII.

9 Above all, the abbess –if she is present– or the prioress who is left in her place, should enforce that she does not allow any nun to make time for idle conversation aside from asking what is necessary. But in manual work the remembrance of the work of God should be kept, 10 that is to say, that while on the outside the hands are occupied with works according to the opportunity of the season, 11 on the inside the mind becomes sweet through the tongue's meditation of the Psalms and the remembrance of the Scriptures. 12 For, if a violator of this rule should please [herself] in storytelling, she should be castigated by the punishment of silence.

13 However, the penitents –if there are [penitents]– should make the fires in the common room in two pairs throughout the weeks. 14 Likewise they should prepare to wash the heads of the sisters each Saturday, and for each solemn feast [they should prepare] the use of the baths– 15 or, if other very mean things are to be done, the penitents should do them, so that while they do this with a humble mind and a contrite heart out of fear of the Lord, they are cleansed more quickly by the mercy of the Almighty God from their offences.

16 When they go to work, this verse of the Psalms is to be recited: *May the splendour of the Lord God be over us, and guide above us the works of our hands, and guide the work of our hands.* 17 But when the work is finished, this verse should be said: *May the Lord God bless us and may bless us God, and may all the ends of the earth fear him.*

18 But the bakers should do the common work alternating in turns, in such a way, however, that they are not less than three, because of the necessity to speak. 19 And if it is necessary that they stay there [in the bakery], they should be no fewer than four, and one elder among them whose piety should be trustworthy should be the prioress, who has

12.9–12: *Memoriale qualiter I* III.8, p. 239: *Tunc uadant aut simul aut separatim ad opus sibi iniunctum, custodientes silentium, decantent psalmos suos aut pariter aut bini aut singuli, iuxta quod congruum est, nihil aliud loquentes, nisi forte de ipsa arte necesse fuerit dicere caute.*
12.9 Cfr *2RP* 2.11; *RAM* 34; 50; *RAV* 27; *RBen* 7.56; *RColM* 2; *RColC* 4. | Compare *quae eius uice relinquitur* to *RcuiV* 2.7: *Super quam abbatissa requiescat.*
12.10–11 *Exterius|interius* or *exterior|interior*, cfr *RAM* 49; *RAV* 32; *RT* 1; *De accedendo* 6.
12.11 *Meditiatio cordis|oratio de corde*, cfr *CaesRV* 18.3; 20.3; 21.7; 22.
12.12 Cfr *RcolC* 4: *Fabulas otiosas proferens ad alterum, statim semet ipsum reprehendens, uenia tantum; si autem se non reprehenderit* [*sed detractauerit qualiter eas excusare debeat*] *superpositione silentii aut L percussionibus.* | Silence as penance: *RcuiV* 9.20.
12.13–15 On *paenitentes*: *RcuiV* 6.24–25; 9.20; 18.6–7; 19.7; 20.9; 21.3 | On dirty work, cfr Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 17; 23.
12.13 Cfr *Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica* (816), 36, *CCM* 1, p. 468; *Regula Benedicti Anianensis* 31, p. 524.
12.14 On washing hair and preparing baths as an act of humility: Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 2; 4; 17; *V. Eustadiolae* 6; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.19.
12.15 Dirty work, cfr *RM* 50.75–77; *RColC* 9; Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 23–24; *V. Balthildis* 11; *V. Benedicti Anianensis* 2. | *V. Sadalbergae* 20: *omnipotentis Dei misericordia.*
12.16–17 Cfr *RM* 24.6–13.
12.18 Cfr *RPac Pr* 116–117; *CaesRV* 20.1; *RT* 10.1; *V. Austrebertae* 10.

senior quae ex eis est, cellarariae representet, ut omni custodia tutae in nullo
212b reprehensibiles | repperiantur. 21 Similiter et quae in bracisiatorium ad ceruisiam faciendam inhabitauerint, una ex eis senior sit preposita, quae secundum regulam pistricis omnia custodiat.

22 Cocae uero per ebdomadas **cocin**ent, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad **coquina**ndum deputentur, 23 ne inpositus sine discretione **labor**, unde **merce**dem mercari debuit, inde **murmur**ii fructum reportet. 24 **Ingredien**tes autem **pro se orari** rogent omnem coetum sororum, 25 orantes in **orat**ione dicant: *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram*, et *Adiuua nos Deus salutaris noster*. 26 **E**xeuntes uero **lauent** omnium sororum **pedes**. 27 Et omnia **uasa**, quae ad necessarium usum habuerunt lauata praepositae repraesentent. 28 Similiter **pro se orari** rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: *Quoniam tu **Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me***. 29 Propter singulas neglegentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussionibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiores repperiantur.

12.25 Ps. 123/124, 8 (*LXX*); Ps. 78/79, 9 (*LXX*) | **12.28** Ps. 85/86, 17 (*LXX*)

12.21 brachisitorium *c*, braxatorium *h* | ceruisiam *me h c*] ceruisam *M V T* | quae *h*] *om.* ω *M F' V*^{ac} *W T P A me*, qui *V*^{pc} *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | **12.22** unaquaque *c me h*] unaquaeque *M* | **12.23** murmurationis *h* | **12.27** praepositis *F*^{pc} *P A*^{pc}, praeposito *W* | **12.29** cellariae *h* | XXV] viginti quinque *Kh*

12.22–29 *RBen* 35: De septimanariis **coquina**e

1 Fratres sibi inuicem seruiant, ut nullus excusetur a **coquina**e officio, nisi aut aegritudo, aut in causa grauis utilitatis quis occupatus fuerit, 2 quia exinde maior **merc**is et caritas acquiritur. 3 Inbecillibus autem procurentur solacia, ut non cum tristitia hoc faciant; 4 sed habeant omnes solacia secundum modum congregationis aut positionem loci. 5 Si maior congregatio fuerit, cellararius excusetur a coquina, uel si qui, ut diximus, maioribus utilitatibus occupantur; 6 ceteri sibi sub caritate inuicem seruiant. 7 **E**gressurus de septimana, sabbato munditias faciat. 8 Lintea cum quibus sibi fratres manus aut pedes tergunt lauent. 9 **Pedes** uero tam ipse qui egreditur quam ille qui intraturus est omnibus **lauent**. 10 **Vasa** ministerii sui munda et sana cellarario reconsignet; 11 qui cellararius item intranti consignet, ut sciat quod dat aut quod recipit. 12 Septimanarii autem ante unam horam refectionis accipiant super statutam annonam singulas biberes et panem, 13 ut hora refectionis sine **murmur**atione et graui **labor**e seruiant fratribus suis. 14 In diebus tamen sollemnibus usque ad missas sustineant. 15 Intrantes et exeuntes ebdomadarii in **ora**torio mox matutinis finitis dominica omnibus genibus prouoluantur postulantes **pro se orari**. 16 Egrediens autem de septimana dicat hunc uersum: *Benedictus es, **Domine** Deus, qui **adiuuasti me et consolatus es me*** (Ps. 85/86, 17 [*LXX*]); 17 quo dicto tertio accepta benedictione egrediens, subsequatur **ingredien**s et dicat: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps. 69/70, 2 [*LXX*]), 18 et hoc idem tertio repetatur ab omnibus et accepta benedictione ingrediatur.

12.22–29 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 44.10, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam ex cap. XII.

the permission to speak. 20 And the elder among them should present the bread, which they make in turns, to the cellarer, so that they, entirely controlled by vigilance, be found reprehensible in nothing. 21 Likewise those who stay in the brewery in order to make beer, should have a senior among them as prioress, to guard everything according to the rule of the baker.

22 But the cooks should cook in weekly shifts, so that every week three or, if necessary, more are assigned to kitchen service, 23 lest work (*labor*) that is imposed without discretion bears the fruit of murmuring where it should earn reward. 24 But those who enter [the kitchen shift] should ask the entire group of sisters to pray for them 25 and reciting the prayer they should say: *Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth*, and *Help us, God, our Saviour*. 26 But those who leave [the kitchen shift] should wash the feet of all sisters. 27 And they should present all vessels cleaned to the prioress, which they handled for necessary use. 28 Likewise they should ask that prayer be done for them, and they should say this verse in their prayer: *Because you, Lord, have helped me and you have comforted me*. 29 For each negligence both the cook and the cellarer should be corrected with twenty-five lashes on the palm of the hand on ordinary days, lest those who care little for the smallest offences be found more prone to greater ones.

12.19 Cfr *RM* 11.20–34; 11.40–48.
12.20 Cfr *CaesRV* 27.3; *RI* 21.2.
12.21 On brewing beer: *VCol* I.16; *V. Sadalbergae* 20; on the brewery (*bratiarium*): *Supplex Libellus* XVI, *CCM* 1, p. 325.
12.22 Cfr *RIVP* 3.21–22; *CaesRV* 14: *Quae coquent, singuli illis meri pro labore addantur.* 2*In omni ministerio corporali, tam in coquina, uel quicquid cotidianus exigit usus, uicibus sibi, excepta matre uel praeposita, succedere debent*. See also *RD* 67; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 24; *V. Sadalbergae* 23; 25.
12.22–29 Cfr *RM* 18–29; 81.21–24; *RFruc* 7; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.19–20.
12.23 Cfr *CaesRV* 28.2–3; *RT* 10.1; *RColM* 5: *Non exeat igitur uerbum grande de ore monachi, ne suus grandis pereat labor*.
12.24 Cfr *RM* 19.1–8; 24.9.
12.26 Cfr Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 24.
12.27 Cfr *RM* 16.39; *RBen* 31.10; *RI* 5.7. | *RcuiV* 2.1–8: the *praeposita* assumes responsibilities that were given to the *cellararius* in *RBen*. Cfr also *RM* 19; *RD* 67.7–8.
12.29 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12; 16.4; 24.3; *CaesRV* 6.4–6; *RBen* 63.16–19.

XIII. DE VTENSILIBVS **VEL** SVPELLECTILIBVS

1 Vtensilia **monasterii** et quaeque sunt ad commune opus necessaria **abba**-tissae cura disponantur. 2 Et tales in congregatione quaerantur **qu**a**rum** et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata. 3 Et ipsis cura committatur, ut cuique necessaria fuerint, oportunitate exigente tribuantur. 4 Et sic ipsa utensilia,
212va seu quaecumque eis ab **abba**tissa commissa | fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent, 5 ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, 6 anteponentes illud mentis oculis: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei* ***neglegenter***.

XIIII. QVALITER IN SCOLA DEBEANT **DORM**IRE

1 Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis **parat**am Deo mentem praeparant, 2 ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat, 3 iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio*

13.6 Ier. 48, 10

14.1 Cfr Apoc. 12, 6; 19, 7; 21, 2 | **14.3** Cant. 5, 2

13.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
13.1–6 *codd.: MFVWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*

13.tit. supelectilibus M^{ac} | **13.2** viget *h* | **13.3** ut] quae *add.* A^{pc} *me h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*) | oportonitate M^{ac} | **13.4** gubernentur *h* | **13.6** anteponentes M^{pc} | negligenter M^{2} *Kh*

14.tit.-10 *codd.: MK; edd.: me h*
14.11–15 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
14.15 *ed.: s*

14.1 religiosae M^{2} *Kh* | **14.2** sapore M^{ac}

13 *RBen* 32: De ferramentis **uel** rebus monasterii.
1 Substantia **monasterii** in ferramentis uel uestibus seu quibuslibet rebus praeuideat **abba**s fratres de **qu**o**rum** uita et moribus securus sit, 2 et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda. 3 Ex quibus **abba**s breuem teneat, ut dum sibi in ipsa assignata fratres uicissim succedunt, sciat quid dat aut quid recipit. 4 Si quis autem sordide aut **neglegenter** res monasterii tractauerit, corripiatur; 5 si non emendauerit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat.

14 *RBen* 22: Quomodo **dorm**iant monachi.
1 Singuli per singula **lect**a **dormiant**. 2 Lectisternia pro modo conuersationis secundum dispensationem abbatis sui accipiant. 3 **Si potest fieri omnes** in **un**o loco **dormi**ant; sin autem multitudo non sinit, deni aut uiceni cum **senior**ibus qui super eos solliciti sint pausent.

13 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 41.12, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XII. [*sic!*].

14.1–10 Omitted in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*.

XIII. ON THE TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

[1] The tools of the monastery and whatever is necessary for communal work should be administered under the care of the abbess. [2] And among the congregation such [sisters] should be looked for whose care of the mind is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved. [3] And the care should be entrusted to them, so that everyone is given out what is necessary, just as convenience requires. [4] And they should manage these tools or whatever is entrusted to them by the abbess with such anxious zeal of fear [5] that they receive the reward for the care entrusted [to them] and not incur the judgement of damnation, [6] holding this [word] before the eyes of their mind: *Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God.*

XIIII. HOW THEY SHOULD SLEEP IN A COMMON ROOM

[1] It is true that souls, who are always pious and dedicated to God, prepare the mind which is ready for God, both at the daily and the nightly Hours, [2] in order that the soul forcefully remains attentive to the praises of the Creator in incessant vigilance, even though

13. Regulations on care of communal property, tools, and food in other rules, norms, and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 66; 81; 102–103; 105; 124–125; 131 | *RPac Inst* 5–8; 11 | *RBas* 103–106; 111 | *AugPraec* V.2 | *EuagMon* 75 | *RIVP* 3.28–30 | Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.13–14; IV.19–20 | *RCas* 33; 37–39 | *CaesRV* 32.4–5 | *RT* 12.3–4 | *RPS* 24–25; 35 | *RM* 16.40–61; 17; 93.13 | *RI* 8.1; 20–21 | *RFruc* 5 | *RCom* 3 | *RCons* 8 | *RColC* 2; 3; 15 | *RcuiP* 28 | *RD* 26; 62 | *VIoh* 7 | Gregory the Great, *Registrum* VIII.5

13. References to the care of communal property and tools in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.14–18; 3.22; 4.8; 4.17–18; 12.27; 16. Cfr *CaesRV* 32.4–5

13.1 *RM* 16.57 | *suppellectilis*: *VCol* I.4; I.23 (three times); II.5.
13.3 Cfr *RPac Pr* 66 | *V. Sadalbergae* 20.
13.4–6 *V. Sadalbergae* 21 describes how carelessness almost caused a serious accident in the monastery. Cfr also *VIoh* 7.
13.5–6 *V. Bertilae* 2: *timorem uero Dei semper prae oculis habens.*
13.5 See commentary on *RcuiV* 1.18. | *VIoh* 4: *iudicium damnationis*; *VCol* II.12: *damna incurrat uitae aeternae*; II.13: *ne tanti damni incurreret causam.*
13.6 *V. Segolenae* 31.32 also uses Ier. 48, 10.

14. Other monastic rules, norms, and hagiographic texts on the sleep of monks or nuns and on physical distance: *RPac Pr* 87–89; 92–96; 106; 109; 112; 118 | *RBas* 3.20–23; 9.8; 35; 55; 75–76; 129 | *EuagMon* 46–52 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.13–14; III.4–6; V.35 | Cassian, *Collationes* XII.15; XIII.6 | *RCas* 10 | *ROr* 7–8; 44 | *CaesRV* 9; 51.1 | *CaesRM* 3 | *RAM* 8; 33; 35 | *RAV* 6 | *RT* 2.1; 4.7; 7.4 | *RFer* 16; 32 | *RPS* 11 | *RM* 11.109–121; 29–33; 50.56–61; 80 | *RBen* 8–14; 22; 43.7–9; 48.5; 58.5 | *RI* 13; 17.3; 19.2 | *RFruc* 1–2; 16 | *RCom* 19 | *RD* 11; 32; 65 | *RColV* 31–36 | *Ordo diurnus Anianensis*, *CCM* 1, pp. 313–314 | *Memoriale qualiter I* VI.18–19, *CCM* 1, pp. 260–261 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.21, p. 282 | *Institutio canonicorum* 136 | *VIoh* 16 | *V. Austrebertae* 15 | *V. Wandregiseli prima* 8.

14. References to the nuns' sleep in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.16–19; 6.20; 8; 9.8; 16.2; 24.10

14.title *Scola* for sleeping quarters: *CaesRV* 4.3; *CaesRM* 3; Council of Tours (567) 15. In *RcuiV* 16.2 the author uses *dormitorium*. According *RcuiV* 6.26, the nuns gather in the *scola* after the Secunda. In this context the term seems to refer to some sort of common room. In *RT* 7.2 *scola* refers to the room where all the monks gather to read.
14.1–5 Cfr Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 8–9/19.
14.2 Aquilinus Iuuencus, *Euangeliorum libri quattuor*, I.137, *CSEL* 24, p. 10: *Talia tractanti torpescunt membra sopore*; see also *VCol* I.2: *postquam sopor membra laxauit*; I.3: *somno torpentem*; II.18: *cum sopore membra*; *VIoh* 16: *sodalium membra nimio occubuissent sopore.* | *uigor*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.2. | *praeconia* (also *RcuiV* 8.2) appears seven times in *VCol*, once in *VIoh*, and once in *De accedendo*, but in no other monastic rule.

et cor meum uigilat, 4 tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.

5 Proinde ergo decernimus ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in **lect**ulis **dormiant**, 6 sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur. 7 Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, 8 ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria. 9 Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis **senior** sit de cuius relegione non dubitetur. 10 Iuuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur. 11 **Omnes** enim, **si fieri potest**, **un**a domus ad **dormi**endum capiat, 12 praeter si infirmitas aut senilis aetas poposcerit aut culpa damnauerit aut nouitas probata non fuerit, ut in cella separentur. 13 Omnes **uestit**ae **et cinctae dormiant**. 14 In scola, qua dor-
212vb mitur, per totam noctem lucerna **ar|deat**.

15 **Ad** cursum **uero** cum **festin**atione **surgentes** signum crucis fronti inferatur, simulque SVB SILENTIO **DIC**atur: ***DEVS IN ADIVTORIVM MEVM INTENDE. DOMINE AD ADIVVANDVM ME FESTINA.***

14.4 Cfr Eph. 3, 5 | **14.15** Ps. 69/70, 2 (*LXX*)

14.4 solerti M^{ac} | semper] specialiter *h* | negligentiam M^2Kh | imbecillitatis M^2Kh | **14.5** seniores *h* | **14.8** immittat M^2Kh | conloquendo M^{ac} | **14.9** semper ex illis] ex illis semper *h* | religione M^2Kh | **14.11** enim] *om. c* | **14.12** in *om. c* | **14.13** et cinctae dormiant] dormiant et cincti *c* | **14.14** scola] domo *c* | **14.15** inferatur *c*] feratur *V*, inferantur T^{ac}, inferant PA^{ac}, inferat A^{pc}; inferant suis *s*

4 Candela iugiter in eadem cella **ardeat** usque mane. 5 **Vestit**i **dormiant et cinct**i cingellis aut funibus, ut cultellos suos ad latus suum non habeant dum dormiunt, ne forte per somnum uulnerent dormientem; 6 et ut **parat**i sint monachi semper et, facto signo absque mora **surgentes**, **festin**ent inuicem se praeuenire ad opus Dei, cum omni tamen grauitate et modestia. 7 Adulescentiores fratres iuxta se non habeant lectos, sed permixti cum **senior**ibus. 8 **Surgentes uero ad** opus Dei inuicem se moderate cohortentur propter somnulentorum excusationes.

14.15 *RBen* 18.1: In primis **dicatur** uersu ***Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina*** (Ps. 69/70, 2 [*LXX*]), gloria, inde hymnum uniuscuiusque horae.

14.15 *RColC* 9: In commune autem omnes fratres omnibus diebus ac noctibus tempore orationum in fine omnium psalmorum genua in oratione, si non infirmitas corporis offecerit, flectere aequo animo debent, SVB SILENTIO DICentes: *DEVS IN ADIVTORIVM MEVM INTENDE, DOMINE AD ADIVVANDVM ME FESTINA.* (Ps. 69/70, 2 [*LXX*])

14.11–15 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 29.8, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XIIII.

14.15 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 22.6, following two quotations from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX.4.31.

the limbs grow stiff with sleep, [3] according to this word: *For I sleep, and my heart keeps watch.* [4] Nevertheless one has to observe at all times with skilful care that the subdued limbs do not contract the harm of weakness through negligence to maternal attentiveness.

[5] We therefore decide that, with the exception of the sick and the old, they should sleep in their beds in pairs of two, [6] but in such a way that they do not speak to each other. [7] And they should not look at each other, that is to say face to face, but one should sleep resting behind the other, [8] lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation. [9] And this has to happen in such a way, that one of them is always an elder whose piety is beyond doubt. [10] We determine that the young [nuns] by no means sleep together, lest they are seduced to some offence by passion because of the adversity of the flesh. [11] For indeed, if possible, one building should hold all [nuns] for sleeping, [12] unless sickness or old age demands, or guilt condemns them, or because they are new and unproven, so that they should be separated in a [special] cell. [13] All should sleep clothed and girded. [14] In the common room where one sleeps a lamp should burn throughout the entire night.

[15] But when they rise for the service with haste, they should make the sign of the cross on their brow and say together in silence: *God, come to my help. Lord, hasten to help me.*

14.3 Only *VIoh* 16 quotes Cant. 5, 2 as *Ego enim dormio* instead of *Ego dormio.*
14.4 *subiecta membra*: *VIoh* 3.
14.5 On *decernimus*, see pp. 172–174. | *RAM* 33 requires separate beds; *RAV* omits this regulation.
14.6 Cfr *RT* 4.8; *RI* 13.2.
14.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 9.6; *CaesRV* 49.4; *VCol* I.3: *coepit tandem contra eum antiquus hostis loetifera tela laxare…* | Cassian, *Collationes* II.13.7; XII.6.3; XII.11.3; and *Institutiones* IV, 9 on the *iacula* of the devil.
14.9 *De cuius relegione non dubitetur* (also in *RcuiV* 24.8): *VCol* I.10; II.5; *V. Segolenae* 23.25.
14.12 *Nouitas probata*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.5. Here, the Rule diverts from *CaesRV* 9.2. See also *CaesRV* 4. | On incarceration, cfr *RD* 3.10; 5.9, two sections of the Rule that probably were original contributions of Donatus.
14.15 Cfr *RcuiV* 2.17. | *VCol* I.8: *frontem signo crucis armans* | *VCol* I.9: *sub silenti uoce* | Ps. 69/70, 2 appears also in *VCol* I.8 and in a similar context in *RColC* 9 and *RD* 34.7. | *Memoriale qualiter I* I.1, *CCM* 1, pp. 230–231: *In primis, nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum de lectulo surrexerit frater, primum signum sibi sanctae crucis imprimat per inuocationem sanctae trinitatis; deinde dicat uersum Domine labia mea aperies; inde psalmum Deus in adiutorium meum intende totum cum Gloria.* (…) *Tunc referat gratias deo ita dicendo: Gratias tibi ago, omnipotens pater, qui me dignatus es in hac nocte custodire…*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 267. | On praying at the moment of awakening: Cassian, *Collationes* XXI.26. | On praying *Deus in adiutorium* at the moment of falling asleep: *V. Wandregiseli prima* 8.

XV. DE **CVRA INFIRM**ANTIVM QVALIS ESSE DEBEAT

1 Harum **cura** quae in **infirm**itatibus detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat cum dicit: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter*. 2 Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum, praecipue tamen in infirmantium **cura** haec praeceptio est exhibenda, 3 quia Dominus dixit: ***Infirmus fui, et*** *uenistis ad* ***me***. 4 Ita **ergo cura** infirmis quaerenda est, ac si praesente **Christo** ministrare putetur. 5 **Reuera** etenim quaecumque pro Christo infirmis curam inpendit, Christo in infirmis ministrat.

6 Sic tamen **abbati**ssae **cura sit**, ut separatim **cella**m habeant cum omnibus oportunitatibus, ut nullum exteriorem laborem sentiat quae in **infirm**a carne poenam portat. 7 Quod si tempus poposcerit, sicut tempus quadragesimae, ut caeterae uitam mutent, infirmis semper cedendum est ut tam potus quam cibaria uberius ministrentur. 8 **Balnearum usus** uel cura medendi summo **adhib**eatur

15.1 Matth. 7, 12 | **15.3** Matth. 25, 36 | **15.5** Cfr Matth. 25, 44–45

15.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
15.1–12 *codd.: MFVTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
15.1–6 *ed.: s*
15.8–9 *ed.: s*

15.tit. DEBET M^{ac} | **15.1** harum F^{ac} T^{ac}] horum *c* | quae *A*] qui *s c*, qua F^{ac}, que V^{ac} *P* | in] *om. me h s c* | esse debet] *tr. VTPA* | piaetas] proprietas *me h* | auctoritas *VTPA* | uobis faciant] *tr. VTPA* | **15.2** praecipuae M^{ac} *FA* | **15.4** praesenti *PA*^{pc} *me h* | **15.5** impendit M^{2} *Kh* | **15.6** Sic] sit *h* | tamen] ergo *s* | cura M^{ac} *me h s c*] curae M^{pc} | sit] *om. Kh s* | **15.7** Quod] et *h* | mutent *VTP me c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] mutant *MFA*, immutent *h* | **15.8** praecipuae] vero *add. h*

15.1–11 *RBen* 36 De **infirm**is fratribus.
1 **Infirm**orum **cura** ante omnia et super omnia **adhibe**nda est, ut sicut **reuera Christo** ita eis seruiatur, 2 quia ipse dixit: ***Infirmus fui et*** *uisitastis* ***me*** (Matth. 25, 36), 3 et: *Quod fecistis uni de his minimis mihi fecistis.* (Matth. 25, 40) 4 Sed et ipsi infirmi considerent in honorem Dei sibi seruire, et non superfluitate sua contristent fratres suos seruientes sibi; 5 qui tamen patienter portandi sunt, quia de talibus copiosior merces acquiritur. 6 **Ergo cura** maxima **sit abbati** ne **aliquam neglegentiam** patiantur. 7 Quibus fratribus **infirm**is sit **cella** super se deputata et seruitor timens Deum et diligens ac sollicitus. 8 **Balnearum usus** infirmis quotiens expedit offeratur – **sanis** autem et maxime **iuuen**ibus **tardius concedatur**. 9 Sed et carnium esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerunt, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant. 10 **Curam** autem maximam **habeat abba**s ne **a cellarari**is aut **a** seruitoribus **negleg**antur **infirm**i. Et ipsum respicit quidquid a discipulis delinquitur.

15 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 45.25, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XV.
15.1–6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.2/3, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum pater ait "Horum…
15.6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.6/7, followed by a quotation from *RT* 21 (Infirmantibus…expendat).
15.8 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.8, connected with a quotation from *RI* 20 (Lauacra… salutis).

XV. ON THE CARE OF THE SICK – HOW IT SHOULD BE PEFORMED

[1] The love of the Author shows how the care of those, who are stricken with sickness, has to be, when He says: *Whatever you want that men do to you, you should likewise do to them.* [2] Even though this should be done in all regards, this precept is to be carried out especially in the care of the sick because the Lord has said: *I was sick and you came to me.* [4] Therefore one must pursue the care of the sick in such a way as if one believes to serve the present Christ. [5] Indeed, whoever gives care to the sick on Christ's behalf, serves Christ in the sick.

[6] The abbess, however, should take care that they have a private cell with all conveniences, so that [a nun] who bears hardship through her sick flesh, does not experience any outward distress. [7] But if the season demands it, so as the time of Lent, that the other [nuns] change their way of life, one always has to grant to the sick that both food and drink is served [to them] more abundantly. [8] The use of the bathes and the medical treatment is to be applied with the greatest eagerness. But to the healthy, especially to the

15. Regulations on the care of the sick in other monastic rules, norms, and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 40–48; 105; 129; *RPac Iud* 5; 12 | *RBas* 36; 177 | *AugPraec* III.3–5; V.5–8 | *RIVP* 3.15–20 | *3RP* 12 | *CaesRV* 22.3–4; 30.7; 31; 32.1–3; 42; 71 | *CaesRM* 17; 24.2 | *RAM* 53 | *RAV* 37 | *RT* 21 | *RM* 28.13–18; 69–70 | *RBen* 36–37; 39; 40.2–3 | *RI* 21 | *RFruc* 9; 23 | *RCom* 6–7 | *RD* 12 | *Institutio canonicorum* 142 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 23 | *V. patrum Iurensium* 171 | *V. Bertilae* 2; *VCol* I.7; II.10; II.17

15. References to the care of the sick in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.8; 3.12; 14.5; 14.12

15.1 The opening sentence is structured as in *RcuiV* 5; 6; 9, and *De accedendo* 1–2. | The only earlier witness for the use of *similiter* in Matth. 7, 12 is Caesarius, *Sermo* 39.2, which may have also been a source of inspiration for *RcuiV* 5. | The expression *piaetas auctoris* is unique. | *auctor* for God: *RColM* 7; *V. Sadalbergae* 12.
15.3 Matth. 25, 36 with *uenistis ad* in place of *uisitastis* appears only in Adam Scotus, *De tripartito tabernaculo* II.14, *PL* 126, col. 728D.
15.6–7 Cfr *RBen* 39.1–2; *V. patrum Iurensium* 171.
15.8 Cfr *AugPraec* V.5; *CaesRV* 31; *RLea* 20; *RD* 12.12. | *cura medendi*: *RcuiV* 1.13 | On rarely taking a bath: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.19.

studio. **Sanis** uero, precipuae **iuuen**culis, **tardius concedatur**. [9]**Abba**tissa talem **curam** de **infirmi**s **habeat** qualem se recipere a Domino sperat, ut nec **a cellarari**a nec **a** ministra **aliquam neglegentiam** infirmae sentiant.

[10]Decrepita uero **aetat**e fessis talis sit **cura** quatenus nulla in eis **negleg**entia, [11]sed iuxta arbitrium abbatissae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, **consider**a-
213[a] tione **pia** eorum **inbecillita**ti concedatur. [12]Non enim hae possunt **regulae | ten**ori subiacere, **sed** potius **pia**etatis **in e**as inpendendus est affectus.

XVI. DE CASIBVS QVI PER NEGLEGENTIAM AVT EVENTV SVPERVENIVNT

[1]Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis **delinqu**itur, abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. [2]Id est in refectorio, **in quoquina,** in dormitorio **uel in** qualibet utilitate **aut fregerit aut perdiderit** aut neglegenter dimiserit, [3]omnia secundum suum modulum sint pensanda et iuxta aetatem uel teneram uel senilem

16.6–7 Cfr Ps. 31/32, 5

15.9 cellaria *h* | **15.10** nulla in eis *c*] in eis nulla *VT*, in eis sit nulla *PA* | negligentia M^2 *Kh* | **15.11** prout M^2 *Kh c*] pro *M* V^{ac} | cuicunque *h* | earum *h* | **15.12** hae *V*] hi *c*, haec F^{ac} *T* A^{ac}, *om. P*, *del.* A^{pc}

16.tit. *codd.: M K; edd.: h ma*
16.1–10 *codd.: MF' VTPA K; edd.: me h ma c*
16.3 (secundum…corrigenda) *ed.: s*
16.5–8 (Si…subiacebit) *ed.: s*
16.9–10 *ed.: s*

16.1 neglegentiae] decem sermone *add in marg. M*, negligentia M^2 *Kh* | pensanda *me h* | **16.2** negligenter M^2 *Kh* | **16.3** suum modulum] modulum proprium *s* | sint *s c*] sunt *VP me h* | pensandae *s* | aetatem] delinquentium id est *add. s* | uirilem *s c* | corrigendi *s*

15.9–12 *RBen* 37: De senibus uel infantibus
[1]Licet ipsa natura humana trahatur ad misericordiam in his **aetat**ibus, senum uidelicet et infantum, tamen et **regulae** auctoritas eis prospiciat. [2]**Consider**etur semper in eis **inbecillita**tas et ullatenus eis districtio **regulae ten**eatur in alimentis, [3]**sed** sit **in e**is **pia** consideratio et praeueniant horas canonicas.

16 *RBen* 46: De his qui in aliis quibuslibet rebus **delinqu**unt.
[1]Si quis dum in labore quouis, **in coquina**, in cellario, in ministerio, in pistrino, in horto, in arte aliqua dum laborat, **uel in** quocumque loco, aliquid **deliqu**erit, [2]**aut fregerit** quippiam **aut perdiderit**, uel aliud quid excesserit ubiubi, [3]et non ueniens continuo ante **abbat**em uel congregationem ipse ultro **satisf**ecerit et **prodi**derit **delict**um suum,

15.9 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 36.10, *inc.* Hinc quidam monachorum magistri ait "Abbas…

16 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 36.3, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVI.
16.3 (secundum…corrigenda) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.4, *inc.* Supra enim nominatae neglegentiae "secundum…

young [nuns], it has to be granted not as quickly. 9 The abbess should take such care of the sick, as she hopes to receive for herself from the Lord, so that the sick do not experience any negligence, neither of the cellarer nor of a servant.

10 In fact, for those worn out by old age, the care should be such that there is no negligence towards them. 11 But according to the judgement of the abbess, in as much as she regards it necessary for anyone, their weakness should be taken into account in loving consideration. 12 For these cannot be subject to the wording of the rule, but an attitude of affection should rather be applied to them.

XVI. ON ACCIDENTS WHICH OCCUR THROUGH NEGLIGENCE OR BY CHANCE

1 The fault of negligence, which is committed often through many accidents, is to be examined by the judgement of the abbess. 2 That is to say: whatever [a nun] breaks or loses or negligently leaves behind in the kitchen, in the dormitory, or for whatever purpose, 3 should all be examined on the basis of its impact and is to be corrected according to the nun's age,

15.9 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.8; *CaesRV* 32.2–3; 42; *RAM* 53; *RAV* 37; *RBen* 15.9; *RCom* 7. See also commentary on *RcuiV* 1.18.

15.12 *Tenor regulae* (also *RcuiV* 3.25): *VCol* II.13; *VIoh* 19. The expression *tenor regularis* appears in *VCol* I.1; II.10; *VIoh* 2; 3.

16. Regulations on the care of monastic property and tools in this rule and in other rules: see chapter 13. Two episodes in Jonas' work address this type of negligence: *VCol* I.16 on a monk forgetting to close the tap of a beer vessel and *VIoh* 7 on the monks leaving their sickles in the fields. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II.6.

16.1–6 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, p. 245: *Si aliquid in cellario, in refectorio, in coquina, uel in quolibet frater neglexerit, perdiderit, fuderit, fregerit, aut aliquid damnum intulerit, statim recurrat ad ueniam postulandam, et si talis res est quam neglexerit, in manu teneat in terra prostratus ueniam postulando, ostendens quid contigerit*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.

16.1 *Abbatissae iudicio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

16.2 Cfr *RM* 16.41–42.

16.3 Cfr *RCom* 8. | The expression *aetas tenera* (also *RcuiV* 20.13; 24.3) appears in *VCol* II.8; II.13; *V. Bertilae* 1: *in tenera aetate*. It appears in no other monastic rule except for *RI* 12. The combination *aetas tenera*, *aetas senilis*, and *aetas uiridis* is unique.

uel uiridem sunt corrigenda. 4 Quia, si in minimis neglegentiae uitium non corrigitur, mens uitiata in minoribus culpis in maiora dilabitur **delict**a.

5 Si soror quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa, statim **abbat**issae uel praepositae puram dederit confessionem, et conpertum fuerit non suae uoluntatis fuisse quod casu accidit, 6 hoc tantummodo sufficiat ut hoc quod **deliqu**it et perpetrauit, si possit fieri, non deneget, et emendet cum ueniae **satisf**actione. 7 Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius **prodi**tione **cognitum fuerit**, 8 prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, paenitentiae **subiace**bit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit. 9 **Si uero** ex maioribus culpis quod ad **animae** maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet **abbati**ssae, 10 ne, dum tepore animi culpam **detegere** uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat.

XVII. DE EO QVOD NVLLA **MONACHA** IN MONASTERIO DEBEAT **PROPRIVM** ALIQVID VINDICARE

213b 1 **Propri**i **aliquid** in **monasterio** nihil **habe**n|dum, sed potius propter nomen Domini omnia contemnenda. 2 Quid enim **proprium aliquid** suum fidelis anima

17.2 Cfr Gal. 6, 14

16.4 neglegentiae uitium] negligentiae uitium $M^2 Kh$, negligentia uitiorum *c* | **16.5** fuerit[1] *om. M* | **16.6** perpetrauit *om. s* | possit *c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] possis $\omega MF^{'ac} TA^{ac}$, possibile *h* | fieri *c*] fuerit $F^{'ac} A^{ac}$ | et[2] *add.* $F^{'pc}$ *me h* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] *om.* $\omega MF^{'ac} VTPA$ | **16.9** pertinet *h* | commiserit *coni. Ponesse*] *om. Mc*, aliquem commiserit frater *add. s*, aliquam commiserit *h* | **16.10** tepore *c me*] tempore $F'VTPA h s$

17.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
17.1–12 *codd.: MFVWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
17.2–4 *ed.: s*
17.7–8 (aut…potestatem) *ed.: s*

17.tit. in] *om. h* | VINDICA M^{ac} *ma* | **17.1** de excommunicatione *in marg. M* | **17.2** Quid…uindicet] Quid enim proprium habere potest sanctus monachus, qui nec corpus suum nec uoluntatem suam in suam reseruauit potestatem, sed totum se abnegauit sibi ut sequatur Christum? Quid de mundo habere potest proprium *s* | ipsa] ipse *TPA*, ille *s*

4 dum per alium **cognitum fuerit**, maiori **subiace**at emendationi. 5 **Si animae uero** peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum **abbati** aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, 6 qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non **detegere** et publicare.

17 *RBen* 33: Si quid debeant **monach**i **proprium habe**re.
1 Praecipue **hoc uitium radicitus amputandum est** de **monasterio**, 2 ne quis **praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere** sine **iussione abbatis**,

16.5–8 (Si…subiacebit) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.4.
16.9–10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 46.6, *inc.* Hortamur autem quod "si…

17 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 42.23, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVII.
17.2–4 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 33.4, following *RBen* 33.4.

whether she is tender, old, or youthful. [4]Because, if the vice of negligence is not corrected in the smallest things, the mind tainted by smaller faults will tumble into greater offences.

[5]If a sister who tumbles into these accidents, immediately gives plain confession to the abbess or prioress, and it is found out that what has happened by accident was not because of her will, [6]this alone should be sufficient, that she does not deny what she has committed and carried out and, if it is possible, makes up for it with the satisfaction of contrition. [7]But if it becomes known not through her confession but through the disclosure of another [nun], she will be subject to penance, according to what the magnitude of the guilt demands, [8]because she has not made her offence known through plain confession. [9]But if out of greater guilt she commits what leads to greater damnation of the soul, she should make it known to her abbess through a plain confession of her own will, [10]lest, she, while she is ashamed to uncover her offence out of the tepidity of her soul, hides the face of the devil within herself through her state of guilt.

XVII. ON [THE TOPIC] THAT NO NUN IN THE MONASTERY SHOULD CLAIM ANYTHING AS HER OWN

[1]In the monastery nothing may be held as property, but all things are rather to be despised on behalf of the Lord's name. [2]For how should a faithful soul claim something of

16.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12; 12.29; 24.3; *RColC* 1.
16.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 25.1. | *pura confessio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 6.5. | On confessing *neglegentia*, cfr *RD* prologue.25. | *V. Bertilae* 5: *puritate confessionis*.
16.6 *Veniae satisfactio*: very rare before the ninth century.
16.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 18.4; *RM* 12.4.
16.9–10: Cassian, *Institutiones* IV.9 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, p. 249: …*melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, quia si semper manifestamus iniquam eius suggestionem, minus nos nocere poterit*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 280.
16.9 Cfr *RT* 8.3–5.
16.10 Cfr *RcuiV* 14.7–8. | Cfr Caesarius, *Sermo* 237.3. | The expression *facies diaboli* is rare; in this context it is unique.

17. Regulations on private property in other monastic rules and norms: *RPac Pr* 81–83 | *LOrs* 21–22 | *RBas* 29; 104–106 | *AugOM* 4 | *AugPraec* I.3 | *RCas* 32; 34 | *2RP* 1.5–6 | *CaesRV* 5–6; 17.1; 21 | *CaesRM* 1–2 | *RAM* 25 | *RAV* 21 | *RT* 2 | *RFer* 10; 35.7–9 | *RPS* 27 | *RM* 16.58–61; 82; 90.63 | *RLea* 28 | *RI* 3.1; 19 | *RFruc* 4; 6; 11 | *RcuiP* 15.2–3; 17 | *RD* 8 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, pp. 247–248/252 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, pp. 279 | *Institutio canonicorum* 115–120

17.1–12 Cfr *VCol* I.5: *Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur.*
17.2–4 Cfr *LOrs* 20
17.2 Gal. 6, 2 is used in a similar context in *CaesRV* 52.6–7; *RM* 91.62; *RColM* 4; *RcuiP* 11.4; *VCol* II.13. | On rhetorical questions, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.3. The same argument is used in *RcuiV* 23.2–6. | *VCol* II.13: …*ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*

de rebus mundi uindicet, *cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo*? [3] Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo, [4] quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo? [5] **Amputandum** ergo **est hoc uitium radicitus** ab omni monacha, ut **nullam rem**, uel in uestimentis seu in calciamentis uel in quibuslibet rebus, sibi uindicet uel **suum** esse **dicat**, [6] nisi quantum ex **abbatis**sae **iussione** penes se precipitur retinere, ac si custos alterius, non **propria**e rei domina.

[7] Et ea quae sibi ab **abbatis**sa fuerint commendata, id est ad **necess**itatem presentem, aut in uestimento aut in qualibet re, nihil exinde aut **dare aut** commodare cuiquam **praesumat**, nisi tantum si ab abbatissa illi fuerit ordinatum. [8] Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus **uolunt-ate**s propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?

[9] **Omnia** ergo quae in monasterio habentur, **sint omni**bus **communia**, iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus: *Et erant*, inquit, *eis omnia communia*. [10] Sic tamen **communia** sunt habenda ut **nulla** aut **dare aut accipere** nisi **abbatis**sa ordinante **praesumat**, [11] ne cupiditatis aut temeritatis malum incurrens in laqueum, Iudae proditoris consortio numeretur, qui solus in numero Apostolorum loculos habuisse refertur ubi commutantium ac uendentium commertia ponebantur. [12] **Quod si huic uitio** aliqua sororum **delectari fuerit depraehens**a, et post
213va primam, secundam | uel tertiam **correptio**nem **emenda**re noluerit, disciplinae regulari **subiace**bit.

17.3 Cfr Col. 2, 20 | **17.4** Cfr Rom. 6, 10 | **17.7** Cfr I Cor. 1, 26 | **17.9** Act. 4, 32 | **17.11** Cfr Ioh. 12, 6; Ioh. 13, 29

17.3 mundo mortua] mortuus est mundo *s* | quur] cur M^2Kh | quur…deo] nec desiderando nec possidendo res mundi debet iterum uiuere mundo. Semel enim relicto inplicare se non debet mundo *s* | incipiat $VWTA^{ac}$] incipiet $PA^{pc}h$, incipit $Fmec$ | **17.7** fuerint *mehsc*] fuerant *M* | si] *om. h* | **17.9** inquit *FW*] *om. VTPA* | **17.12** correctionem *h*

[3] neque **aliquid habe**re **proprium**, **nullam** omnino **rem**, neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque grafium, sed nihil omnino, [4] quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec uoluntates licet habere in **propria uoluntate**; [5] omnia uero **necess**aria a patre sperare monasterii, nec quicquam liceat habere quod **abba**s non dederit aut permiserit. [6] **Omnia**que **omnium sint communia**, ut scriptum est, ne quisquam **suum** aliquid **dicat** uel **praesumat**. (cfr Act. 4, 32) [7] **Quod si** quisquam **huic** nequissimo **uitio depraehens**us **fuerit delectari**, admoneatur semel et iterum; [8] si non **emenda**uerit, **correptio**ni **subiace**at.

17.7–8 (aut…potestatem) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 33.1–2, *inc.* Non enim oportet monachum de his quae pro necessitate praesentis temporis ab abbate suscepit, "aut…

the things of the world as her own – [a soul] to whom *the world is crucified, and who is crucified to the world*? 3 Why should someone, who is once and for all dead to the world, resume to live in the world through some greed for temporal things or any miserable longing – 4 someone who, having despised the world, had already begun to live for God? 5 Therefore, this vice has to be cut off by every nun at the root, so that she does not claim anything for herself or say that it is hers, be it clothing or shoes or any other things, 6 except in as much she is instructed to keep it for herself by the order of the abbess – as if she is a guardian of someone else's property but not as the mistress of her own property.

7 And whatever clothes or other things are entrusted to her by the abbess, that is for present need, she should thereafter not dare to give or to lend to anyone, unless it is ordered of her by the abbess. 8 For which mundane objects should she give to another sister, who for the sake of Christ has given her will over in all regards to the power of the abbess?

9 All objects that are kept in the monastery should be for all in common, according to what we read in the Acts of the Apostles: *And everything*, he says, *they held in common.* 10 In such a way, however, are the things to be held in common, that no one dares to give or to receive, unless by the order of the abbess, 11 lest they run into the evil trap of greed or recklessness and be counted among the company of the traitor Judas, who is told to have been the only among the number of Apostles with a purse, where the commerce of traders and sellers was kept. 12 But if any of the sisters is caught indulging in this vice, and she does not want to improve after the first, second, or third reproach, she will be subject to the punishment of the rule.

17.3 Cfr *RcuiP* 15.7. | *semel mundo mortua* appears in a slightly different context in Ambrose, *De institutione uirginis* 16.103. | Similar rhetorical questions can be found in Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.27. See also *V. Segolenae* 5/6.8.
17.4 On *contemptus mundi*, cfr Isidore of Seville, *Liber sententiarum* III.16. | *coeperat*: see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.14–15.
17.5 Cfr *CaesRV* 28.2–3; 32.4–5; *RBen* 55.17. | *calciamentum*: cfr *CaesRV* 32.5. | *amputandum…radicitus*: Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.5; VII.21.
17.6 Cfr *CaesRV* 29.2.
17.7–12 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, pp. 247–248: *Nihil dare aut accipere sine permissione abbatis. Se nihil habere proprium, nisi quod abbas dederit aut habere permiserit. Abundet unicuique in cibo et potu uel uestimento, quantum regula ministrare praecipit; qui autem plus habere uoluerit, occasionem contra se occulti hostis nostri excitari pertimescat*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.
17.7 Cfr *RPac Pr* 106; *2RP* 10; *RBen* 55.
17.8 Cfr *RcuiV* 22.4; *RM* 90.48–59. The rhetorical question is probably modelled after *RBas* 106: *Qui se ipsum et membra sua tradiderit in alterius potestatem propter mandatum domini, quomodo licebit de utensilibus contradicere, huic praecipue cui cura commissa est?*
17.9 Cfr *AugPraec* I.3; *CaesRV* 20.6–7; *RcuiP* 17.1.
17.11 Cfr *RM* 13.9–14. | This passage is most likely inspired by Cassian, *Institutiones* VII.23–24.
17.12 Cfr *Rcui*18.2. | *disciplina regularis subiacebit*: *RcuiV* 6.8, 18.5, 19.11; 20.1; *disciplina regularis subiaceat* appears six times in the *RBen*. Note the use of *subiaceat* in *RBen* and *subiacebit* in *RcuiV*.

XVIII. **DE CVLPARVM EXCOMMVNICATIONE**

1 **Si qu**a uero soror instigante diabolo **contumax uel superb**a seu **inoboediens uel murmurans** apparuerit, **uel** etiam **in** quocumque casu lapsa, **seniorum precept**a uel **sanctae regulae** normam uiolare temptauerit, 2 **h**ae**c secundum praeceptum Domini secret**o **a senioribus semel** uel bis corripiatur. 3 **Si emenda**re noluerit, tunc simul ab **omni** congregatione **obiurgetur**, 4 et **si sic** emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut **excommunication**i **subiaceat**, si eius antea **intell**ectus uiguit, 5 aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et **inprob**itas perseueret, tunc **corporali** disciplinae **sub**iacebit.

XVIIII. **QVALIS DEBEAT ESSE EXCOMMVNICATIO**

1 **Excommunicationis mensura qualis esse debe**at, iustum scientibus librare **iudici**um **culpae modus** ostendit. 2 **Leuioribus** enim **culpis** leuior

18.1–3 Cfr Matth. 18, 15–17 | **18.5** Cfr Prou. 28, 14

18.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
18.1–5 *codd.: MF'VTPAK; edd.: me h ma s c*

18.2 uel *s*] ab *F'T*, ac *c* | **18.5** obstinatae *s c*] obstinata *MKh*, obstinate *T* | inprobitatis *h*

19.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
19.1–11 *codd.: MF'VWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
19.1–5 *ed.: s*
19.9–11 *codd.: F'^{bis} V ^{bis} T ^{bis} P ^{bis} A ^{bis}, ed.: me^{bis} c^{bis}* (The text appears twice in the *Concordia regularum*.)

19.2 correctio *h* | adhibenda *Kh*

18 *RBen* 23: **De excommunicatione culparum**.
1 **Si qu**is frater **contumax** aut **inobediens** aut **superb**us aut **murmurans uel in** aliquo contrarius existens **sanctae regulae** et **praecept**is **senior**um suorum contemptor repertus fuerit, 2 **hic secundum Domini** nostri **praeceptum** admoneatur **semel** et secundo **secret**e **a senioribus** suis. 3 **Si no**n **emenda**uerit, **obiurgetur** publice coram **omni**bus. 4 **Si** uero neque **sic** correxerit, **si intell**egit qualis poena sit, **excommunication**em **subiaceat**; 5 sin autem **improb**us est, uindictae **corporali sub**datur.

19.1–8 *RBen* 24: **Qualis debet esse** modus **excommunicatio**nis?
1 Secundum **modu**m **culpae**, et **excommunicationis** uel disciplinae **mensura debe**t extendi; 2 qui **culpa**rum **modus** in **abbatis** pendat **iudici**o.

18 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 30.15, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVIII.
18 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 23.5, *inc.* Ait quidam patrum "Si…

19 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 31.11, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XVIIII.
19.9–11 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 34.8, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam ex cap. XVIIII.
19.1–5 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 24.2, *inc.* Item ex regula cuiusdam "Excommunicationis…

XVIII. ON THE EXCOMMUNICATION FOR OFFENCES

1 If any sister through the instigation of the devil appears to be insolent or haughty, disobedient or grumbling, or – having fallen into any misstep – attempts to violate the precepts of the elders and the norm of the holy rule, 2 she is to be reproached secretly by the elders once or twice, according to the precept of the Lord. 3 If she does not want to improve, then she should be rebuked by the entire congregation, 4 and if she does not want to improve after that, then she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it. That is, she either should be subject to excommunication, if her understanding has become strong [enough] beforehand, 5 or, if the tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind persists, then she will be subject to corporal punishment.

XVIIII. OF WHAT SORT EXCOMMUNICATION SHOULD BE

1 What measure of excommunication should be applied shows the kind of the offence to those who know how to weigh a just judgement. 2 For milder offences a milder reproach is to be applied, but for more severe ones a more ardent damnation is to be displayed.

18. Regulations on discipline, punishment and excommunication in other monastic rules and norms: *RPac Pr* 133/135 | *RPac Inst* 13 | *RPac Iud* 8–9 | *RBas* 16–28; 122 | *AugOM* 10 | *AugPraec* IV.8; VI.3 | *RIVP* 5.1–10 | Cassian, *Institutiones* II.16 | *RCas* 13–14; 39 | *2RP* 5.27–30; 7.40–45 | *RMac* 27 | *ROr* 14–15; 20; 32–35 | *CaesRV* 24; 34; 65 | *CaesRM* 23 | *RAM* 38; 40–42 | *RAV* 28; 30–32 | *RT* 22.5–12 | *RFer* 38 | *RPS* 36 | *RM* 12–14; 19.13–17 | *RI* 14–18 | *RFruc* 12–15 | *FruPac* | *RCom* 6; 8–9; 14; 19 | *RColC* | *RcuiP* 4; 7–8; 25 | *RD* 22; 69–74 | *RColV* | *Ordo Casinensis I* 9, *CCM* 1, p. 103 | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, pp. 242–243/248–249 | *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, pp. 277–281 | *Institutio canonicorum* 134 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 18 | *V. Rictrudis* 26–27

18. Regulations on discipline and punishment in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 1.9; 1.11–13; 1.16–17; 2.13–16; 3.14–16; 6.24–30; 7.4; 7.6; 8.4–12; 9.20; 10; 12.12; 12.15; 12.29; 14.12; 16.1–2; 17.12; 18–21; 23.9; 24.2–5

18.1 Cfr *CaesRV* 17.2; *RColM* 1. | The expression *instigante diaboli* appears in similar context in *CaesRV* 23.1; 26.2; *RAM* 12; *RAV* 10; *RT* 19.11; *RD* 50.1; 52.2. It is likely that Jonas was inspired by the *CaesRV*. | *in quocumque casu lapsa*: cfr *RIVP* 3.14. | *sancta regula*: *VCol* II.9, but also *CaesRV* 43; 62 | *V. Bertilae* 2: *sub norma sanctae regulae*.
18.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 17.12.
18.3 Cfr *RcuiV* 3.12. | *CaesRV* 26.6 | *VCol* II.19: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur.* | *VCol* I.5: *Si quempiam his labere in uitiis repperissent, simul omnes aequo iure neglegentem correptionibus cedere studebant.*
18.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 16.8. | Cfr *RIVP* 5.1. | For *uiguit*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.2. | *intellectus uigere* (very rare): Benedict of Aniane, *Excerptus diuersarum modus poenitentiarum*, *CCM* 1, p. 578.
18.5 *VCol* II.22: *durae ac ignauae mentis*; II.10: *si misera mens duritiam uecordiae molliret.*

19. Regulations on discipline, punishment, and excommunication in other rules, norms, and in this rule: see chapter 18.

19. Regulations on a monastic prison in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 20.9–12; 21.4

19.1 Eucherius of Lyon, *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* 8, *PL* 50, col. 763A: *Item,* ***iustum iudicium*** *uel mentis* ***libra****tio in Dei et proximi aequa* ***libra****tione.*
19.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 1.12 on *discretio* of punishment.

est adhibenda correptio, **grauioribus** uero feruentior est exhibenda damnatio. [3]Proinde **abbatis**sae studio est pensandum [4]ut, si aliqua soror in **leuioribus inueni**atur obnoxia **culpis**, usque ad indictam sibi horam **mensa priuetur**.

[5]**De grauioribus** uero seu dierum uel ebdomadarum uel mensium definitio in longius protracta correptione finiatur, [6]ea tamen regula **ut**, si amplius quam septem dierum spatium excommunicationis percurrerit, [7]quamdiu paenitentiae sub statuto tempore ordo retentus fuerit, sicut **a mensa** loco suo **priu**etur, ita et in ecclesia
213vb segregetur, ut in loco in quo ante fuit, nec **psal**|**mum** cantet nec ullum ordinem teneat, [8]**usque** dum **satisfactione** humili cum cordis contritione ab abbatissa uel a senioribus ueniam mereatur. [9]**Excommunica**ta uero soror, quae **culpis grauioribus** existentibus, aut cellula recluditur aut a **consortio** congregationis separatur, [10]a **null**o paenitus aut **conloqui**a aut uisitationis munus fruatur, nisi tantummodo cui praeceptum ab abbatissa fuerit. [11]Si qua transgressa hanc regulam fuerit, regulari paenitentiae subiacebit.

19.3 abbatissae] abbati *F'VWPAs*, abbatis *Tc* | est pensandum] *tr. s c* | **19.5** mensium *me h s c*] mensuum *M* | correctione *h* | **19.7** priuatur *c* | ante *WT*] antea *c* | **19.10** aut] *om. h* | conloquia *F' TF'bis Tbis*] colloquia M^2 *Kh*, conloquio *c*, colloquio C^{bis} | munus *F' WAac F'bis Tbis*] munere *c cbis* | **19.11** paenitentia M^{ac}

[3]Si quis tamen frater in **leuioirbus culpis inuenit**ur, a **mensa**e participatione **priuetur**. [4]Priuati autem **a mens**ae consortio ista erit ratio **ut** in oratorio **psalmum** aut antiphonam non imponat, neque lectionem recitet, **usque** ad **satisfactione**m. [5]Refectionem autem cibi post fratrum refectionem solus accipiat, [6]ut, si uerbi gratia fratres reficiunt sexta hora, ille frater nona, si fratres nona, ille uespera, [7]usque dum **satisfactione** congrua ueniam consequatur.

19.5–8 *RBen* 25: **De grauioribus culpis**.

[1]Is autem frater qui **grauiori**s **culp**ae noxa tenetur suspendatur **a mensa**, simul ab oratorio. [2]**Null**us ei fratrum in nullo iungatur **consortio** nec in **colloqui**o. [3]Solus sit ad opus sibi iniunctum, persistens in **paenitentiae** luctu, sciens illam terribilem apostoli sententiam dicentis [4]*traditum eiusmodi hominem in interitum carnis, ut spiritus saluus sit in die Domini.* (I Cor. 5, 5) [5]Cibi autem refectionem solus percipiat, mensura uel hora qua praeuiderit abbas ei competere; [6]nec a quoquam benedicatur transeunte nec cibum quod ei datur.

19.9–11 *RBen* 26: De his qui sine iussione iungunt se **excommunicat**is.

[1]Si quis frater praesumpserit sine iussione **abbatis** fratri excommunicato quolibet modo se iungere aut **loqui** cum eo uel mandatum ei dirigere, [2]similem sortiatur excommunicationis uindictam.

3 Therefore it needs to be determined by the zeal of the abbess, 4 that if a sister is found guilty of a lesser offence, she should be excluded from table until an hour determined for her.

5 But about more severe offences a definition [for an excommunication] of days or weeks or months has to be determined as a reproach protracted into a longer period, 6 according to this rule, however, that if she passes through a period of excommunication of more than seven days, 7 as long as the order of penance has been retained under the assigned time, that, just as she should be deprived from her place at the table, so also she should be separated in the church, so that she does not sing a Psalm in the place where she has been before and does not hold any rank, 8 until she deserves mercy from the abbess or from the seniors through humble satisfaction with contrition of the heart. 9 But an excommunicated sister, who because of manifestly more severe offences is either shut off in a small cell or separated from the company of the congregation, 10 may absolutely not enjoy the gift of a conversation or a visit, unless by someone who has received an order from the abbess. 11 If someone transgresses this rule, she will be subject to a penance according to the rule.

19.3 *Studio abbatissae*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.
19.4 Cfr *CaesRV* 12.
19.8 *Contritio cordis*: *RcuiV* 6.26; *De accedendo* 7.
19.9–10 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; *RT* 5.4; *RM* 13.54–59; *RcuiP* 7.5; *RI* 18.2; *RFruc* 13–14; *RCom* 14. | On incarceration, cfr *RD* 3.10 (Donatus' addition); *RD* 5.9 (Donatus' addition); *RcuiP* 4; 6; 7; 8; 10. Donatus stands closer to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than to the *Regula Benedicti* by imposing imprisonment instead of expulsion as the last resort.
19.10 Cfr *RCas* 13.2; *RAM* 36; *RD* 71; *RColC* 8. | The expression *a nullo* is either male or gender neutral. Since this appears in the context of excommunication, the *munus uisitationis* might be an act of pastoral care exercised by a priest. *RcuiV* 22.22–23 refers to visits of a priest as well and aims at limiting any uncontrolled communication between the nuns and a visiting priest. However, another gender error can be found in *RcuiV* 11.2.

XX. **DE HIS QV**AE PRO SEDVLA CORREPTIONIS CVRA **SAEPIVS CORREPT**AE **EMENDARE NOLV**NT

1 Soror **si saepius corrept**a **emenda**re **no**luerit, **excommunicat**ione **pro** modo **culpa**e corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc **uerberum uindicta**e subiacebit. 2 **Quod si** sic emendare noluerit, sed magis **in** tumorem **superbia**e **elat**a, **opera** uel actus de quibus corrigitur, **defender**it, 3 **tunc abba**tissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: *Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est.* 4 Moderante ergo scientia saniae **med**endi cura **adhibeat**ur. 5 Si loetale uulnus per **fomenta** castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis **unguenta** sospitati non redditur, saltim in**cisioni**bus amputetur. 6 Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit, tunc **excommunicationis** sententiam uel disciplinae corporalis poenam incurrat. 7 Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita ut ab **omni** congregatione **pro e**a
214[a] communis **Dominus oration**um officio deprecetur, 8 ut quae | laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur. 9 **Quod si nec** sic corripi

20.3 Sap. 3, 11 | **20.8** Cfr II Tim. 2, 25–26 | **20.11** Cfr Matth. 22, 2–14

20.tit. *codd.: M K; ed.: h ma*
20.1–13 *codd.: M F' V W T P A K; edd.: me h ma s c*

20.tit. per *h* | sedulam *h* | curam *h* | correctae *h* | noluerunt *h* | **20.1** correctio *W s*] correptio *c* | uerbum F^{2ac} *W* | **20.2** emendare *c*] emendari *s* | elata *s c*] elatus F^{2pc} *P A* | **20.3** scientiae] sententiae *F' V P A ma* | **20.4** saniae] sanie *V*, saniei *P A me h* | **20.5** leue tale *V P A*, vero tale *s* | piaetatis M^{pc} | unguenta *me h s c*] ungenta *M*, ungunta F^{ac}, ungiuenta F^{pc} | saltem *me h* | **20.5/6** saltim…amiserit *om. s* | **20.6** sic] sc M^{ac} | tunc] tam *h* | penam *K* | **20.7** officio *me h s c*] officia *ω M* F^{2ac} *W* A^{ac} | **20.8** ut *add. V P A me h s*] *om. ω M F' W T c* | irretita M^{2} *K h* | piaetate M^{pc} | **20.9** corrigi *P A h* | baenitentiae M^{ac}

20.1–12 *RBen* 28: **De his qu**i **saepius corrept**i **emendare nolu**erint.
1 **Si** quis frater frequenter **corrept**us **pro** qualibet **culpa**, si etiam **excommunicat**us **no**n **emenda**uerit, acrior ei accedat **corre**ptio, id est ut **uerberum uindicta** in eum procedant. 2 **Quod si** nec ita correxerit, aut forte – quod absit! – **in superbia elat**us etiam **defender**e uoluerit **opera** sua, **tunc abba**s faciat quod sapiens **med**icus: 3 si exhibuit **fomenta**, si **unguenta** adhortationum, si **med**icamina scripturarum diuinarum, si ad ultimum ustionem **excommunicationis** uel plagarum uirgae, 4 et iam si uiderit nihil suam praeualere industriam, **adhibeat** etiam – quod maius est – suam et **omnium** fratrum **pro e**o **oration**em, 5 ut **Dominus** qui omnia potest operetur salutem circa infirmum fratrem. 6 **Quod si nec** isto modo **san**atus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abs**cisioni**s, ut ait Apostolus: *auferte malum ex uobis* (I Cor. 5, 13), 7 et iterum: *Infidelis, si discedit, discedat* (I Cor. 7, 15), 8 ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet.

20 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 37.13, *inc.* Item eiusdem.
20 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 28.6, *inc.* Hinc quidem in cuiusdam patris scriptum est regula "Frater…

XX. ON THOSE WHO DO NOT WISH TO BETTER THEMSELVES AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN REPROACHED MORE OFTEN IN KEEPING WITH THE CONTINUOUS CARE OF REPROACH

[1] If a sister who has frequently been reproached does not want to better herself, she should be corrected through excommunication according to the extent of her guilt. If in this way the correction of the one who reproves does not accomplish anything, she will be subject to the punishment of floggings. [2] But if she does not want to better herself in this way, but even, exalted by the swelling of pride, defends the works and deeds for which she is corrected, [3] then she is to be corrected as directed by the knowledge of the abbess, because it is written: *Unhappy is he who casts punishment aside.* [4] Therefore, the cure for healing should be applied to the infection by the moderation of knowledge. [5] If the lethal wound is not restored to health through the poultices of castigation and the ointment of love and mildness, it should at least be amputated by incisions. [6] And if the infection, after having been cut in this way, does not lose its swelling, then let her incur the sentence of excommunication and the penalty of corporal punishment. [7] And if she is not broken either by the fear of excommunication or the punishment of the whip, the tinder of love should be increased even more so that the entire congregation prays to the Lord who is common to all in a service of prayer for her, [8] so that she who is kept entangled in the trap of the devil, may be healed by the mercy and love of the Lord. [9] But if she does not want to be chas-

20. Regulations on discipline punishment and excommunication in other rules, norms, and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: see chapter 18.

20.1–8 Cfr *VCol* II.1: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta absideretur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur. Diuque castigatos cum secum tenere non ualeret, merore animi turbatus, multis precibus cum pietatis obsequio prosequebatur, ut se non relinquerent et ardui iteneris calle non deuiarent meminiscerentque patres per mortificationem et contemptum praesentis uitae regna caelorum possidere. Cum nihil iam proficere cerneret nec alibi trahentes animos suae societatis abenis inretiri posse uidisset, pertinaces ire sinit; qui postquam segregati ab eo, alii eorum marinis sunt sinibus recoepti, alii locum heremi ob libertatem habendam petiere.* See also *VCol* I.19: *…comminaturque excommunicationem, si emendare dilatando non uelit.*

20.2–6 The metaphor of healing for imposing discipline, linked with the role of the *scientia abbatissae*, appears in *RcuiV* 1.11–14 but in no other monastic rule. It may be inspired by Caesarius, *Sermo* 39.1.

20.2 Cfr *CaesRV* 13.1; *RColM* 1; *RT* 5.2; *RcuiP* 7.3; *RcuiV* 23.1–5. | *tumorem superbiae elata*: *RT* 1.16; Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor* 5.4; *VCol* II.16: *elationis uel superbiae.*

20.3 *Abbatissae scientiae regimine*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1.

20.4–6 Cfr *V. patrum Iurensium* 85–86; Cyprian, *De lapsis* 14, *CSEL* 3.1, p. 247, l. 19–23.

20.4 Cfr *RBen* 27.1/6. | *VCol* II.23: *Cum iam egregiis moribus, bonitate et disciplina, scientiam moderantem, plebem regeret.*

20.5 *Loetale uulnus*: Cassian, *Institutiones* X.7; see also Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II.7.1, *PL* 59, col. 451A-B | *VCol* II.18: *per paenitentiae medicamenta rursus redderet sospitati.* The expression *sospitatem reddere* appears also in *VCol* II.7; II.23; and *VIoh* 17. See also *CaesRV* 24.5–6 (using *uulnus*); 26.4–6 (punishment as act of love).

20.6 Cfr *RcuiP* 9.2–3.

20.7–8 Cfr *RcuiV* 5.4–5; 5.16–29. | Cfr *V. Rictrudis* 27.

20.7 *Frangere*: *RcuiV* 7.8 | Prayer for the sinner, cfr also *CaesRV* 25.1. | *VCol* I.9: *orationibus Dominum deprecatur.*

20.8 Fulgentius of Ruspe, *De remissione peccatorum* I.9: *Debet ergo et a bonis et a malis tam misericordia diligi quam iustitia formidari; ne uel boni diligentes misericordiam dei, iustitiam non timeant et laqueos diaboli seducentis incurrant…* Both texts refer to II Tim. 2, 25–26.

20.9 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; 65.1–3. *CaesRV* 34.1 uses for *custodes* the expression *sorores spiritales.* | Cfr *RcuiV* 21.4 on imprisoning fugitive nuns. | For *septa monasterii*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.23 and pp. 309–314.

uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus preter custodibus segregata, 10 tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat, 11 quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur. 12 Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes. 13 Tenera uero aetas, quae excommunicata uim nescit, non **excommunicatione**, sed flagello corrigenda est.

XXI. DE RECEPTIONE SORORIS

1 Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis **monasterii** discesserit, et foras fugiens postea **rec**ordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, **prius omnium** morum **emendationem** polliceatur. 2 Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii **recipiatur**. 3 Et **si** bis aut tertio **hoc** fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur, 4 **sic** tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum **prob**abilis eius uita inueniatur. 5 **Si** uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, **sci**at **omnem reuersionis aditum** esse in postmodum **dene-g**andum.

20.10 correctionibus *h* | credulitate K^{pc} *me h s c*] crudelitate *M* | **20.11** quia] quoniam *h* | **20.12** separanda M^{pc}, seperandus *c*, separandum *W*

21.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
21.1–5 *codd.: MFVWTPAK; edd.: me h ma c*
21.1–4 *ed. s*

21.1 septis F^{pc} *me h s*] septa $\omega MF^{ac}VWTPA^{ac}c$, septo PA^{pc} | omnium morum] omnem monasterio *h* | **21.3** bis] his *c* | **21.5** omnem…denegandum] denegandum omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum *c*, denegandum sibi omnem aditum reuersionis *V*, omnem reuersionis aditum sibi negandum *PA* | denegandum *add.* M^{pc}, *om. FWT*

20.13 *RBen* 30: 1 Omnis aetas uel intellectus proprias debet habere mensuras. 2 Ideoque, quotiens pueri uel adulescentiores aetate, aut qui minus intellegere possunt quanta poena sit **excommunication**is, 3 hii tales dum delinquunt, aut ieiuniis nimiis affligantur aut acris uerberibus coerceantur, ut sanentur.

21 *RBen* 29: Si debeant fratres exeuntes de monasterio iterum **rec**ipi.
1 Frater qui proprio uitio egreditur de **monasteri**o, si **reuer**ti uoluerit, spondeat **prius omnem emendationem** pro quo egressus est, 2 et **sic in** ultimo gradu **recipiatur**, ut ex **hoc** eius humilitas con**prob**etur. 3 Quod **si** denuo exierit, usque **tertio** ita **recipiatur**, iam postea **sci**ens **omnem** sibi **reuersionis aditum deneg**ari.

21 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 38.5, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXI.
21.1–4 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 29.3, *inc.* Item ex regula cuiusdam "Si…

tised in such a way, she is to be separated within the confines of the monastery from all except the guards, according to the letter of penance, [10] and she should so long be chastised by various forms of reproach until her humility is revealed to all in true credulity, [11] since healing is often given even to those who are reluctant. [12] For that reason she is to be placed apart from the congregation, so that she does not defile the innocent through her vice. [13] But one of tender age, who does not know the implications of being excommunicated, is to be corrected not through excommunication but by the scourge.

XXI. ON THE READMISSION OF A SISTER

[1] If at any time –what should be far removed from Christian piety– a sister leaves the confines of the monastery and, after fleeing to the outside, returns, after having remembered her former piety and daunted by the fear of eternal judgement, she should first promise to improve her entire character. [2] After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within the confines of the monastery. [3] And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love, [4] but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable. [5] But if after the third readmission she is defiled by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.

20.10 *RColM* 1: *Idcirco opus eius abiiciatur, donec illius bona uoluntas cognoscatur.*
20.11 Cfr Cassian, *Institutiones* XII.18.
20.12 Cfr *CaesRV* 34.1; 65.1–3.
20.13 Cfr *RM* 14.79–87; *RBen* 45.3; *RI* 18.2. | *tenera aetate*: *VCol* II.8; II.13; *V. Bertilae* 2.

21. Regulations on fugitive monks/nuns and illicitly leaving the monastery in other monastic rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Pr* 84; 136–137 | *RPac Inst* 12 | *RCas* 20 | *RMac* 25; 28 | *3RP* 9–10; 12; 14 | *ROr* 26.6 | *RAM* 2 | *RAV* 1 | *RT* 13.7–8 | *RFer* 20 | *RM* 14.87; 64 | *RLea* 31 | *RI* 24.1 | *RFruc* 22 | *RCom* 4; 20 | *RCons* 7 | *RColC* 8 | *VCol* II.1; II.13; II.19; *VIoh* 3–4; *V. patrum Iurensium* 79–91.

21.1–5 This theme is addressed in *VCol* II.1 on readmitting monks who came in uprising against Columbanus' successors, left the monastery in disgrace, and were allowed to return. See also *VCol* II.19 on two groups of nuns escaping the monastery of Faremoutiers.
21.1 *Septa monasterii*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.23. | *aeterni iudicii*: *VCol* I.15; II.12 | *perculsa timore*: *VCol* II.23 | *emendationem polliceatur*: cfr *VCol* I.19; II.1; II.13 (otherwise very rare).
21.4 Cfr *RcuiV* 19.9–11; 20.9–12; *RI* 18.2. | *CaesRV* 65.1–3 contains a similar regulation: persistently disobedient nuns have to be locked up in the *salutatorium*, which is the only place belonging both to the monastery and the outside world. In this sense it is the place that is farthest removed from the community. See also *CaesRV* 34.1. | *in extremo loco*: *VCol* II.19. Here two fugitive nuns who did *not* confess and died without reconciliation were buried *in extremum* by the order of the abbess.
21.5 *Aditus denegare*: *De accedendo* 12; *VCol* I.9; I.19; I.30 (otherwise rare) | *in postmodum*/*inpostmodum* appears six times in *VCol* and once in *VIoh* (otherwise very rare).

XXII. QVALITER INVICEM SE HVMILIENT VEL ORDINES SERVENT VEL IN MINVTIS ACTIBVS QVALITER SINT SERVANDA PRAECEPTA

1 Quanto se affectu uel CARITATIS ministerio in monasterio ANIMAe positae
214b debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt. | 2 Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officiis demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est. 3 Habet denique latissimum VIRTVTVM copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.

4 Sunt etenim nonnulla quae in actu uidentur exigua et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur, 5 ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis **salutat**io, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordae aut certe piae purissimum patefacient AFFECTVm.

6 Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant quae a VERA HVMILITATE ac CARITATe non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum. 7 Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas. 8 Arripiamus ergo

22.tit. *codd.: M K; edd.: h ma*
22.1–23 *codd.: M F' V K; edd.: me h ma c*
22.10 *ed. s*
22.13 *ed. s*
22.15–17 *ed. s*

22.1 ministerio M^{ac} | **22.3** quo V^{pc} *me h* | **22.5** effabilis] affabilis M^{2} *K me h* | rigide M^{ac} | concorde *F'*, concordes *V*, concordiae *h* | certe (*coni. Bonnerue*)] certe si ω *M F' V K me h* | **22.6** uara M^{ac} | ac] et *h*

22.5–9 Cassian, *Institutiones* XII.32.1: Nullo enim modo poterit in ANIMA nostra VIRTVTVM structura consurgere, nisi prius iacta fuerint VERAe HVMILITATis in nostro corde FVNDAMina, quae firmissime conlocata perfectionis et CARITATIS CVLMEN ualeant sustinere, ita scilicet, ut quemadmodum diximus primum fratribus nostris HVMILITATEm VERAm intimo cordis exhibeamus AFFECTV, in nullo scilicet adquiescentes eos contristare, uel laedere.
22.8 *RBen* 73.9: …et tunc demum **ad** maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae **uirtutum**que **culm**ina, Deo protegente, **perueni**es. Amen.

22 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 70.7, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXII.

XXII. HOW THEY SHOULD HUMBLE THEMSELVES IN FRONT OF EACH OTHER, OBSERVE THE HIERARCHY, AND HOW PRECEPTS ARE TO BE OBSERVED IN LITTLE ACTS

1 The Institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how much affection and service of love the souls placed in the monastery should love themselves. 2 But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favours it must be shown. 3 In the end the crowd [of nuns] has a very wide circle of virtues, because being surrounded [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy who is turned against them.

4 Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be petty as act and yet they are demonstrated by either a lukewarm or a heated motion of the mind to be well observed or neglected things, 5 for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a mind that is stern or amicable or, certainly, loving.

6 The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within the state of the mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident, 7 because just as love never remains true without true humility, so humility never remains true without true love. 8 Let us therefore take it

22. For sources on hierarchy, order, and mutual love in other monastic rules and references to love within this rules: see chapter 5.

22.title *Regula Donati* 20.13: *Humilies semper in inuicem sitis*. Donatus consciously changed the text of his source and added *inuicem*. Cfr also Caesarius, *Sermo* 233.6: *Humiles ergo simus…*

22.1 Since this chapter is the only one that uses John Cassian's *Institutiones*, we should take the reference to the *instituta sanctorum patrum* literally. Another reference to Cassian's work can be found in *VIoh* 18: *Et requirens instituta sanctorum patrum, inter multas collationes precipue sancti Ysaac abbatis doctrinam meditans*. Here Jonas paraphrases in a similar manner Cassian, *Collationes* IX.3. | *V. Bertilae* 6: *caritatis affectu* (for other parallels see 1.3–4 and Appendix 3).

22.2 Cfr *RcuiV* 6.19. | *pro parte*: *VCol* I, prologue; I.9.

22.3 I could not find the source for the metaphor of the *ambitus uirtutum*. Smaragdus uses it in his *Collectiones*, *Hebdoma* XVIII *post Pentecosten*, *PL* 102, col. 470A, quoting Bede, *Commentarium in Lucam* IV.14.7–8, who uses *habitus uirtutum* instead. A real *ambitus*, the walls of Lyon, protected the nuns of Sadalberga's monastery against the *antiquus hostis*: *V. Sadalbergae* 14–15. Compare the *ambitus uirtutum* to *RcuiV* 1.18 on the *presidium ad uincendum inimicum*. | If *copia* indeed refers to the multitude of nuns, it is a unique use of this expression. | *uirtus*/*uirtutes* appears four times in this chapter and only once (*RcuiV* 3.7) in the rest of the rule. It is both the protection against evil (here) and the goal the nuns strive for (*RcuiV* 22.8).

22.5 Cfr *AugPraec* IV.3–4; *RT* 17.4–13.3; *RBen* 7.63. | For *humiliatio capitis*: *RM* 9.20. | *VCol* II.4: *patefaciebat affectum* | *VCol* I.5: *Nullus proximo contrarietatem rependere, nullus asperum sermonem proferre audebat, ita ut in humana conuersatione angelicam agi uitam cerneres*.

22.6 On *humilitas* as the highest of all virtues, cfr *RBen* 7; Augustine, *Sermo* 297, *PL* 39, cols 2313–2315; Cassian, *Collationes* XIX.1; XX.10. | The expression *famulis uel famulabus Christi* indicates that for this passage the author used a sermon that was originally written for a mixed public. See also *V. Segolenae* 1: *famulorum suorum famularumque*; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.10: *famulorum famularumque*. Another example of using the male gender can be found in *RcuiV* 6.4–8. On *status mentis*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 6.2.

22.7 *VCol* II.19: *confessio uera*.

22.8 *Culmen perueniamus*, cfr Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem liber* VIII, c. 26.16–18. | *culmen uirtutum*: Cassian, *Collationes* XXII.7.1; *RI* 3.2; *V. Sadalbergae* 12. For other parallels with the *V. Sadalbergae*, see commentary to *RcuiV* 3.1–3.

instruere FVNDAMentum, ut **ad CVLM**EN **perueni**amus **uirtutum**. 9 Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur.

10 Et quando sibi mutuatim in **uia** uel in quocumque loco occurrerint, cum omni humilitate ab inuicem flectentes benedictionem rogent. 11 Et si ex eis una senior fuerit, **pri**us **iunior benedictionem** postulet, tunc demum senior prosequatur.

12 In cursu uero positae, prout ab abbatissa fuerint ordinatae, uel ad **psalmum** canendum uel lectiones recitandas, uel etiam ad **communi**candum euntes suum **ordine**m custodiant, nec **constitu**tum sibi locum transilientes in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.

214va 13 **Abba**tissae uero studendum est | ut per **ordine**m sicut conuersae **in monasterio** fuerint, **ita** in suo **ordine constitu**antur, praeter si uberis **conuersa**tio religionis **mer**uerit, ut inantea promoueatur, uel si grauis culpa exigerit ut retro re**grad**etur. 14 Siue aliqua ex sororibus cognoscatur seniorem affectare **locum**, cum uerecunda castigatione refellatur, quia non debiti honoris locum praesumpsit, nec relegionis commeritum sed ambitionis honorem indebitum conata est arripere.

15 In consessu sororum si alia superuenerit, quae iuniores sunt ordine, ad**surga**nt et seniori locum praebeant.

22.14–15 Cfr Luc. 14, 8–11

22.9 sic *F' m e h* | copia *V m e h c* (*coni. Bonnerue*)] copiam *M F'* | **22.10** Et] *om. s* | sibi] fratres *add. s* | **22.11** ex eis una] ex eis unus *s*, unus ex eis *F' V* | **22.12** ab] *add. M* | ne *h* | demergantur *h c*] dimergantur *M* | **22.13** uberius *m e h* | relegionis M^{ac} | exegerit *m e h* | **22.14** siue] si vero *h* | repellatur *h* | commertium *V*] commeritum ω *F' c*, commertio *M K h* | **22.15** In consessu *c*] In consensu *s*, sine consensu *V*, vero *add. s*

22.10–12 *RBen* 63.15: Vbicumque autem sibi ob**uia**nt fratres, **iunior pri**orem **benedictionem** petat.
22.12 *RBen* 63.4: Ergo secundum **ordine**s quos constituerit uel quos habuerint ipsi fratres sic accedant ad pacem, ad **communi**onem, ad **psalmum** imponendum, in choro standum;…
22.13 *RBen* 63.1: **Ordine**s suos **in monasterio ita** conseruent ut **conuersa**tionis tempus ut uitae **mer**itum discernit utque **abba**s **constitu**erit.
RBen 63.7–9 Ergo, excepto hos quos, ut diximus, altiori consilio **abba**s praetulerit uel d**egrad**auerit certis ex causis, reliqui omnes ut conuertuntur **ita** sint, 8 ut uerbi gratia qui secunda hora diei uenerit in monasterio iuniorem se nouerit illius esse qui prima hora uenit diei, cuiuslibet aetatis aut dignitatis sit, 9 pueris per omnia ab omnibus disciplina conseruata.
22.14–15 *RBen* 63.16–17: Transeunte maiore minor **surga**t et det ei **locum** sedendi, nec praesumat iunior consedere nisi ei praecipiat senior suus, 17 ut fiat quod scriptum est: *Honore inuicem praeuenientes.* (Rom. 12, 10)

22.10 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.17, *inc.* Hinc et alius monachorum pater ait "Quando…
22.13 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.8, *inc.* Hinc alibi scriptum est "Abbati…
22.15–17 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 63.17, *inc.* "In consenso uero fratrum…

upon us to build the foundation, so that we arrive at the summit of virtues. 9 First, humility should be shown both in act and in disposition (*affectus*), so that subsequently an abundance of love is built [upon it].

10 And when [the sisters] meet one another on their path or at any place, they should bow with all humility and ask each other for a blessing. 11 And if one of them is an elder, the junior should first request a blessing whereupon the elder should follow.

12 Where they are placed in the service, as they are arranged by the abbess, they should keep their rank – be it for singing the Psalms or reciting the readings but also while going to take Communion – and they should not sink into the vice of ambition or presumption by stepping out of the position where they are placed.

13 But the abbess has to be concerned that they are placed in the same order as they converted in the monastery, unless the conduct of abundant piety deserves that [a nun] is moved forward before [her turn], or if a severe offence requires that she is degraded to a lower rank. 14 Should one of the sisters be recognized as aspiring the place of an elder, she is to be rebuked with a shameful castigation, because she has dared [to claim] a place of undeserved dignity, and she has attempted to take upon herself an undeserved honour because of her ambition and not an honour deserving of her piety.

15 If another nun arrives at the assembly of the sisters, those who are juniors according to their rank should rise and give place to the elder.

22.10 *Cum omni humilitate*, cfr *RcuiV* 10.16; 10.20; 10.22; *LOrs* 22; *RBen* 6.7; 20.2; 57.1; *VCol* I.18: *omni cum humilitate*. | *VCol* II.9: *…tamen cotidianum motum, siue in ingressu uel egressu seu progressu, unumquemque nostrum signo crucis armari uel benedictione sodalium roborari fas duco.* | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, *CCM* 1, p. 243: *Cum uero se obuiant fratres ubicumque, iunior dicat priori inclinato capite Benedicte*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278.
22.12 Cfr *RPac Leg* 3; *RIVP* 2.10–14; *2RP* 4.17–20; *RAM* 22; *RAV* 18; *RM* 22; *V. Austrebertae* 18. | *ambitio*: cfr, for example, *RColM* 8.
22.13 Cfr *RPac Pr* 1; *RBas* 10; *RIVP* 4.8–9; *RM* 92.33–82 (different context); *RBen* 2.19; *RI* 4.3; *RFruc* 23.
22.14 Baudonivia, *V. Radegundis* 12.
22.15 On gatherings, cfr *RBen* 3.3; *RI* 7; *RD* 2.3; *RCom* 13. | On *seniores* and *iuniores* cfr *RPS* 22–23. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 243: *Si iunior sedet, transeunte seniore surgat; si senior uoluerit sedere, iunior tamen nisi iussus non sedeat, iuxta regulam nostram*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278.

16 Iuniores uero senioribus nullatenus superbiendo contradicant, sed cum omni humilitate uel interrogatae uel correptae respondeant.

17 Si labentem in quodlibet delictum iunior seniorem aspexerit, non exprobrando sed magis dolendo ad confitendum abbatissae uel praepositae dirigat. Similiter senior iuniori faciat.

18 Ad confessionem ueniens prius prostrata supra humum suam culpam esse dicat. Sic postquam surgere iubetur, suam confessionem manifestet.

19 Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.

20 Quando ad abbatissam uenitur, cum omni humilitate ueniam petendo accedatur. Similiter, quando egreditur, cum ueniae petitione benedictio quaeratur.

21 Nulla monacharum per semetipsam de propria necessitate abbatissae suggerat, sed omnes per praepositam quicquid necessitatum fuerit, abbatissae studeant intimare.

214vb 22 Si sacerdos uel quilibet relegiosus uenerit, ut ei per abbatissae | commeatum sit occurrendum, a longe adstantes cum omni **humilit**ate flectentes genu sub silenti

22.16 seniori *h* | **22.17** quodlibet] quolibet *s* | sed magis dolendo *s*] *om. F'Vc* | **22.18** prostrate *K*, prostratae *h* | iubeatur *c* | **22.19** aliquid M^{ac} | fiendum $F'^{ac}V$] faciendum *me h c* | **22.20** ad] ab *c*

22.22 *RBen* 53.23–24: Hospitibus autem cui non praecipitur ullatenus societur neque col**loqu**atur; 24 sed si obuiauerit aut uiderit, **salutat**is **humilit**er, ut diximus, et petita **benedictione** pertranseat, dicens sibi non licere col**loqu**i cum hospite.

16 Juniors may by no means contradict the elder out of pride, but they should respond with all humility when they are asked for their opinion or reproached.

17 If a junior sees an elder falling into any sort of offence, she should guide her to the abbess or prioress in order to confess. [She should do that] not in an upbraiding but rather in a grieving way. Likewise should an elder act towards a junior.

18 When [this nun] comes to confession, she should first prostrate on the ground and say that the offence is hers. When she then is ordered to rise, she should make her confession known.

19 When someone asks for permission for some sort of work that is to be done, she should first request indulgence [to ask], and then she may ask for approval for the work that needs to be done.

20 When she comes to the abbess, she should approach her with all humility and request permission. Accordingly, when she leaves, she should request permission [to leave] and ask for a blessing.

21 None of the nuns may of her own accord bring something of her own affairs to the abbess, but all should be concerned to bring whatever is necessary to the [knowledge of the] abbess by way of the prioress.

22 If a priest or any other religious person visits and they receive permission from the abbess to meet them, they should ask for a blessing standing at a distance with silent voice,

22.17 Cfr *RBas* 121; *CaesRV* 24.1–2 (different context); *RPS* 36; *RM* 11.85–90; *RD* 51; *RT* 8.1–2; *RColC* 15; *RcuiP* 24.6–7.

22.18–20 *RD* 19: *Qualiter silentium studere debeant sorores* 1 *Omni tempore omnique loco* ***silentium*** *studere debent ancillae Christi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis.* 2 *Et ideo exeuntes a conpletoriis nulla sit licentia denuo loqui cuiquam aliquid usque mane post secundam celebratam in conuentu.* 3 *Quo in loco* ***uenia****m* ***pet****entes ac singulae* ***confessionem*** *dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus,* 4 *demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.* (Ps. 32/33, 22) 5 *Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniorem: "Da* ***commeatu****m uestimentum mutare et quod* ***opus*** *fuerit* ***fieri***". *RD* 19.3–5 appears also *RColV* 34–36 but not in *RColC*. | *supra humum*: *RcuiV* 6.26.

22.18 *Memoriale qualiter I* II.7, pp. 237–238: *Post haec, qui culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater ad domnum abbatem aut praepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus, cum ille senior dixerit Quae est causa, frater? ille qui ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondat Mea culpa, domne; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit iudicetur exinde culpabilis. Postea dicat domnus abbas uel ceteri, quibus oboedientia iniuncta est, quicquid necessarium est et utile in communi necessitate*; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* II.7, p. 271.

22.19 *VCol* I.15: *nullum alium esse, qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset.* | On *commeatus*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 3.11. | Cfr *CaesRV* 8; 16; 29; *RT* 12.7; *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 244: *Cum domnus abbas aut certe alius ex senioribus alicui ex fratribus aliquod opus facere praecipit, suscipiat iunior cum summa humilitate iubentis imperium. Sit auris prompta ad audiendum ac si diuinitus dicatur, sint pedes directi, manus uero expeditae ad faciendum, et humiliato capite dicat Benedicte*; similar: *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 278.

22.20 Cfr *RcuiP* 7.1.

22.22 Cfr *RIVP* 2.40–42; *2RP* 16; *CaesRV* 23.6–7; 38.2; *RT* 7.7–9; *RM* 76; *RBen* 53.21; *RcuiP* 18.2; *RD* 57.8; Teridius, *Epistola ad Caesariam*, c. 5, *SC* 345, pp. 434–438; *Institutio sanctimonialium* 27; Venantius Fortunatus, *V. Radegundis* 8; *V. Aldegundis* 25; *V. Sadalbergae* 22. | *sub silenti uoce*: *RcuiV* 14.15; *VCol* I.9 | *a longe adstantes* (different context): *VCol* I.17.

uoce **benedictione**m rogent. 23 Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa ut cum his aliqua sororum **loqu**atur, cum **omni humilitate et** modestia ac sobriaetate loquendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.

XXIII. DE **NON DEFENDE**NDA PROXIMA VEL CONSANGVINEA **IN MONASTERIO**

1 **Defendere** proximam uel **consanguin**eam **in monasterio** nullo **modo** permitti censemus. 2 Quid enim aliam defendat quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, 3 quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti **iung**eret, prius perdidit? 4 Quae ergo proprias perdidit uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quur aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria crucifixit? 5 Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quur in mundi facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?

6 Sit ergo ei aequus amor tam in **consanguin**ea quam in cetera sorore, quae ei sanguinis adfinitate non **iung**itur. 7 Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam **tueri** studeat, 8 ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat. 9 Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.

23.2 Cfr Rom. 14, 7–8; II Cor. 5, 15; Gal. 2, 19; 6, 14 | **23.3** Cfr Marc. 8, 35; Luc. 17, 33 | **23.4** Cfr Gal. 5, 24 | **23.5** Cfr Gal. 2, 19

23.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
23.1–9 *codd.: MFVK*; *edd.: me h ma c*
23.1–2 (Defendere…manet crucifixa) *ed.: s*
23.4 (Quae…delicta defendat) *ed.: s*
23.6 *ed.: s*
23.7–8 (nec…alias dimittat) *ed.: s*

23.1 permitti censemus] permittimus *s* | **23.4** cur M^2 *Kh* | **23.5** mundi] mundo *h* | familaritate M^{ac} | **23.6** affinitate M^2 *Kh* | **23.8** aliis *c* | **23.9** propriam implendo voluntatem *me* h*

22.23 *RBen* 6.7: Et ideo, si qua requirenda sunt a priore, **cum omni humilitate et** subiectione requirantur.
23 *RBen* 69: Vt **in monasterio non** praesumat alter alterum **defende**re.
1 Praecauendum est ne quauis occasione praesumat alter alium **defendere** monachum **in monasterio** aut quasi **tueri**, 2 etiam si qualiuis **consanguin**itatis propinquitate **iung**antur. 3 Nec quolibet **modo** id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde grauissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. 4 Quod si quis haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur.

23 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 74.10, *inc*. Ex Regula sancti Columbani cap. XXXIII. [*sic!*].
23.1–2 (Defendere…manet crucifixa) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4, *inc.* Hinc et beatus Columbanus ait "Defendere…
23.4 (Quae…delicta defendat) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4.
23.6 Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4.
23.7–8 (nec…alias dimittat) Smaragdus, *Expositio* 69.4.

bending with all humility. 23 And if it is ordered by the abbess, that any of the sisters speaks with [the visitors], so should she speak with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them.

XXIII. ON NOT DEFENDING A RELATIVE OR A FAMILY MEMBER IN THE MONASTERY

1 We determine that by no means [a nun] is permitted to defend a relative or a family member in the monastery, 2 for why should a nun defend another who does not live any more for herself but for Christ, and continues to be crucified in imitation of Him, 3 – and who has already given up her own soul in order to bind herself more fully to salvation? 4 Thus, why should she, who has given up her own will in order to fulfill Christ's will within herself, defend the offences of others – she who has crucified her own offences? 5 And if she has truly crucified [her offences] and does not live any more for the world but for Christ, why should she defend due to any sort of family tie those who fall into the misdeeds of the world?

6 Therefore, she should have equal love both for a relative and for another sister who is not bound to her by the ties of blood. 7 Let therefore in all nuns love remain enclosed in the heart, and [this love] should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the guidance of punishment, 8 lest she send out the vice of defending to others. 9 Let it therefore be in the judgement of the corrector that she imposes punishment on those whom she corrects under the zeal of love, not by fulfilling her own will, but by correcting their faults.

22.23 *CaesRV* 23.6 (different context) | *modestia ac sobriaetate*: *VCol* I.5 | Similar statements, all using *ut in omnibus*, can be found in *RcuiV* 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11.

23. Prohibitions to defend a fellow monk or nun in other rules and hagiographic texts: *RPac Iud* 16 | *LOrs* 24 | *RBas* 26; 12–121 | *2RP* 5.30 | *ROr* 33; 47 | *RColM* 1 | *RD* 74 | *V. patrum Iurensium* 26 | *VCol* II.12; II.15.

23. Reference to family members in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 4.4

23.1 On *censemus*, see pp. 172–174. | On family ties in the monastery: *VCol* II.9; II.12.
23.2 The motive of imitation of the crucified Christ appears rarely in older texts but it is used in *RcuiV* 17.2–3; *RcuiP* 11.4. See also *VCol* II.13: *…ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*
23.3 *Animam propriam* (in place of the biblical *animam suam*): Ps.-Jerome, *Expositio Euangeliorum*, *in euangelio sancti Matthei*, *PL* 30, col. 554C.
23.4 *Delicta crucifixit* may be inspired by *carnem crucifixit* as it is used in Jerome, *Epistula* 22 *ad Eustochium* 39.1. | On *propria uoluntas*, cfr *RBen* prologue.3; 1.11; 4.60; 5.7; 7.12; 7.19; 7.31; 33.4; 49.6. Other monastic rules using the category of *propria uoluntas*: *RBas*; *RM*; *RFruc* | *uoluntates crucifigere*: *VCol* I.9: *Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates*. The expression may be inspired by Cassian, *Collationes* XIX.8.
23.6 Cfr *RBen* 2.22; *V. Amati* 11.
23.7 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* VII.12.82: *intra se loquitur pectore clausus amor.*
23.9 Punishment as an act of love, cfr *RcuiV* 18–20; 24.2. | Similar statements, all using *ut in omnibus*, can be found in *RcuiV* 2.8; 3.25; 4.6; 4.14; 4.16; 10.2; 15.2; 17.8; 22.23; 23.7; 24.11.

XXIIII. DE NVTRIENDIS **INFANT**IBVS

1 **Infant**es in monasterio quanta cura et **disciplina** sint nutriendae, multis didi-

[*here ends the text in mss. M and K. The continuation of chapter 24 is taken from Benedict of Aniane's Concordia regularum where it is presented in the male form*]

-cimus documentis. 2 Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et **disciplinae** ministerio, 3 ne desidiae uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera **aetate** maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripi.

4 Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, 5 sed semper ab eis **disciplinae** retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis. 6 Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili **aetate** discant quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant.

7 In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam positam. 8 Seniores tamen uel duo seu amplius de quorum religione non dubitatur, cum eis sedeant, 9 ut semper timorem antepositum sub metu seniorum nutriantur. 10 Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, **abbatis** arbitrio pensandum est, 11 ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.

24.tit. *codd.: MK; edd.: h ma*
24.1–11 *codd.: FVWTPAK; edd. me h ma c*
24.1 (Infantes…multis didi) *codd.: MK*

24.1 enutriendae *h* | didi] Iste regule non est finis et sequentis non est principium *add. (later hand) M*, Huius regule finis deficit propter perditionem de exemplari folia. In quibus eciam alterique augendam regule principium iniciabatur cuique extrema parte in papiro scripta continetur *add. K* | **24.2** ministerio] ut *add. VTPA* | **24.3** maculatae *h* | corrigi *h* | **24.5** eis] ejus *me** *h* | disciplina *me** *h*| retentae *h* | imbutae *h* | **24.6** deductam *FVWTA*^{ac}, deducti *c*, deductis *h* | proficiat *Wme** *h* | **24.8** duae *h* | seu] vel *h* | quarum *h* | **24.9** timore antiposto *PA*^{pc} *me h* | **24.10** abbatissae *h* | **24.11** custodia *Vme h c*] constia *F*, conscia *WTPA*

24 *RBen* 70.4–7: **Infant**um uero usque quindecim annorum **aetate**s **disciplinae** diligentia ab **omnibus** et **custodia** sit; 5 sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione. 6 Nam in fortiori **aetate** qui praesumit aliquatenus sine praecepto **abbatis** uel in ipsis infantibus sine **discretio**ne exarserit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat, 7 quia scriptum est: *Quod tibi non uis fieri, alio ne feceris.* (Matth. 7, 12)

24 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 46.8, *inc.* Ex Regula Cuiusdam cap. XXIIII.
24 *Institutio sanctimonialium* 22: Vt erga puellas **in monasteri**is erudiendas magna adhibeatur diligentia. Religio ecclesiastica docet, ut puellae, quae **in monasteri**is eruditur, **cum omni pietatis affectu et** uigilantissimae **cura**e studio **nutri**antur, ne, si lubricae aetatis annos indisciplinate uiuendo transegerint, **aut uix aut nullatenus corri**gi **postea possint**. Quapropter praeferantur eis ex sanctimonialibus tales magistrae quae utique et probabilis sint uitae et erga eas talem exhibeant **cura**m, ut nequaquam **huc atque illuc** uagandi possint habere progressum et aut desidiae aut **lasciuiae uitio macul**entur, quin potius sacris **inbu**antur **disciplin**is, quatenus his mancipate uagandi otio careant…
The chapter continues with a paraphrase of Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*ad Laetam*), c. 3.3–12.3.

XXIIII. ON CHILDREN – HOW THEY SHOULD BE BROUGHT UP

[1]We have learned from many examples with how much care and discipline children should be brought up in the monastery. [2]For they must be brought up with a complete disposition of love and service of discipline, [3]lest they, defiled at a tender age by the vice of idleness and lasciviousness, be scarcely – or not at all – able to be reproached at a later stage.

[4]Let there therefore be in them such a great care that it is never allowed to stray hither and thither without a senior, [5]but that they, always restrained by them [the elders] through the doctrine of discipline and imbued with the doctrine of fear and love of God, be instructed in the practice of piety. [6]They should have the habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may accomplish/perform when they are brought to perfect age.

[7]In the refectory they should have a table for themselves, which is placed next to the table of the elders. [8]But two or more elders, whose piety is beyond doubt, should sit with them, [9]so that they, always confronted with fear (*timor*), are brought up in fear (*metus*) of the elders. [10]It must be weighed out by the judgement of the abbot at which hours they should eat and go to sleep, [11]so that in anyone/anything discretion is found through the observance of the virtues.

24. Other monastic rules and norms and hagiographic texts on children and education: *RPac Inst* 18.37 | *RPac Iud* 7; 13 | *RBas* 7 | *ROr* 18 | *CaesRV* 7.3–7.4 | *RAM* 17; 22; 47 | *RAV* 18 | *RT* 13.4 | *RPS* 2–3 | *RM* 14.79–87; 27.41; 28.19–24; 50.12–15; 53.52–54; 59.10–11 | *RBen* 30; 31.9; 37; 39.10; 45.3; 59; 63.9; 70.4–7 | *RcuiP* 11.1 | *RI* 21.5 | *RD* 6.13 | *RCom* 6 | *Institutio canonicorum* 135 | *Institutio sanctimonialium* 22 | Jerome, *Ep.* 108 | *V. Austrebertae* 16 | *V. Bertilae* 1 | *VCol* II.13; II.15 | *V. Rictrudis* 25.

24. References to children in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: 2.19; 10.5; 14.10–12; 16.3; 20.13; 24

24.1–11 *VCol* II.13: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam; aequae enim marem ut feminam putabat, aequae feminam ut marem.*
24.2–4 Cfr *Ordo Casinensis I* 2, *CCM* 1, pp. 102–103.
24.2–3 Cfr Columbanus, *Epistula* 2.8.
24.2 *RIVP* 5.12; *RBen* 63.9/19.
24.3 Cfr *RBas* 7.5 | *ad cultum religionis*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 1.9. | The idea of curing and disciplining up front is probably influenced by *RColC* 1. See also *RcuiV* 1.12; 12.29; *RcuiV* 16.4.
24.4–6 Cfr *RcuiP* 24.3.
24.4 *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 247; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VII, p. 279.
24.6 *RcuiV* 12.4: *lectio usitetur* | On literacy in monasteries, cfr *RPac Pr* 139–140; *LOrs* 51; *RBas* 81; *CaesRV* 18.7; *RAM* 32; *RAV* 26; *RFer* 11; *RM* 50.12–17; *Statuta Murbacensia* 2, *CCM* 1, pp. 441–442. | *lectionis usum* or *usum lectionis* (exclusively): Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Ezechielem* VII.1. | *ad perfectam* refers to the concept of the *aetas perfecta*, which is according to Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 6.13, *CSEL* 28.1, p. 187 the age of adulthood. The *aetas perfecta* is mentioned in *V. Sadalbergae* 6. | Alcuin, *Epistola* 19, *MGH Epp.* 4, p. 55, l. 21–23 may have been influenced by the *RcuiV*: ***Discant pueri*** *scripturas sacras; ut* ***aetate perfecta*** *ueniente alios docere possint. Qui non discit in* ***pueri****tia, non docet in senectute.* | *Memoriale qualiter II* I.1, p. 268: *Puellae autem cum magistris separatim legant quos uoluerint libros*; *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251: *…et sub silentio legant, et ne unus ad alium iungat, nisi necessitas discendi exposcerit, ipsud tamen sine inquietudine alterius fiat.*
24.7–8 Cfr *RBen* 63.18; *RBas* 7.8. | *de cuius relegione non dubitetur*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 14.9; *VCol* I.10. In *VCol* II.5 the same expression appears in a similar context: Jonas is accompanied by two monks *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur* when he travelled home to visit his family. See also *V. Segolenae* 23.25.
24.10 Cfr *RM* 28.19 | *abbatis arbitrio*, see commentary on *RcuiV* 10.1. | *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 250; similar *Memoriale qualiter II* VIII.20, p. 282.

APPENDIX:

DE ACCEDENDO AD DEVM PROMPTO **COR**DE **ORA**NDVM

[1] Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam **oration**e **tend**atur, [2] Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur.* [3] Accedendum semper est, ut accessum sequatur inluminatio. [4] Si non accedimus, non inluminamur; [5] si accedimus, et inluminamur et cum eodem dicere possimus: *Inquisiui Dominum et exaudiuit me.* [6] Inquirendo etenim et omni intentione petendo **exaud**itur, qui se exterius a saeculi desideriis atterit et interius cum omni **cordis** contritione per ardorem **conpunction**is pollet. [7] *Petite*, inquit*, et dabitur uobis.* [8] Si omnis qui petit accipit, cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium, quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, [9] cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum **op**ere implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et inconprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae prae-

App.: Please note: the text presented here is based on the critical edition of Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, in *CSEL* 98, *Monastica* 1, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, pp. 237–238. For the sake of consistency with the edition and commentary of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the lower-case "v" has been replaced by "u". The bolding of parallels with the *Regula Benedicti* is not part of the original edition. The division in paragraphs is mine. I would like to thank the editor for her permission to reprint the text.

App. 2 Ps. 33/34, 6 (*LXX*) | **5** Ps. 33/34, 5 (*LXX*) | **7** Matth. 7, 7 | **8** Matth. 7, 8

App. See ed. Zimmerl-Panagl

codd.: M (fols 216^{r}–216^{v}); *F' VWTPAK* (fols 210^{v}–211^{r})
edd.: Otto Seebaß, 'Fragment einer Nonnenregel des 7. Jahrhunderts', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1896), pp. 465–470; Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, in *CSEL* 98, *Monastica* 1, pp. 237–238

App. 1–27 Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum* 26.5, *inc.* Ex Regula Patrum de accedendo ad Deum.

HOW TO APPROACH GOD BY PRAYING WITH A READILY DISPOSED HEART

[1]We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search and how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer, [2]admonished by the Prophet who says: *Approach the Lord and be enlightened and your faces will not be confused.* [3]One has always to approach so that enlightenment follows approach. [4]If we do not approach, we are not enlightened; [5]if we approach we are both enlightened and we can say with the same [Prophet]: *I have searched for the Lord and he has listened to me.* [6]For he, who externally deprives himself of desires for the world and internally abounds with all contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse, is hearkened through searching and asking with all intention. [7]*Ask*, he says, *and it will be given to you.* [8]*If everyone who asks receives*, why should we, while the listlessness of the flesh is hindering [us] and the weight of our misdeeds is blocking us, not demand daily in order that we may possess the following in eternity: namely the reward (*praemium*) of a blessed life and the everlasting support (*suffragium*) of the eternal gift, which cannot be acquired without great effort? [9][Why shouldn't we demand this] when [support] is at first implanted into the untried mind through desire

1–20 Cfr *VCol* I.9: *Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates, tantum fidem pollentes, quae eius misericordiae postulauerint, impetrare non dubitant; quia ipse promisit, dicens: Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic* (Matth. 17, 12)*: "Transi" et transiet, et nihil inpossibile erit uobis: et alibi: Omnia quecumque orantes petitis credite quia accipietis, et uenient uobis.* (Marc. 11, 24)
VCol II.9: *Multiplicationem uero orationum in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis. Cum enim plus Dominus queritur, plus inuenitur, et cum uberius oratione pulsatur, ad misericordiam petentium citius excitatur; nihil enim aliud plus desudare debemus quam orationi incumbere. Sic enim a Domino sub apostolorum numero hortamur: Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in temptationem.* (Matth. 26, 41) *Sic enim nos et apostolus sine intermissione orare rogat; sic omnis scripturarum sacrarum ordo iubet clamrare; qui enim clamare neglegit, neglectus et abscisus a Christi membris abicitur. Nihil enim tam utile tamque salutare quam creatorem multiplicatione precum et adsiduitate orationum pulsare.*
1 *Intentio* (also *RcuiV* 12.2) appears twelve times in *VCol* and belongs to the large group of motivational terms deployed both in the *RcuiV* and the *VCol.* | *ad cultum religionis*: *RcuiV* 1.4; 24.4; *VCol* I.5; I.10; II.11; II.12; II.23; *VIoh* 1; *V. Vedastis* 3. The expression does not appear in any other monastic rule.
3 *Accedendum semper est*, cfr *RcuiV* 2.9: *interrogandum semper est*; 6.2: *Danda ergo confessio semper est*; 14.4: *tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum*; 15.7: *infirmis semper cedendum est*; *De accedendo* 27: *Orandus ergo semper est.*
4 The sequence of sentences beginning with *Si*, *sic* or *sic ergo* (4; 5; 8; 11; 13; 20; 22; 24) reminds of *RcuiV* 1.
5 Similar construction as in *RcuiV* 3.4: *ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant: Auerte oculos meos.*
6 *VCol* I.30: *omni cum intentione*; II.10: *omnem intentionem ad contemplanda misticorum praeconiorum documenta omni intentione desudat*; II.11: *omni intentione et deuotione*; II.11: *omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent*; *VIoh* 2: *et uitam ageret gloriosam et cultu religionis sub omni intentione mentem erudiret.* | *VCol* I.15: *exaudit uota petentis* (otherwise rare). | *exterius…interius*, cfr *RcuiV* 12.10–11; *VCol* I.21: *Gaudens ille reddito lumine, domi remeauit, ut uidelicet qui interiorem lumen in hospites habere non omiserant, exteriorem non carerent.* | *contritio cordis*: *RcuiV* 6.26; 19.8.
7 Cfr *V. Segolenae* 23.24.
8–9 Similar rhetorical questions can be found in *RcuiV* 3.3; 9.6; 17.2; 17.3; 17.8; 23.2–3; 23.4; *VCol* II.25.
8 *RcuiV* 6.6: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret.* | *VIoh* 1: *eterne uite premia* | *labor grandis*: *RcuiV* 11.3; *VCol* I.9.

sidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest? 10 Quamuis iuxta Apostolum *alius riget, alius plantet, Deus autem incrementum dat.* 11 Sic Salomon testatur dicens: *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* 12 Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur. 13 Sic per Apocalipsin dicitur: *Ecce ego* ***st****o ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* 14 **Ad opus** ergo seruitutis **diuina**e miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus, 15 ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet. 16 In qua quis cum uenerit, *inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* 17 *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* 18 *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.*

19 Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat, iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: ***Seruite***, inquit, ***Domino in timore*** *et exultate ei cum tremore.* 20 Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si **opus bon**um ad **uoc**em laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: ***psallite sapienter***. 21 Sapienter etenim quisque **psallit**, qui ***uoc**i laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et **qualiter oporteat** potentiae **diuina**e famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. 22 Sic ergo **mens nostra** ad **psallendum** intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio, 23 sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata **humilitate** et **puritate** ac promptissima **deuotione** ornata ad aeterna praemia **tend**at. 24 Sic **cordis conpunction**e flagret, **qualiter** in se creatoris misericordiam ac clemen-

10 Cfr I Cor. 3, 7 | **11** Prou. 16, 19 | **13** Apoc. 3, 19–20 | **16–18** Cfr Ps. 35/36, 9–11 (*LXX*) | **19** Ps. 2, 11 *(LXX)* | **20** Ps. 46/47, 8 (*LXX*)

App. 19–22 *RBen* 19: De disciplina psallendi

1 Vbique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et oculos Domini *in omni loco speculari bonos et malos* (Prou. 15, 3), 2 maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum **ad opus diuin**um assistimus. 3 Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: ***Seruite Domino in timore***, (Ps. 2, 11) 4 et iterum: ***Psallite sapienter*** (Ps. 46/47, 8), 5 et: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi.* (Ps. 137/138, 1) 6 Ergo consideremus **qualiter oporteat** in conspectu diuinitatis et angelorum eius esse, 7 et sic stemus **ad psallendum** ut **mens nostra** concordet uoci nostrae.

23–26 *RBen* 20: De reuerentia orationis

1 Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, 2 quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni **humilitate** et **puritat**is **deuotione** supplicandum est. 3 Et non in **multiloquio**, sed in **puritate cordis** et **compunctione lacrimarum** nos **exaud**iri sciamus. 4 Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura **oratio**, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur. 5 In conuentu tamen omnino breuietur oratio, et facto signo a priore omnes pariter surgant.

and teaching and afterwards consecrated by fulfilling the work, but cannot be achieved without the protection and help of the ineffable and incomprehensible mercy of the Almighty God? 10 *Although*, according to the Apostle, *the one waters, the other plants, it is still God who gives the growth.* 11 Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart and the Lord's task to give counsel.* 12 Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if access to the stubborn mind is not denied. 13 In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I shall eat with him and He with me.* 14 Whenever we stand [in front of the gate] we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy, 15 in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosed space of the mind and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – [the mercy] which comes to the banquet and leads us to his banquet. 16 When someone comes to this [banquet], *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* 17 *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* 18 *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.*

19 Therefore let the tongue always bring forth these things in order that it pleases the Creator along with serving work, according to this message of the Psalmist: *Serve*, he says, *the Lord in fear and praise him with trembling.* 20 The Creator is served in fear in such a way if good work is joined to the voice of praise, as it is said elsewhere by the Psalmist: *sing the Psalms wisely.* 21 For everyone sings the Psalms wisely who does not contradict the praising voice through harmful works and who, as much as it behoves, continues with all zeal to serve the divine power with solicitous concern for practice of piety. 22 Let therefore our mind enter [the gate] so dedicated to singing Psalms, so ready for prayer that it, not shackled by any obstacle of worldly desire, is not darkened by any fault of the world, 23 but that it strives for eternal rewards, always dedicated and elevated in the heavens by humility and purity and adorned with most eager devotion. 24 Let it (the mind) burn in such a way with compunction of the heart, that it arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator

10 *RcuiV* 1.11: *iuxta Apostolum*; 5.5: *iuxta Apocalipsin*; 6.1: *iuxta scripturarum seriem*; 22.9: *iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus*; also six times in *VCol*. The expression *iuxta* followed by a biblical book appears rarely in monastic rules.

11 *RcuiV* 5.15; 5.17: *testatus est dicens*. This expression appears in no other monastic rule.

12 *RcuiV* 18.5: *aut si obstinatae et durae mentis | aditus denegare*: *RcuiV* 21.5; *VCol* I.9; I.19; I.30. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

14 *VCol* II.25: *nisi quia miseratio diuina*.

15 *VCol* II.1: *subito ictu igne febrium accensus*.

19 *VCol* I.3: *psalmigraphi praeconii*; I.17: *preconantis uox psalmigraphi*; *V. Segolenae* 23.24: *memor illius Psalmographi praeconii*. This expression appears exclusively in these three texts.

21 *diuina potentia*: *VCol* I.27; II.2 | *omni studio*: *VCol* II.1; II.9; *VIoh* 6.

22 *RcuiV* 8.2: *sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta*; 14.1: *anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat*; *VCol* II.10: *mente intenta preces fundens*; *VIoh*, *praefatio*: *mentis intentione*.

23 *ornata* appear six times in *RcuiV*. | *aeterna praemia*: *RcuiV* 5.11; *VCol* I.10.

24 *compunctio cordis*: *VCol* II.9.

tiam excitet. 25 **N**ec se **in multiloquio** quisquam, **sed** potius **in puritate cordis** et **lacrimarum** ubertate **exaudiri** credat. 26 Non enim longae **oratio**nis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat. 27 Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam 28 salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

towards itself. 25 And let no one believe he is heard through verbosity, but rather through the purity of heart and the abundance of tears 26 for it is not the length of a long-winded prayer but the dedication of the ready mind that excites the love of the clement judge. 27 He is always to be prayed to in order that he may extend pardon to the guilty – he who has poured through the passion of the Cross medicine on the languishing world, 28 the eternal salvation of the world, Jesus Christ, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

25 *ubertas lacrimarum*: *VCol* II.6; II.13. The expression is otherwise very rare.
26 *RcuiV* 6.15: *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur!* On *clemens iudex*, see also *VCol* I.4; II.11. This expression is very rare.
27 *RcuiV* 7.3: *…ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit. Medicinam infundere* is very rare.

PART I

COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 1

QVIDAM PATER – QVAEDAM MATER? THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES* AND ITS AUTHOR

Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* contains two monastic rules by an unknown author. One is called *Regula cuiusdam patris* (Rule of a Certain Father), the other one *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (A certain person's Rule for Virgins). The difference between *cuiusdam patris* and *cuiusdam* suggests that Benedict of Aniane considered it possible that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had been written by a female author, perhaps an abbess or founder of a monastery. He quoted almost the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in his *Concordia regularum*, his second main work, where he mostly retained the gender-neutral title *Regula cuiusdam* even though he consistently changed all grammatical forms in the text itself from female to male.[1]

A few years after Benedict of Aniane compiled his *Codex* and *Concordia regularum*, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (d. *c.* 827) wrote his commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*, which draws extensively upon the *Concordia regularum*. Smaragdus quoted the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* thirty-two times and most of these quotations were now explicitly ascribed to a male author.[2] Smaragdus clearly considered the text an important part of monastic tradition but he was probably no longer aware that the rule he quoted was originally written for a female community.[3]

When Lucas Holstenius produced the *editio princeps* of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in 1661, it was probably unimaginable by then that a rule for nuns could have been written by someone other than "a certain father", an abbot or a bishop. Holstenius amended the title in analogy to the other rule of an unknown author; the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*

(1) Benedict of Aniane only deviated on two occasions from referring to the text as *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, once by referring to a *Regula cuiusdam patris* and another time by identifying a fragment of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *ex regula Columbani*: Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 55.26, ed. Pierre Bonnerue, *CCCM* 168A, Turnhout: Brepols 1999, p. 488: *Ex Regula Cuiusdam Patris cap. XII.*; c. 74.10, p. 651: *Ex Regula sancti Columbani cap. XXXIII.*

(2) Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 65.21, ed. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, *CCM* 8, Siegburg: F. Schmitt 1974, p. 321, l. 17–18 quotes the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as "*ex sententiis patrum*." Elsewhere he ascribes the fragments he inserted into his work to "*quidem monachorum magister*" (c. 38.9, p. 254, l. 14–15; c. 43.3, p. 264, l. 6–7; c. 66.4, p. 323, l. 323), "*alius pater*" (c. 67.6, p. 327, l. 14), "*quidam patrum*/*cuiusdam patris regula*/*quidam pater*" (c. 23.5, p. 217, l. 21; c. 28.6, p. 231, l. 19–20; c. 47.1, p. 270, l. 17), or "*monachorum pater*" (c. 36.2/3, p. 248, l. 21; c. 63.17, p. 312, l. 8). Only twice Smaragdus refers to quotations from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *regula cuiusdam* (c. 24.1, p. 219, l. 23; c. 29.3, p. 234, l. 6).

(3) See introduction to the edition, pp. 51–52.

became the *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines* – a title that is used until the present.[4] Marianus Brockie, who reprinted Holstenius' edition in 1759, even speculated that both texts named *Regula cuiusdam* might have been produced by the same person,[5] which is unlikely because both rules show few similarities in form or content.[6] Felice Lifshitz was, to my knowledge, the first modern historian who shared Benedict of Aniane's caution and suggested that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had a female author.[7]

This chapter has a twofold purpose: eventually I aim to resolve the riddle of the non-gendered *cuiusdam*, replacing it with a proper name – Jonas of Bobbio (d. after 659), the author of the *Vita* of the Irish missionary and monastic founder Columbanus (d. *c.* 615). Before introducing Jonas as an author I will discuss other potential options for the identity of the author: the widespread assumption that Waldebert of Luxeuil has written the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, that the Rule has been produced by one of the aristocratic founders of monasteries with ties to Columbanus, or that Burgundofara, the abbess of Faremoutiers, was the author.

To discuss potential authors while knowing for sure that they did *not* write this particular Rule seems redundant. I have three reasons for pursuing this path nevertheless. First and foremost it gives us access to the different stakeholders of the monastic world emerging after Columbanus' death – a world that had a deep impact on the further development of medieval monasticism. Second, the fact that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was a work of Jonas of Bobbio does not preclude that others were involved in its production, and thirdly, this discussion will show that all of my "candidates" for authorship could have established their own sets of written or unwritten norms for monastic communities.

What is an Author?

Looking for an "author" of an anonymous early medieval text, and especially of a monastic rule, is problematic for various reasons. First, almost all early medieval monastic rules

(4) Holstenius justified his alteration of the title with Benedict of Aniane's single reference to a *Regula cuiusdam patris* in *Concordia regularum*, c. 55.26, *CCCM* 168A, p. 488 and with Smaragdus' source identifications. See Holstenius, Lucas, *Codex regularum quas Sancti Patres monachis et virginibus sanctimonialibus servandas praescripsere, collectus olim a S. Benedicto, Anianensi abbate*, Rome 1661, part. 3, p. 122.

(5) Holstenius/Brockie, *Codex regularum*, vol. 1, 1759, p. 393. Brockie suggested that both rules were written by Columba or Commogellus, abbots of Iona and Bangor. This assumption is based on references to Comongellus in Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*, I, c. 4, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, pp. 158–159 (henceforth *VCol*) and to Columba in Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III, c. 4, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969, pp. 220–222.

(6) See Diem, Albrecht, 'Columbanian Monastic Rules: Dissent and Experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe*, Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68–85, at pp. 71–79; Diem, Albrecht and Matthieu van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, St Ottilien: EOS Editions 2016, pp. 9–126.

(7) Lifshitz, Felice, 'Is Mother Superior? Towards a History of Feminine *Amtscharisma*', in: John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering*, New York/London: Garland 1996, pp. 117–138, at p. 126. See also Kardong, Terrence G., 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395–412.

emerged in interaction with previously written rules. Most of them are revisions (or to use a more recent technical term – *réécritures*) rather than original texts.[8] No author of a new rule claims originality; many of them emphasize that their work forms part of a long tradition and that they simply adjusted, codified, or rearranged what was already there.[9] Their techniques of revision range from rephrasing old rules with new words[10] to producing *florilegia* which quote and shuffle extracts from older rules and render their material verbatim or with small alterations.[11] Most rules are situated somewhere in-between these modes of production and incorporate different textual techniques. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and her "sister rule", the *Regula Donati* (which was written at roughly the same time for another female monastery mentioned in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and will persistently loom in the background of this study) represent opposing ends of this spectrum. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains various allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* (and a few allusions to other rules) but does not quote any of its sources verbatim. Donatus' Rule consists almost exclusively of direct quotations from the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. Yet both rules develop, in their respective ways, highly original monastic programmes that are different from those manifesting themselves in the texts they used.[12]

Another reason for using the term "author" with caution is that some monastic rules were the products of collaboration rather than the work of one individual "regulator". A couple of early monastic rules, such as the *Regula quattuor patrum*, the *Regula patrum secunda*, and the *Regula patrum tertia*, describe themselves explicitly as collaborative works.[13] In some other cases we can guess that a text ascribed to one author was in fact a collaborative work. It is, for example, hard to imagine that Caesarius of Arles wrote, expanded, and revised his Rule for Nuns (which will be discussed in Chapter 3) over a period of almost thirty years without consulting his sister and niece, the first two abbesses of his monastery. After all, Caesaria the Older and Caesaria the Younger possessed the inside knowledge of

(8) Diem, Albrecht and Philip Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules (Fourth to Ninth Century)', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 162–194. On réécriture: Goullet, Monique, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin medieval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2005.

(9) See, for example, Caesarius, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 2, ed. Joël Courreau and Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 345, Paris: Cerf 1988, p. 180 (henceforth *CaesRV*); *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1, ed. Jean Neufville and Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 181, Paris: Cerf 1981, p. 412; *Regula Donati*, prologue.2–5, ed. Michaela Zelzer and Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015, p. 139.

(10) For an analysis of such a revision, Aurelianus of Arles rewriting Caesarius' monastic rules, see Diem, Albrecht, '…ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191–224.

(11) Examples for such florilegia are the so-called *Regula Eugippii*, ed. Fernando Villegas and Adalbert de Vogüé, *CSEL* 87, Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky 1976 and the *Regula orientalis*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 2, *SC* 298, Paris: Cerf 1982, pp. 462–494.

(12) On the *Regula Donati*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1–38.

(13) See *Regula quattuor patrum*, prologue, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les règles des Saints Pères*, vol. 1, *SC* 297, Paris: Cerf 1982, p. 180; *Regula patrum secunda*, praefatio, p. 274; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 1, *SC* 298, p. 532.

a place that Caesarius had made inaccessible to every outsider, including himself. The two abbesses must have experienced all the flaws and challenges that motivated Caesarius to rewrite and expand his Rule.[14] At one point, Caesarius admits that his sister and his niece participated in producing the Rule, calling both abbesses and himself "the founders of the monastery and the creators of the rule" (*institutores monasterii et regulae conditores*).[15]

Even though I conclude that the person who wrote down the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was not a nun or an abbess, we should assume that members of the monastic community addressed by the Rule contributed to its production and had an influence on its content. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* strongly emphasizes the authority and the wisdom of the abbess and her role as a teacher. This makes it likely that she was involved in the creation of this Rule.[16]

A third reason for using the term "author" with caution is that writing a monastic rule often meant simply writing down and codifying what was already practised in a community. In most instances the monastic community itself should for this reason also be counted among the "authors" of its rule. Donatus of Besançon, for example, praises his nuns for already living according to the Rule they asked him to write down.[17] Rule and life are, as Giorgio Agamben has observed, intrinsically linked to each other: the life writes the rule.[18] What takes precedent – the practice or its codification – is, as we will see, especially relevant in the context of dating the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and for the question to what extent we should read the text as prescriptive or descriptive.[19] We know of only one monastic rule that was explicitly written in the process of founding a new monastic community: the *Regula* that Aurelianus of Arles (d. 555) wrote for the monastery he founded together with King Childebert I (d. 558) in Arles. And even this Rule is based on experiences in established monasteries and it makes extensive use of older rules.[20] Most other

(14) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 58, ed. Germain Morin and Marie-José Delage, *SC* 536, Paris: Cerf 2010, pp. 228–230. On the different stages of revision of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, see Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 173–200; Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 117–124; Rudge, Lindsay, 'Dedicated Women and Dedicated Spaces: Caesarius of Arles and the Foundation of St John', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 99–116.

(15) *CaesRV*, c. 72.1, *SC* 345, p. 270: *Vos tamen, piissimae sorores, coram Domino Deo nostro obtestor et deprecor, ut humilitati meae uel sanctarum matrum uestrarum, id est institutoribus monasterii et regulae conditoribus, hanc in perpetuum gratiam referatis…* See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, *SC* 536, pp. 194–196 recounting that Caesaria was trained in a monastery in Marseille to become the *magistra* of Caesarius' new foundation.

(16) See pp. 362–364.

(17) See, for example, *Regula Donati*, prologue.1, *CSEL* 98, p. 139: *Quamquam uos iuxta normam regulae, uasa Christi pretiosissima, egregie nouerim cotidie uitam ducere…*

(18) Agamben, Giorgio, *The Highest Poverty. Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2014.

(19) See pp. 164–165.

(20) See Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 239–240; Diem, '…ut si professus fuerit', pp. 195–198.

preserved rules were probably written for communities that already existed and, thus, either described or reformed practices that had already been established.

Before addressing the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* I will make some general observations on the "authors" of our preserved monastic rules (or rather on the names attached to these texts). Most preserved late antique and early medieval rules are ascribed to a specific author, which distinguishes them from "*Consuetudines*", monastic customaries written in later centuries that were usually transmitted anonymously.[21] More than half of the authors of monastic rules were bishops who either had a monastic background or acted as the founders or supervisors of monasteries: Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Augustine of Hippo (d. 435), Caesarius of Arles (d. 543), Aurelian of Arles (d. 551), Ferriolus of Uzès (d. 581), Leander of Seville (d. 600/601), Isidore of Seville (d. 636), Donatus of Besançon (d. 658), and Fructuosus of Braga (d. 665). Other rules were composed, collected, or translated by individual monks/abbots: Pachomius (d. 346), Horsiesios (d. 368), Euagrius Ponticus (d. 399),[22] Rufinus (d. *c.* 410), Jerome (d. 420),[23] Cassian (d. *c.* 435),[24] Eugippius (d. after 533),[25] Benedict (sixth century), and Columbanus (d. 615). Two monastic rules have (probably) fictitious authors with names chosen to enhance their authority: the *Regula quattuor patrum*, allegedly composed by the desert monks Pafnutius, Macharius, Serapion, and "the other Macharius",[26] and the Rule written by two monks called Paul and Stephen.[27] And there is the massive Rule written down as the teachings of an unnamed *Magister*.[28] Two Rules claim to have been written by a group of monks/abbots, the *Regula patrum secunda* and the *Regula patrum tertia*; two other texts are named by their place of origin, the

(21) On customaries, see Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Downplayed or Silenced: Authorial Voices Behind Customaries and Customs (Eighth to Eleventh Centuries)', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability: The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 153–173; ead., 'Customaries as inspirational sources', in: Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines (eds.), *Consuetudines et Regulae. Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 27–72.

(22) Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, ed. Jean Leclercq, 'L'ancienne version latine des sentences d'Évagre pour les moines', in: *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), pp. 195–213. The text appears in numerous medieval collections of monastic rules and should therefore be counted among them. See http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Evagrius-Proverbia-ad-monachos.html (last accessed Nov. 6, 2020).

(23) Rufinus and Jerome did not write monastic rules but translated, respectively, the *Regula Basilii* and the *Regula Pachomii* into Latin.

(24) Cassian did not write a monastic rule for his foundations. An extract of his *Institutiones*, however, was later transmitted as *Regula Cassiani*. See Ledoyen, Henry, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), pp. 154–194.

(25) If Eugippius was indeed the author of a rule-florilegium preserved in a manuscript from Corbie (now Paris, BnF, lat. 12634), as Ferdinand Villegas and Adalbert de Vogüé suggest. See *Regula Eugippii*, *CCSL* 87, pp. vii–xx.

(26) *Regula quattuor patrum*, *SC* 197, pp. 180–204. See also Adalbert de Vogüé's introduction, *SC* 197, pp. 68–70 where he describes the "four fathers" as legendary figures.

(27) *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, Montserrat 1959, pp. 105–125.

(28) *Regula Magistri*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 105–106, Paris: Cerf 1964–1965. Benedict of Aniane gives the text the title *Regula per interrogationem discipuli et responsionem magistri.*

Regula orientalis and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.[29] Only four of the *regulae* in Benedict of Aniane's collection are not ascribed to an author or assigned to a place: our two *Regulae cuiusdam*, the *Consensoria monachorum*,[30] and the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which I ascribe to Jonas of Bobbio and identify as a lost chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Chapters 7–8 of this study.[31]

As the list above illustrates, the authors of monastic rules could be divided into two distinct groups. One group would be outsiders, for example bishops, who have an interest in regulating, disciplining, or reforming a monastic institution. The other group would be insiders, most likely the founders or leaders of a monastic community, who want to codify and perpetuate their teaching beyond their own lifespan or presence in the community. The Lives of Benedict and Columbanus describe such instances of codification by insiders. Benedict wrote down his Rule in expectation of his imminent death; Columbanus gave his monks a Rule that allowed him to live an eremitic life for extended periods or move back and forth between different foundations.[32]

Remarkably enough, however, it seems that the internal or external perspective of the author had little impact on the content of each rule. There is no typical "rule of a bishop", "rule of a founder", or "rule of an abbot or abbess". The repertoire of topics addressed remains similar and the emphasis on specific aspects or the strictness of a rule cannot be related to the perspective from which it was written. It is indicative that a rule which was almost certainly produced by an "insider", the *Regula Benedicti*, later became a major instrument of reform and unification imposed from the outside by the Carolingian rulers and their advisors.[33]

(29) *Regula orientalis*, *SC* 298, pp. 462–494. *Regula Tarnatensis*, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7–65. The place "Tarnatensis" has not been identified.

(30) De Bruyne, Donatien, 'La Regula Consensoria. Une règle des moines priscillianistes', in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 83–88.

(31) *De accedendo ad Deum*, ed. Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 239–240.

(32) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 36, ed. Paul Antin and Adalbert de Vogüé, *SC* 260, Paris: Cerf 1979, p. 242; *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10–15.

(33) The classical studies on Carolingian monastic reforms and the *Regula Benedicti* include Semmler, Josef, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in: Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1–49; De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: *c. 700–c. 900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622–653. See also Dartmann, Christoph, 'Normative Schriftlichkeit im früheren Mittelalter: das benediktinische Mönchtum', in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 100 (2004), pp. 1–61; Diem, Albrecht, 'The Carolingians and the Regula Benedicti', in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 233–251; Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016; White, Deborah, 'Navigating Boundaries in the Merovingian Monastery: Gender, Authority, and regulae mixtae', in: *Journal for Medieval Monastic Studies* 7 (2018), pp, 1–20; Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019.

The content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not provide a clear indication whether it was written by a member of the community it addresses or by an "outsider". Our discussion of potential authors will show, moreover, that that in the monastic world emerging after Columbanus it is difficult to make a distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders" anyway. One of its defining aspects that makes monasteries founded after Columbanus distinct from earlier forms of monastic life, is that everyone involved in monastic foundations in whatever capacity, can be regarded an "insider".

Regvla Waldeberti?

In 1908, the Benedictine monk Louis Gougaud suggested that Waldebert (d. 670), a monk of Luxeuil who later became the monastery's third abbot, should be regarded as the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[34] What Gougaud brought forward as a reasonable hypothesis later became a presumed and widely accepted fact requiring no further verification. Handbooks either refer to a *Regula cuiusdam patris ad uirgines* (the title used in Holstenius' *editio princeps*) or they follow Gougaud and call the text simply *Regula Waldeberti*. The most commonly used abbreviation is *RW*.[35] Among the potential authors of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, Waldebert is the least likely candidate. Both the content of the Rule and the date of its production undermine Gougaud's argument.

The hypothesis that Waldebert wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is based on two premises. First, Jonas of Bobbio reports in his *Vita Columbani* that Eusthasius (d. 629), Columbanus' successor as abbot of Luxeuil, oversaw the foundation of a convent for the Frankish noblewoman Burgundofara that would later carry her name, *monasterium Farae* (Faremoutiers). Jonas emphasizes that Faremoutiers was founded *ex regula Columbani*.[36] Two monks of Luxeuil, Chagnoald (who was Burgundofara's brother and something like a personal assistant of Columbanus)[37] and Waldebert, received the task of teaching the nuns of the monastery the *regula*.[38] Secondly, there are significant parallels between Jonas of Bobbio's

(34) Gougaud, Louis, 'Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises', in: *Revue bénédictine* 25 (1908), pp. 167–184 and pp. 321–333, at pp. 328–331.

(35) See, for example, Bonnerue, Pierre, in: *CCCM* 168, Turnhout: Brepols 1999, p. 146; De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996, pp. 36–37; Maillé, Geneviève Aliette de Rohan-Chabot Marquise de, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, Paris: A. & J. Picard 1971, pp. 18–19; De Seilhac, Lazare, Marie-Bernard Saïd, Madeline Braquet, and Véronique Dupont, *Règles monastiques au féminin*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1996, pp. 45–95; de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 10, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2006, pp. 307–320; Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994, p. 11; Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2nd ed. 1988, p. 286.

(36) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 14–15.

(37) *VCol* I, c. 27, p. 216; II, c. 8, p. 245.

(38) *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243: *Monasteriumque Christi uirginum supra paternum solum inter fluuios Mugram et Albam aedificat fratresque, qui aedificandi curam habeant, deputat; germanum puellae Chagnoaldum et Waldebertum, qui ei postea successit, ut regulam doceant, decernit*. The *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 8, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1910, p. 54 describes Waldebert in a similar function.

report of events in Faremoutiers and the content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that indicate that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was Faremoutiers' Rule.

Gougaud's argument for Waldebert's authorship is based predominantly on the parallels between the ritual of confession as it is laid out in chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines,* and Jonas' description of an incident in the monastery when two nuns incurred eternal damnation because they refused to confess their motivation for escaping from the monastery.[39] Jonas refers in this context to the *consuetudo et regula* of the monastery and phrases the practice of Faremoutiers in terms found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Vita Columbani

Erat enim consuetudinis monasterii et regulae, ut ter in die **per confessionem** unaquaeque earum mentem **pur**garet, et qualemcumque rugam mens **fragilitate adtrax**isset, pia proditio ablueret. In hanc ergo labem **ment**es supradictarum puellarum diaboli iacula dimerserant, ut nulla **confessio** uera ab ore prodiret, seu quae in saeculo commiserant, seu quae **cotidiana fragili**tas **adtra**hebat uel in **cogitat**ione uel in sermone uel in opere, ne uera **confessio** per paenitentiae **medic**amenta rursus redderet sospitati.[40]

[For it was the custom of the monastery and of the Rule that each of them should purge her mind through confession three times a day, and whatever stain the mind had attracted by its frailty, righteous exposure should wash it away. The devil's arrows had plunged the minds of the aforementioned girls into this ruin, so that no true confession either of what they had done in the world, or of what daily fragility had attracted in thought, word, and deed, was forthcoming from their mouths, nor could true confession return them to health again through the medicine of penance.][42]

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines, chapter 6

18 Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima **cotidian**o ergo studio **per confessionem** reuelentur, ut **cotidian**a **medic**ina uulnera sanentur. 19 Sed quibus horis congruentibus **cotidiana** delicta sunt **ablue**nda, a nobis inserendum est. 20 Quicquid post conpletorium per opace noctis spacia **men**s uel caro per **fragilitat**em deliquerit, post secundam **per confessionem** curandum est expiari. 21 Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, **cogitat**u tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu ut **purg**etur censendum est. 22 Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae **adtrax**erit, ante conpletam confitendum est.[41]

[18 If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy. 19 But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences. 20 Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. 21 But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought during the daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. 22 But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

(39) I will provide a detailed analysis of this highly dramatic episode in the next chapter, pp. 223–229.
(40) *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 272–273.
(41) *RcuiV*, c. 6.18–22.
(42) Transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017, p. 220 (slightly adjusted).

Not only do both texts share a distinct terminology, but they also express the same basic ideas: the frailty of the mind, the daily stains of sins, the very broad notion of sins that include deeds, thoughts, and words, and the use of confession as a remedy and an instrument of purgation. They both describe confession as a ritual that has to be performed three times every day.

Even though the links between Faremoutiers and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are compelling, there are strong objections to identifying the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *Regula Waldeberti*. First and foremost, yes, Waldebert (who is otherwise not known as an author) *could* have composed this Rule, but this is insufficient to conclude that he did it. Jonas tells us that Waldebert taught the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*, but this does not necessarily imply that he produced a written rule – especially since Jonas did not refer to a written text when he used the term *regula*.[43] Moreover, the *Vita Columbani* mentions two supervisors and teachers of the nuns in Faremoutiers, Chagnoald and Waldebert. Gougaud's argument would be even more applicable to Chagnoald who was probably older and more experienced than Waldebert.[44]

Two observations speak against Waldebert's authorship. Waldebert was not just assigned to teach the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. Several hagiographic texts describe how he and his predecessor were actively involved in the internal affairs of male and female monasteries founded in the orbit of Luxeuil and how keen both abbots were to keep tight control over them.[45] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, however, is completely silent about any external interference with the monastery. The highest authority for all external and internal affairs is held by the abbess alone – and the author stresses this point throughout the Rule. Everything in the monastery must be made known to the abbess and decided by her *sapientia* and *discretio*.[46] The Rule mentions at one occasion that priests may visit the monastery, but does not assign them any authority and strongly limits their interac-

(43) Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Max Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63–89.

(44) Waldebert died in 670, which means that he must have been fairly young when Faremoutiers was founded. As Columbanus' personal assistant, Chagnoald was probably already an adult during Columbanus' lifetime.

(45) For example *VCol* II, c. 7–8, pp. 240–245; II, c. 10, pp. 252–253; II, c. 21, p. 277; *Vita Agili*, c. 15, *AASSOSB*, vol. 2, Paris 1669, pp. 321–322; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 6–9, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 35–36; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 5–14, pp. 53–58; c. 20, p. 61; foundation charter of Solignac (632), c. 2–4, *MGH SRM* 4, ed. Bruno Krusch, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1902, pp. 747–748. See also Diem, 'Was bedeutet *regula Columbani?*', pp. 71–75; Moyse, Gérard, 'Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^{e}-X^{e} siècles)', in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 131 (1973), pp. 21–104 and pp. 369–485, at pp. 91–92, n. 4; Hummer, Hans J., *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005, pp. 39–46.

(46) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1; c. 10.1; c. 12.6; c. 16.1; c. 19.3; c. 24.10. On the role and authority of the abbess according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see pp. 347–364. Several monastic rules describe the position of a *prouisor*, who is responsible for external affairs and may also have served as a supervisor: *CaesRV*, c. 23.6, *SC* 345, p. 200; c. 36, pp. 218–220; c. 42.7, p. 224; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 44, p. 252; c. 48, pp. 252–253; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 15, *PL* 68, col. 401D; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, p. 30; *Regula Donati*, c. 50, *CSEL* 98, p. 171; c. 55, pp. 174–175; c. 58, p. 176. There is no

tion with members of the community.[47] Why should someone like Waldebert who acts as a teacher and supervisor of a monastic community and whom most of our sources describe as a "control freak", write a rule that completely eliminates himself and emphatically assigns all authority to the abbess?

A second argument against Waldebert's authorship concerns the date of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas reports that Waldebert supervised Faremoutiers after it was founded (around 620) and we can assume that he gave up his role as a teacher of the *regula* and supervisor of the community at the latest by the time he became abbot of Luxeuil in 629. If he had written the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* during this period, this would, on account of the textual correspondences, imply that Jonas of Bobbio used this Rule as a source for the section of the *Vita Columbani* that describes events in Faremoutiers.

There are two reasons to assume that this was not the case. First, the parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* are by no means restricted to the section on Faremoutiers. We find them in all parts of the *Vita Columbani*, especially in those where Jonas makes programmatic statements. It is much more likely that the *Vita Columbani*, the most emphatic claim on Columbanus' legacy, inspired the content of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than that Jonas used the Rule as a source for describing Columbanus' life and monastic ideal. Moreover, there are no traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, while the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is steeped with allusions to this Rule.[48] If Jonas had used the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a source for the *Vita Columbani*, the *Regula Benedicti* would inevitably have left an imprint, if only as a form of secondary reception – unless Jonas was able to weed out even the smallest trace of the *Regula Benedicti* out of the *Vita Columbani* with the keen eye of a philologist even more thorough than Adalbert de Vogüé (a virtual impossibility).[49] In Appendix 1 I document more than eighty parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani*. None of them come from passages whose phrasing originates with the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Vita Columbani* was, as we know from internal evidence, written between 639 and 642.[50] If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced after the *Vita Columbani*, Waldebert would have written this Rule at least a decade after he had become abbot of Luxeuil and two decades after he had taken on the assignment of teaching the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. This is, of course, not impossible, but there are, as we can safely assume at this point, stronger candidates for

prouisor mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The text implies that the abbess and the *portariae* take care of the external affairs of the monastery.

(47) *RcuiV*, c. 22.22–23.

(48) See Chapter 6 of this study.

(49) Adalbert de Vogüé did not identify any traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. See de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Jonas de Bobbio, Vie de saint Colomban et de ses disciples*, Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1988, p. 67 and p. 258.

(50) The second book of the *Vita Columbani* must at least have been written after 641 when Eligius became bishop of Noyon. On the date of the *Vita Columbani*, see Berschin, Walter, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988, p. 27; Wood, Ian N., 'The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography', in: *Peritia* 1 (1982), pp. 63–80, at p. 63; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 34–35.

the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than Waldebert of Luxeuil. In one regard, however, we can't entirely disimiss Chagnoald's and Waldebert's "authorship". If both of them taught the *regula* to the nuns in Faremoutiers that was written down twenty years later, we can assume that their teachings left at least some imprint on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Regvla Eligii? *Regvla Filiberti*? *Regvla Bvrgvndofarae*?

One of the most important innovations that came along with Columbanus' foundations, is that it encompassed many more options than just becoming a monk or a nun. Jonas of Bobbio emphasizes in his *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus' teachings and his *regula* not only bound the members of his monastic communities but applied to anyone who interacted with them as a founder, a benefactor, a relative of a monk or nun, a neighbour, or as someone who received advice or admonition from Columbanus and his successors.[51] Jonas makes this clear by explaining the downfall of Queen Brunichildis (d. 613) and her grandson Theuderic II (d. 613) as a result of their disrespect for Columbanus' *regula*. In contrast, King Chlothar II (d. 629) rose to power because he obeyed Columbanus, followed his advice, and supported his monastic foundations.[52] Even a king could become a follower of Columbanus – as a patron but also as someone who appropriated his ethical and ascetic standards.[53] Every follower of Columbanus could profit from the saint's *uirtus*, from his ascetic achievements, and from the intercessory prayers of monks and nuns who lived under Columbanus' Rule.[54]

It is noteworthy that some of the most important "sequels" to Jonas' *Vita Columbani* that tell about affiliations of Luxeuil or monasteries founded according to the *Regula Columbani* were, in fact, not *Vitae* of monks or nuns, but of laypeople who later in their lives became bishops, such as Audoinus of Rouen (d. 686), Burgundofaro of Meaux (d. *c.* 675, another brother of Burgundofara), Desiderius of Cahors (d. *c.* 655), Eligius of Noyon (d. 660), Leodegar of Autun (d. 679), or Praeiectus of Clermont (d. 676).[55] A side effect of this outside participation was that monastic practices established by Columbanus and his suc-

(51) Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography'.

(52) *VCol* I, c. 19, pp. 187–193. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521–559.

(53) Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 63–64 and pp. 74–89.

(54) Brown, Peter, *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2015, pp. 193–204.

(55) *Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 553–567; *Vita Desiderii Ep. Carducensis*, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 563–602, esp. c. 23, p. 580; Audoinus, *Vita Eligii*, pp. 663–741; *Vita Faronis*, *AASS* Oct., vol. 12, Brussels: Vromant 1867, col. 609E–615E; *Passio Leodegari*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 282–322; *Passio Praeiecti*, pp. 225–248.

cessors, particularly regular confession and tariffed penance, leapt into the lay world and mutated from ascetic practices to requirements for all Christians.[56]

Jonas mentions several Frankish aristocratic families that collectively aligned themselves with Columbanus, especially the Agilolfings, Faronids,[57] Gundoins,[58] and the Waldeleni.[59] He singles out several members of these families: Eusthasius, Waldebert, Chagnoald, Burgundofaro and Burgundofara, Waldelenus, Flavia and their sons Donatus and Chramnelenus,[60] Audoinus, Rado, and Eligius of Noyon.[61] Some of them founded monasteries or became monks or nuns themselves; others were members of the royal court and used their positions to support monasteries; others became bishops after receiving their training in Luxeuil or one of its affiliations. They may have ended up on different sides of the monastic walls, but they all participated in the same enterprise. One of them, Donatus, wrote the other preserved Rule for Nuns that was influenced by the *Regula Columbani*. Why should he be the only aristocratic monastic founder who wrote a rule for his or her foundation?

Eligius (d. 660), the goldsmith and treasurer of Chlothar II and Dagobert I, would be a good candidate for the authorship of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, though he can be singled out only because he happens to be mentioned in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and received his own *Vita* – a text even longer than Jonas' work.[62] Other aristocratic founders and supporters of Columbanus may have been of a similar calibre without having left as many traces as Eligius. Jonas tells us in the second book of the *Vita Columbani* how Eligius, still a pious lay person, founded the monastery of Solignac, several other small monasteries for monks, and a monastery for nuns in Paris, which was in later sources dedicated to Saint Martial.[63] Jonas writes:

(56) Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, p. 194 talks in this context of a "para-monastic code." See also Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 2007, pp. 35–55 on the *Vita Columbani* as general guideline for Christian behaviour. See also Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, pp. 119–121; Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

(57) On the Faronids: Tatum, *Hagiography*, pp. 28–72; Gaillard, Michèle, 'Colomban: un *peregrinus* bien informé', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 213–225, at pp. 215–217.

(58) On the Gundoins: Hummer, *Politics and Power*, pp. 35–46.

(59) See *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 174–176; I, c. 26, pp. 209–210; II, c. 7, pp. 241–242; II, c. 10, pp. 255–256. Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 50–135 provides a survey of these families (or groups, as he calls them) and their allegiance with Columbanus and his successors. See also Prinz, Friedrich, 'Columbanus, the Frankish nobility and the territories east of the Rhine', in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981, pp. 73–87, at pp. 78–80; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 61–63; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates dans le monde franc (VII^{e}-VIII^{e} siècles)', in: Edina Bozóky (ed.), *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident. Actes du colloque de Poitiers*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012 (Hagiologia, vol. 8), pp. 59–80; Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MS: Blackwell 2000, pp. 158–163.

(60) On Donatus' family, see Gaillard, 'Colomban', pp. 217–218.

(61) On Audoinus, Dado, and Rado, see also *Vita Audoini*, c. 1, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 554–555.

(62) Audoinus of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 634–741 (incomplete); *PL* 87, col. 479–592 (complete).

(63) See Vones-Liebenstin, Ursula, 'Solignac', in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd edition, vol. 9, Freiburg: Herder 2000, col. 711 (bibliography).

> How many people establish monasteries out of love for Columbanus and his rule, how many communities they set up, and how many flocks they gather for Christ! Among them at the time was a man of illustrious standing, Eligius, who is now bishop of the Vermandois, whom I should not elevate with my judgement since he is still alive, lest I be accused of being a flatterer – constructed near to the city of Limoges the distinguished monastery of Solignac, above the river Vienne, four miles distant from the city, as well as many other communities in the same region. He is also building a monastery for women in Paris, which he had received as a gift from the king, over which he placed the virgin of Christ, Aurea.[64]

The *Vita Eligii*, which in its original form was written by Eligius' friend Audoinus, bishop of Rouen (d. 684),[65] gives a similar, but much more detailed description of Eligius' monastic activities. It is noteworthy that Audoinus structured the *Vita* of his close friend as a diptych, describing him first as a highly educated aristocrat who lived a perfectly pious life, and then as a perfect bishop.[66] Founding monasteries belongs, according to Audoinus, to the tasks of a pious layman:

> When he had completed this monastery [a monastery near Limoges] in every respect and stabilized all of it skilfully, he had the idea of constructing a hospital in Paris. But after having received, inspired by God, even better counsel, he began to build a home for virgins of Christ in his house that he had received in the same city as a gift from the king. While he was most heavily sweating in this work for quite a long time, he finally constructed a home worthy of holy virgins. There he established the strict discipline of the rule (*ubi districtam regulae constituens disciplinam*) and gathered up to three hundred maidens from various families, both from among his own female servants and from among the noble matrons of Francia. For them he also appointed a maiden worthy of God with the name Aureana as abbess. She was the daughter of Maurinus and Quiria. Moreover, he assigned the rich harvests of the land to them and turned all his zeal to this. You could also see him there, bringing from everywhere like an industrious bee everything necessary for the monastery: vessels and vestments but also holy books and much more equipment. Because whatever would be suitably necessary for this gender, he provided like the most pious father who is full of skillful diligence for everything and unceasing care. (…) c. 18: Then, after having accomplished all the work for the monastery and finished all the buildings of the female servants of God, for which he received the profit of his effort as a gain, he finally built a basilica to the honour of the holy Apostle Paul as a burial place for

(64) *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 255: *Quam multi iam in amore Columbani et eius regula monasteria construunt, plebes adunant, greges Christi congregant. Inter quos inluster tunc uir Elegius, qui modo Vermandensis ecclesiae pontifex praeest, – de quo, quia superest, non meo iudicio fulciendus est, ne adolationis noxa reprehendar, – iuxta Lemouicensem urbem monasterium nobile Sollemniacum nomine construxit super fluuium Vincennam, distantem a supradicta urbe milibus quattuor, et alia multa hisdem locis coenubia, sed et in Parisius puellarum monasterium, quem de regio munere susceperat, aedificat, in quo Christi uirginem Auream praefecit.* Transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 202 (thoroughly revised).

(65) On the *Vita Eligii*, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 59–63. Bayer, Clemens M., 'Vita Eligii', in: *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 25, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2007, pp. 461–524; Heinzelmann, Martin, 'Eligius monetarius: Norm oder Sonderfall?', in: Jörg Jarnut and Jürgen Strothmann (eds.), *Die merowingischen Monetarmünzen als Quelle zum Verständnis des 7. Jahrhunderts in Gallien*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink 2013, pp. 243–291, at pp. 249–256 defend the authenticity of the *Vita Eligii*. See also Heinzelmann, Martin, 'Éloi, haut dignitaire, aumônier, monétaire. Les représentations d'une politique sociale à la cour mérovingienne', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 99:2 (2013), pp. 221–233.

(66) See Rouse, Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, 'Eloi's books and their bookcase', in: *Manuscripta* 55:2 (2011), pp. 170–192.

> the bodies of the maidens. Its lofty roofs he covered in lead with sophistication. In this basilica lies also buried the abbot Quintilianus.[67]

It is striking that, in contrast to most other descriptions of foundations for nuns, Jonas' and Audoinus' stories give no mention of external supervisors. They simply recount that Eligius appointed the nun Aurea or Aureana as *abbatissa digna Dei*.[68] Audoinus adds that Eligius established the "strict discipline of the rule" (*districtam regulae constituens disciplinam*). The strong and independent abbess envisioned by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would therefore align well with the descriptions of Aurea in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Eligii*.

The *Vita Eligii* contains yet another passage that would support the possibility of Eligius' authorship of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: a uniquely detailed description of his scholarly endeavours as a layman at Dagobert's court whose piety seems to have been paired with a genuine interest in theological texts.

> He had thus in his chamber many tokens of the saints hanging and numerous holy books spinning around an axis.[69] After singing the Psalms and praying he turned them and just like a very wise bee he collected diverse things from a variety of flowers and stored the best things, whatever they were, in the beehive of his heart.[70]

The Benedictine scholar Eligius Dekker used this passage to support his hypothesis that Eligius of Noyon was the author of the *Testimonia diuinae scripturae et patrum*, an anonymous *florilegium* of biblical and patristic quotations.[71] The way the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was produced fits just as easily with this description of Eligius' intellectual activities. Even though the Rule is phrased without any direct quotations from older sources, the author

(67) *Vita Eligii* I, c. 17–18, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 682–684: *Istum igitur coenobium in omni opere perfectum omnique ex parte cum sollertia stabilitum, cogitabat Parisius in urbe fabricare exinodochium; sed, excellentiore consilio, Deo inspirante, concepto, coepit in domum suam, quam in eadem urbe ex munere regis perceperat, uirginum Christi aedificare domicilium. In quo opere diu multumque instantissime desudans, dignum tandem sanctarum uirginum construxit archeterium, ubi districtam regulae constituens disciplinam, usque ad trecentarum numero puellarum ex diuersis gentibus, tam ex ancillis suis, quam ex nobilibus Franciae matronis congregauit. Quibus et abbatissam dignam Deo puellam nomine Aureane, filiam scilicet Maurini et Quiriae, constituit; terrae etiam reditus copiosos delegauit atque ex integro omne suum illic studium conuertit. Videres et ibi trahere undique ueluti utilissimam apem cuncta monasterio necessaria, uasa simul et uestimenta necnon et sacra uolumina aliaque quam plurima ornamenta. Nam quicquid huic sexui congruae necessaria forent, ut piissimus pater satis sollerti in omnibus diligentia ac sollicita cura prouidit.* (…) c. 18: *Igitur cuncto opere monasterii peracto atque omnia aedificia ancillarum Dei expleta, pro quibus mercedem laboris adeptus est lucra, aedificauit postremo basilicam in honore sancti apostoli Pauli ad ancillarum Dei corpora sepelienda, cuius tecta sublimia operuit plumbo cum eligantia; qua in basilica beatus quoque Quintilianus iacet abba humatus.* The passage not quoted tells how Eligius asked the king for a part of his fiscal land. After building the monastery, Eligius saw that he had taken just a little bit more than he had asked for and he confesses this in all humility to the king who praises him for his honesty.

(68) There is a tenth-century *Vita* of Aurea, which is partly based on the *Vita Eligii*, ed. François Dolbeau, 'Vie et miracles de sainte Aure, abbesse, jadis vénéré à Paris', in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), pp. 17–91. The text does not contain traces of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(69) Rouse and Rouse, 'Eloi's books and their bookcase', pp. 188–192 argue that this passage refers to a rotating bookcase.

(70) *Vita Eligii* I, c. 8, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 679: *Habebat itaque in cubiculo suo multa sanctorum dependentia pignora necnon et sacros libros in giro per axem plurimos; quos post psalmodiam et orationem reuoluens, et quasi apis prudentissima diuersas ex diuersis flores legens, in aluearium sui pectoris optima quaeque recondebat.*

(71) *Testimonia diuinae scripturae et patrum*, ed. Albert Lehner, *CCSL* 108D, Turnhout: Brepols 1987, pp. 43–127; Dekkers, Eligius, 'Een onbekend werk van Sint Eligius?', in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 63 (1989), pp. 296–308.

repeatedly refers to the tradition of the *sancti patres*[72] and we can find traces of various biblical, patristic, and hagiographical texts that the author indeed "collected…from a variety of flowers", as Audoinus phrases it. Moreover, Eligius, when still a layman, frequently visited the monastery of Luxeuil – a stronghold of the observation of the correct *regula*.[73] He had everything in his pocket to establish the *districtam regulae disciplinam*, as set out by Audoinus in his *Vita Eligii*.

Eligius is a better candidate for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* than Waldebert, but the same caveat we faced with Waldebert applies to him: the fact that someone like Eligius *could* have been the author of a monastic rule does not mean that he *was* the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. He stands in for an entire group of potential authors of monastic rules whose credentials may have been similar but were simply not as well-documented.

Another, equally suitable, candidate would be, for example, Audoinus' disciple Philibert whom we happen to know from another fairly detailed *Vita*, which provides one of the very few references to a monastic founder reading and collecting monastic rules. According to his hagiographer, Philibert visited Luxeuil and Bobbio and studied the Rules of Basil, Macharius, Benedict, and Columbanus before founding the monastery of Jumièges.[74] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain any traces of the text we know as *Regula Macharii* but its author did use the Rules of Basil, Benedict, and Columbanus. Later in his life, Philibert founded a female monastery in accordance with his Rule (*eius regula*), Pavilly (*Pauliacum*), ten miles away from Jumièges. He placed this monastery under the guidance of the nun Austreberta. The *regula* of Pavilly was, according to his hagiographer, later adopted by other monasteries – though it is at this point in the text not clear whether the hagiographer talks about the *regula* of Philibert or the *regula* of Austreberta.[75]

> He built another monastery with the name *Pauliacum* ten miles away from Jumièges, where he gathered a crowd of holy women which the most wise mother Austreberta, who was of noble family, ruled under the norm of piety (*sub relegionis norma*) out of obedience to the holy man. But according to his (or her?) examples many monasteries were founded in Neustria. Priests

(72) *RcuiV*, c. 6.1; c. 9.1; c. 22.1.

(73) *Vita Eligii* I, c. 21, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 685: *Praeter Lussedio ergo, qui solus, ut dictum est, districtionem regulae sollerter tenebat, Solemniacense monasterium in partibus occiduis huius religionis extitit caput, ex quo demum multi sumpserunt et initium et exemplum, adeo ut nunc quoque propitia diuinitate innumera per omnem Franciam et Galliam habeantur sub regulari disciplina alma utriusque sexus coenobia*. On Eligius' education, see also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et formation politique', pp. 4–7.

(74) *Vita Filiberti*, c. 5, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 587: *Lustrans Luxouium et Bobium uel reliqua cenobia sub norma sancti Columbani degentia atque omnia monasteria, quas intra suo gremio Francia et Italia hac tota claudit Burgundia, astuta intentione prouidens, ut prudentissima apis, quicquid melioribus florere uidit studiis, hoc suis traxit exemplis. Basilii sancti charismata, Macharii regula, Benedicti decreta, Columbani instituta sanctissima lectione frequentabat assidua, sicque honustus uirtute aromatum sequacibus sanctum monstrabat exemplum*. According to Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 102–103, the extant *Vita Filiberti* was written in the middle of the eighth century. It may have been a revision of a version that was much closer to the events.

(75) The *Vita Austrebertae*, *AASS* Feb., vol. 2, col. 419E–423E is of a later date. The text (c. 9, col. 421A) states that the nuns of Pavilly served the *disciplinis regularibus* with tireless zeal (*quae infatigabili intentione disciplinis regularibus militantes*).

> of the Lord flocked to him who wanted to imitate his (or her?) example and provided their monasteries with his (or her?) *regula*.[76]

Other potential aristocratic authors of a female monastic rule would be Audoinus himself, who became bishop of Rouen, or Burgundofaro, the brother of Burgundofara, who became bishop of Meaux, or Geremar, the founder of Saint-Germer-de-Fly.[77] Each of them may have had a similar training as Eligius and Philibert and may have had similar stakes in the *regula* of their respective foundations.[78]

The shared emphasis on a *regula* in seventh-century foundation narratives is more remarkable than we might think. References to monastic life as *uita regularis* before the turn of the seventh century are scarce, and turning the *regula* (written or unwritten) into a benchmark of monastic life and identity may in fact have been one of the most important developments that took place after Columbanus' death.[79] As we will see in the next chapter, both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' *Vita Columbani* provide extensive explanations as to why it is absolutely necessary to follow a *regula*.

An even more obvious candidate for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be Burgundofara, the abbess of Faremoutiers, who was still alive when Jonas wrote the *Vita Columbani*.[80] Terence Kardong recently made this suggestion of Burgundofara's authorship in an article on chapter 9 (on silence) of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[81] The fact that we can eventually determine that the text was written down by Jonas does not at all preclude that Burgundofara was involved its composition. In fact, it is very likely, since Jonas stayed at Faremoutiers and almost certainly knew Burgundofara well. Most impor-

(76) *Vita Filiberti*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 595–596: *…alium construxit caenubium nomine Pauliaco, decem milibus a Gemedico sequestratum, ubi sanctarum congregauit multitudine feminarum, quas sub relegionis norma pro uiri Dei oboedientiam gubernabat mater prudentissima, orta nobile parentela, uocabulo Austroberta. Sed et multa monasteria per eius exempla sunt constructa in Neustria. Confluebant ad eum sacerdotes Domini, cupientes exemplum illius imitare, et de eius regulam sua ornabant cenubia.*

(77) The ninth-century *Vita Geremari*, c. 9, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 629 describes Geremar's first monastic foundation as follows: *Fecit ibi in monasterio conuersationem sanctam monachorum, ut sub regula uiuerent regulariter ac deuote.*

(78) On Audoinus' monastic foundations, see Fouracre, Paul, 'The Work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in Extending Episcopal Influence from the Town to the Country in Seventh-Century Neustria', in: Derek Backer (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Oxford: Blackwell 1979, pp. 77–91, at pp. 83–86.

(79) Diem/Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules', pp. 181–188. To the evidence provided there should be added: *Vita Segolenae*, c. 12.13, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 633A: *Transacto itaque paruo temporis interuallo, elegit Beatissima simul cum suis omnibus secundum priscorum Patrum instituta regulariter uiuere*. c. 14.16, p. 633D: *Inter omnium coetum monacharum, et religionis studio; et regularis disciplinae cultu praecipua habebatur.* See also Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 6, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 354–356.

(80) In *VCol* II, c. 12, pp. 260–261 Jonas tells that Burgundofara had been seriously ill but recovered through the intercession of one of the members of her community. If she had died before the completion of the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas undoubtedly would have made her death the centrepiece within his series of *felix exitus* of Faremoutiers' nuns. In his prologue Jonas explicitly states that some of the protagonists of his *Vita* were still alive. Krusch prints at the end of his edition of the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* on pp. 279–280 a spurious report on Burgundofara's death that was associated with Jonas' work in the 1553-edition of the works of Bede.

(81) Kardong, Terrence G., 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395–412.

tantly, in his *Vita Columbani*, he gave her – in her role as abbess – a wide range of power and discretionary authority.[82]

There is no reason to assume that Burgundofara was less learned than her brothers or other members of the aristocratic families who founded male and female monasteries in the aftermath of Columbanus.[83] As a potential author – or at least contributor – she stands in for a number of other abbesses of female monastic foundations, such as Anstrudis, Aurea, Austreberta, Balthild, Bertila, Caesaria, Geretrudis, Rictrudis, or Segolena.[84] Most of their *Vitae* praise their learnedness and describe them as teachers.[85] In general, the hagiographic language of education, knowledge, and teaching is not marked by gender differences, and no *Vita* of a female saint describes its protagonist as learned against the odds of her own gender.[86]

(82) Jonas reports that he was involved in the commemorative Mass for the nun Gibitrudis: *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262.

(83) Stevenson, Jane, 'Brothers and Sisters: Women and Monastic Life in Eighth-Century England and Frankia', in: *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 82:3 (1994), pp. 1–34 provides an overview of the scholarly productivity of nuns and abbesses in Anglo-Saxon England and the Frankish world of the eighth century and, in particular, of evidence of collaboration between brothers and sisters. Her observations probably also apply to the Frankish monastic world of the seventh century.

(84) See the introductions to the translations of their *Lives* in McNamara Jo Ann, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley (transl.), *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992.

(85) For example, *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 1, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 6, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1913, pp. 66–67; *Vita Austrebertae*, c. 12, *AASS* Feb., vol. 2, p. 421F; *Vita Balthildis*, c. 11, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, Hannover: Hahn 1888, pp. 496–497; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A–C; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, *SC* 536, pp. 194–196; *Vita Filiberti*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 595 (calling Austroberta *mater prudentissima*); *Vita Geretrudis*, c. 2–3, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 457; c. 7, pp. 461–463; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 9, pp. 383–384; c. 19, pp. 390–391; Hucbald of St Amand, *Vita Rictrudis*, c. 13, *AASS* May, vol. 3, col. 84D; *Vita Segolenae*, c. 1.4, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 631D; c. 30.31, p. 636B. On female literary production in early medieval monasteries, see Bodarwé, Katrinette, 'Schadet Grammatik der Frauenfrömmigkeit?', in: Carola Jäggi *et al.* (eds.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 63–73; McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Women and literacy in the early middle ages', in: ead., *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th–9th Centuries*, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum 1994, no. XIII, pp. 1–43; Nelson, Janet L., 'Women and the word in the Earlier Middle Ages', in: ead., *The Frankish World 750–900*, London/Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press 1996, pp. 199–221; Callan, Maeve B., 'St Darerca and her sister scholars: women and education in medieval Ireland', in: *Gender and History* 15:1 (2003), pp. 32–49; McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia*, Cambridge, MS/London 1996, pp. 135–137.

(86) Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432–446, at pp. 433–435. Lifshitz, Felice, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture*, New York: Fordham University Press 2014 focuses on a later period (eighth century) and on the Anglo-Saxon impact on Frankish monasticism, but her work reminds us that the intellectual activities and cultural contribution of nuns and abbesses have been vastly underestimated. See also Réal, Isabelle, 'Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 258–277. On the role of education in Merovingian hagiography, see Heinzelmann, Martin, '*Studia sanctorum*. Éducation, milieu d'instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l'hagiographie en Gaul jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne', in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen Âge. Culture education et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, Nanterre: Éditions Érasme 1990, pp. 105–138.

Whose Voice Do We Hear in the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines*?

One way of determining to what extent Burgundofara (or another abbess) was involved in producing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be to ask who speaks and who is addressed in the text – an exercise that also provides some remarkable collateral insights. There are monastic rules that are phrased as impersonal lists of norms (such as the *Regula Pachomii* and Columbanus' Rules). Others are phrased as the questions of a disciple and responses of a master (such as the *Regula Basilii* and the *Regula Magistri*). The *Regula quattuor patrum* is phrased as a sequence of speeches from members of the community that are framed as leading to a consensus expressed by the community. Caesarius of Arles and Donatus speak both to the abbess and the community; the *Regula Benedicti* presents itself in the prologue as a summary of the *praecepta magistri* (the instructions of the master) and addresses the individual monk, but occasionally switches to an inclusive "we". Other rules, especially those building up on a variety of older normative texts, freely switch back and forth between addressing a collective "we", an individual or collective "you", the abbot, or no specified audience. The question of how to phrase norms and how to speak most effectively to those whose lives need to be organized, whose morals need to be improved, and whose faults need to be held in check, forms an essential part of the larger question of the emergence of a *uita regularis*.[87]

First, we must look for places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* where we hear the author's voice. There are seventeen instances in which a verb appears in the first-person plural, thus "we, the community" or "we, who speak to the community". In most of them the author formulates a precept in a way that could be written by either an outsider or by insider: *decernimus*, *diximus*, *censemus*, *negamus*, *legimus*, *precipimur*, *didicimus* (we decide, state, argue, prohibit, read, prescribe, have learned).[88] I will return to some of these instances in the context of the juxtaposition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in the next chapter because what the speaker of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* "says", "decides", and "argues" often deviates from prescriptions made in Caesarius' Rule. Other "we"-constructions are general exhortations, such as: *Omni ergo operi bono quod facimus Domini timorem iungamus.* (For let us attach the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do).[89] Again, these injunctions could be made by an insider or an outsider as moral exhortations.

The author uses "we" or "us" on three occasions that might be relevant to the question of authorship because they could give indications of whether or not the speaker belongs to the community. In the chapter on mutual love the author of the Rule states:

> We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate him through mutual love who has loved us.[90]

(87) See Diem/Rousseau, 'Monastic Rules', pp. 174–181.

(88) *RcuiV*, c. 3.14; c. 3.24; c. 5.4–5; c. 9.17; c. 10.4; c. 10.17; c. 14.5; c. 14.10; c. 17.9; c. 23.1; c. 24.1.

(89) *RcuiV*, c. 4.15. See also c. 5.18; c. 5.23–26; c. 8.4–5; c. 22.8.

(90) *RcuiV*, c. 5.4: *Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit.*

And further:

> We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us.[91]

It is still possible to read these two "we"-passages as part of a general moral exhortation. A third passage from chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can hardly be read in this way:

> 11 Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption. 12 Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. 13 Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgives us our sins. 14 In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another and pray for each other.* (Iac. 5, 16)[92]

All three passages belong to a section of the rule that is phrased like a sermon, directly addressing the community. The inclusion of the speaker could simply have been a rhetorical device to minimize the distance between author and audience. Yet if we take the call for mutual confession at face value, we should assume that the speaker participated in the confessional practices of the community, which implies that the words were indeed spoken by the abbess since she is the one who hears confession.[93] On the other hand, the author could also have been a monk who belonged to a monastery that practised the same rituals of confession. "We" could also refer to a community that included both monks *and* nuns. We know that many communities of religious women that emerged during the seventh century were founded as, or at some point turned into, double monasteries.[94] Two of the few references to confession as practised by a community of monks come from the *Vitae* of Amatus and Adelphius, abbots of the double monastery of Remiremont.[95]

(91) *RcuiV*, c. 5.23: *Nihil aliud dare precipimur nisi quod nobis dare petimus…*

(92) *RcuiV*, c. 6.11–14: *Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam.* 12 *Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpae inueniatur medicina.* 13 *Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata.* 14 *Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16).

(93) On confession, see p. 406–431.

(94) On double monasteries, see Gaillard, Michèle and Anne-Marie Helvétius, 'Production de textes et réforme d'un monastère double. L'exemple de Remiremont du VII^e^ au IX^e^ siècle', in: Jäggi *et al.* (eds.), *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst*, pp. 383–393; Wemple, Suzanne Fonay, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1981, pp. 158–165; Elm, Kaspar and Michel Parisse (eds.), *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelalter*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1992; Peyroux, Catherine, *Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West*, Ph.D. thesis Princeton University 1991; Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, pp. 164–166 and, most recently, Beach, Alison I. and Andrea Jugănaru, 'The Double Monastery as an Historiographical Problem (Fourth to Twelfth Century)', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 561–578.

(95) See *Vita Amati*, c. 11, ed. Bruno Krusch *MGH SRM* 4, p. 219: *'Confessionem meam', inquit, 'coram omnibus facere dispono, et penitentiam legitimam accipiens, ita opto de hac luce quandoque exire'*; *Vita Adelphii*, c. 2, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 226: *Denique, accito sacerdote, si quid se meminit deliquisse, prostratus humo exomologisin fecit, poscens animae suae medendae penitentiam impertire, atque supplex ait: 'Dulcissimus meus, ab omnibus fratribus et sororibus commeato accepto, uolo et desiderio Luxouium usque ad sanctos fratres properare, quoniam illis similiter confessionem meam facere dispono; quibus orantibus, ueniam et remissionem de peccatis meis adipisci non ambigo'. Nec mora destinationem illius secutus est effectus.*

There are two more passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* implying that the text addressed a male audience as well. In the chapter on confession Jonas quotes David from Ps. 31/32, 5 (the same verse is used in the *Regula Benedicti*) and continues, while in the male form, retaining David as the subject:

> 6 Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, [David] lamented through confession and glorified his redemption through receiving it. 7 He revealed his crime in grief and by giving confession he restored his hope.[96]

In chapter 22 the author speaks about both *famuli* and *famulae Christi*, which is remarkable since the text otherwise exclusively addresses nuns:

> 6 The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within the state of the mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident.[97]

Yet looking at the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a whole, the text gives the strong impression of addressing a community which was at that point not a double monastery. It is the abbess who is responsible for guests and pilgrims; it is the *portaria* who receives and stores gifts; nuns have the task of tending guests outside the enclosure and the *cellararia* has control over supplies.[98]

Neither the reference to the *famulae uel famuli,* nor the use of the male form in chapter 6 helps us any further in the search for the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, aside from *not* excluding Burgundofara as a potential author. The question of whether the text was written from an external or internal perspective and whether "internal" may have included nuns *and* monks considering themselves as a collective "we" remains unresolved. Nevertheless, we learned a lot.

Jonas of Bobbio, his *Vita Colvmbani*, and the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines*

Jonas of Bobbio was present in Faremoutiers at the commemorative Mass of the nun Gibitrudis.[99] He mentions this casually, which indicates that his presence was not an exceptional event. The "we" we hear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could, thus, easily include Jonas himself.

In this section I will show that the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the author of the *Vita Columbani* were the same person – with the qualification that some of the "candidates" I listed so far may have contributed to the creation of the *Regula cuiusdam ad*

(96) *RcuiV*, c. 6.6–7: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo.* 7 *Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrauit spem.*

(97) *RcuiV*, c. 22.6: *Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum.*

(98) *RcuiV*, c. 1; c. 3; c. 4.

(99) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262: *Sed et tricesimo die, cum eius commemorationem ex more ecclesiastico facere conaremus et missarum sollemnia celebraremus, tanta flagrantia ecclesiam repleuit, ut omnium unguentorum ac pigmentorum odores crederes adesse.*

uirgines. My argument will be based on a close comparison of Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the basis of vocabulary, style, and content. If we ascribe the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas, an obscure female monastic rule will turn into one of the key sources for comprehending the monastic world after Columbanus. The Rule may be the most authentic textual manifestation of what Jonas of Bobbio understood as *Regula Columbani*. It provides insights into the monastic theology evolving after Columbanus, its notion of space and boundaries, its language and categories, and its concept of discipline – to mention only a few aspects that will be addressed in subsequent chapters of this book.

Before going into details of style, semantics, and lexicology, I will take the same approach I have used with all other possible authors, providing arguments that demonstrate that Jonas belongs to the pool of viable candidates. Jonas was a highly educated monk with excellent connections to the abbots of Luxeuil and Bobbio.[100] We know that he wrote at least two (maybe three) hagiographic works on commission: the *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, and, possibly, the *Vita Vedastis*.[101] He must have become an abbot of a monastic community at some point between completing his *Vita Columbani* (after 642) and 659, the year in which he wrote the *Vita Iohannis*, where he referred to himself as *Ionas abbas*.[102] We might identify him with a certain Ionatus who ruled over the double monastery Marchiennes-Hamage.[103] Jonas, a monastic writer-on-demand, could well have been commissioned to write down a community's monastic rule or have written a rule for his own monastery.[104]

(100) On Jonas of Bobbio, see O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 31–37; O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 87–120; Rohr, Christian, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle: Ereignisgeschichte und Wunderberichte in der Vita Columbani des Ionas von Bobbio', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 103 (1995), pp. 229–264. See esp. p. 231 with a succinct overview of literature on Jonas' education.

(101) *Vita Iohannis*, ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRG* 37, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1905, pp. 326–344 (henceforth *VIoh*); *Vita Vedastis*, *ibid*., pp. 309–320. On the contested authorship of the *Vita Vedastis*, see Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Clercs ou moines? Les origines de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la *Vita Vedastis* attribuée à Jonas', in: *Revue du Nord* 93:391–392 (2011), pp. 671–689; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 68–78.

(102) *VIoh*, prologue, *MGH SRG* 37, p. 326, l. 8 calls him *Ionas abbas*.

(103) Wood, 'The *Vita Columbani*', p. 63 assumes that Jonas and Ionatus were identical. See also O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 36–37. Pagani, Ileana, 'Ionas-Ionatus: a proposito della biografia di Giona di Bobbio', in: *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 29:1 (1988), pp. 47–85 argues against this identification. On Hamage, see also Louis, Étienne, 'Espaces monastiques sacrés et profanes à Hamage (Nord), VII^{e}-IX^{e} siècles', in: Lauwers, Michel (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 435–471; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 113–116. Id., 'Jonas of Bobbio, Marchiennes-Hamage, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines*', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 287–293 identifies parallels between the archaeological evidence of Hamage and the spatial concept of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. On Marciennes, see also Ugé, Karine, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders*, York: York Medieval Press 2005, pp. 98–112.

(104) There are other monastic rules that were written on commission. See, for example, *Regula Donati*, prologue, *CSEL* 97, pp. 139–141; *Regula Ferrioli*, *praefatio*, ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117–148, at pp. 125–126.

The prologue of the *Vita Iohannis* provides a remarkable biographical detail that might link Jonas to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and allows us to explore some of the early impact of this Rule. Jonas wrote the *Vita Iohannis* at the request of the monks of the monastery of Réomée. He had spent a couple of days in this monastery, resting from the hardships of a journey to Chalon-sur-Saône where he was summoned by Queen Balthild (d. around 680).[105] This visit to Balthild's court, which took place in 659, coincides with the foundation of the monastery of Chelles, the place to which Balthild would be forced to retire about five years later.[106] No foundation charter or episcopal privilege of Chelles has been preserved, but we can assume that this foundation was just as closely linked to Columbanus' foundations as Balthild's other monastic project, Corbie, for which she had recruited monks from Luxeuil and which followed, according to its episcopal privilege, the *Regula Benedicti uel Columbani*.[107] Balthild also lavishly supported Faremoutiers and recruited Bertila, the first abbess of Chelles, from Jouarre which had been founded *ex beati regula Columbani*.[108]

It is likely that Jonas – undoubtedly recognized as *the* expert on Columbanus and his legacy – was summoned to Balthild to advise her on her Chelles project. He may have brought the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to assist this process. Chelles is, aside from Faremoutiers, the monastery on which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* left the strongest imprint (at least according to the sources available to us). Bertila, the monastery's first abbess, died around the year 705, 45 years after the monastery had been founded.[109] Her *Vita*, which

(105) *VIoh*, prologue, p. 329.

(106) See Folz, Robert, 'Tradition hagiographique et culte de sainte Bathilde, reine des Francs', in*: Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 119 (1975), pp. 369–385; Fouracre, Paul and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640–720*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press 1996, pp. 97–118; Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Îles Britanniques et le Continent pendant le Haut Moyen Âge. La diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII^e^ siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in: Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1989, pp. 371–394, at pp. 382–385; Wood, Ian N., *The Merovingian Kingdoms* 450–751, London/New York: Longman 1994, pp. 197–202.

(107) *Vita Balthildis*, c. 7, *MGH SRM* 2, pp. 490–491; Privilege of Bishop Berthefridus of Amiens for Corbie (664), ed. Léon Levillain, *Examen critique des chartes merovingiennes et carolingiennes de l'abbaye de Corbie. Mémoires et documents publiés par la société de l'École des chartes*, Paris: A. Picard 1902, pp. 222–226, at p. 225: *Illud etiam addi placuit, ut ipsi monachi sub regula sancti Benedicti uel sancti Columbani conuersare et uiuere debeant*. See also Diem, 'Was bedeutet regula Columbani?', pp. 77–84; Ewig, Eugen, 'Das Privileg des Bischofs Berthefrid von Amiens für Corbie von 664 und die Klosterpolitik der Königin Balthild', in: *Francia* 1 (1973), pp. 62–114; Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 39–43; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Hagiographie et réformes monastiques dans le mond Franc du VII^e^ siècle', in: *Médiévales* 62 (2012), pp. 33–48, at pp. 43–45; Ganz, David, 'Les relations entre Luxeuil et Corbie', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 261–269. On Balthild's support of Faremoutiers, see *Vita Balthildis*, c. 8, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 492.

(108) On the foundation of Jouarre: *VCol* I, c. 26, p. 210, l. 5; Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, pp. 59–74; Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes', pp. 376–377.

(109) Van der Essen, Leon, 'Bertila', in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 8, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1935, col. 1004–1005; Suhl, Nicole, 'Die "Vita Bertilae Abbatissae Calensis" – eine Quelle für mögliche Unterschiede in der Religiosität von "Volk" und "Elite" im frühen Mittelalter?', in: Hans-Werner

may have been written soon after her death, is not really a narrative but rather, as Jo Ann McNamara phrased it, a depiction of Bertila as "a mirror of monastic living, a practitioner of the rule in all her ways".[110] The main source for this "construction" of Bertila as a perfect nun and abbess is no other than the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, although other rules (the *Regula quattuor patrum*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and the *Regula Benedicti*) also left a few traces in the *Vita Bertilae*.[111] This indicates that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was present in Chelles and considered a text of high authority.

Parts of the *Vita Bertilae* read like a summary of entire chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Appendix 3 provides a list of no fewer than 34 parallels spread over the entire text. Two sections, from chapter 2 and chapter 6, may serve as examples. Chapter 2 describes Bertila's virtues as ordinary nun. All phrases in bold appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

> In quo sancto coenobio sub **norma sanctae regulae**[112] ita admirabilem atque laudabilem habuit conuersationem, ut uelox esset in sancta seniorum oboedientia, et **ad cursum** diuinum uel ad orationem **cum feruore** mentis deuotissime **festina**ret.[113] **Cum omni** enim **grauitate et mansuetudine**[114] seu temperantia admirabiliter conuersabatur in sancta congregatione, **timor**em uero **Dei** semper prae **oculis** habens,[115] ambulabat in corde perfecto et **pur**itate **confessio**nis,[116] humilis atque oboediens, suis semper complacens senioribus, et in quocumque ministerio iubebatur a matre senioribus deseruire, idipsum fidelissime et cum bono animo, consolante gratia diuina, absque murmurio **stude**bat ad**implere**[117] omnia quae sibi fuerant iniuncta.[118]
>
> [And in that holy community she behaved herself so admirably and praiseworthily under **the norm of the holy rule**, that she was quick in holy obedience of the elders and that she **hastened** most devoutly with fervent mind **to the Divine Office**. In the holy congregation she behaved admirably with all **gravity, gentleness**, and temperance. But she kept the **fear of God** always before her **eyes**, walking with a perfect heart and in the **purity of confes-**

Goetz and Friederike Sauerwein (eds.), *Volkskultur und Elitekultur im frühen Mittelalter*, Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum 1997, pp. 39–58.

(110) McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 280. The author of the *Regula Bertilae* would in this regard follow the model of Jonas of Bobbio himself, whose hagiographic works could equally be read as narrated monastic rules. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Vita vel Regula: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages', in: Samantha Herrick (ed.), *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, Leiden: Brill 2019, pp. 123–142.

(111) The edition of *Vita Bertilae*, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, col. 90B–94E provides references to other rules used in the text.

(112) *RcuiV*, c. 18.1: *uel* ***sanctae regulae norma****m.*

(113) *RcuiV*, c. 2.18: *Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae* ***cum feruore*** *uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt*; c. 14.15: ***Ad*** *cursum* ***uero*** *cum* ***festin****atione* ***surgentes****.*

(114) *RcuiV*, c. 8.3: ***cum*** *omni* ***grauitate*** *et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina* ***currat****.*

(115) *RcuiV*, c. 24.4: *retenti et* ***timoris Dei*** *ac amoris doctrina inbuti*; c. 13.5: *ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant,* $_6$ *anteponentes illud mentis* ***oculis****: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei* ***neglegenter****.* (Ier. 48, 10).

(116) *RcuiV*, c. 16.7: *paenitentiae* ***subiace****bit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit.*

(117) *RcuiV*, c. 3.18: *Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocae implere studeant…*

(118) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, col. 90F–91C.

sion. Humble and obedient, she was always pleasant to her seniors and in whatever task she was ordered by the mother to serve her seniors, **she was eager to fulfill** all that had been enjoined to her, most faithfully and with a cheerful mind, with support of divine grace and without complaint.][119]

Chapter 6 provides a list of Bertila's virtues as abbess:

> Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila **exemplu**m et **forma pietat**is omnibus per **continentia**m et plenissimam dilectionem, et non solum per sanctum **eloqui**um, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu **religionis** studio subditorum instruebat **mores**,[120] ut se **inuicem diligerent**[121] **caritatis affectu**[122] puriterque et **cast**e seu et **sobr**ie[123] in omnibus conuersarent atque ad **cursum uel orationem** semper essent **paratae**[124] **hospitumque** et **pauerpum curam** gererent[125] **dilectionis** studio et **proximi amore**.[126] Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, **ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent**;[127] ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi **praemium** adquisiuit, et illorum animabus **lucrum** fecit.[128] (…) Constantiam autem fidei suae ipsa tenebat mente semper ad Dominum Iesum Christum. Cumque his et talibus probatissimis ageret moribus, christianitas fratrum siue sororum eius **pietatis** exemplo aedificabatur, etiam et eius munificentia larga cuncti **pauperes et peregrini**[129] consolabantur; tantumque fructum per eam magnum Dominus contraxit ad salutem animarum,[130] ut etiam ab transmarinis partibus Saxoniae reges illi fideles ab ea per missos fideles postularent, ut illis de suis discipulis ad eruditionem uel sanctam instructionem, quam audierant esse in ea mirabilem, dirigeret, seu etiam qui uirorum et sanctimonialium coenobia in illa regione construerent.[131]
>
> [Now, through her continence **and most abundant love**, blessed Bertila was an **example and model of piety to all**. She instructed the character of her subjects not only through **holy speech** but even more through the **zeal of her sanctity and piety**, so that **they might love each other with the affection of charity** and behave purely, **chastly and soberly** in all things and be ever ready for the service and prayers, **and to take care of guests and the poor with the zeal of affection and the love of one's neighbour**. Through holy Communion, she incited the household of the monastery and its near neighbours that they, **after having given confession, do penance for their sins**. Because of these very many improved (souls), she gained **a reward** also for herself and made a profit for their souls. (…) But she herself always held fast with the mind of her faith the firmness for the Lord

(119) Transl. McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, p. 281 (thoroughly revised).
(120) All terms in bold up to this point appear in *RcuiV*, c. 1.
(121) *RcuiV*, c. 5.t: *De se* ***inuicem diligendo***.
(122) *RcuiV*, c. 22.1: *Quanto se* ***affectu*** *uel* ***caritatis*** *ministerio.*
(123) *RcuiV*, c. 2.4: *actu* ***casta***, *moribus* ***sobria***.
(124) *De accedendo* 14: *Ad* ***opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis*** *quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo* ***parati*** *esse debemus.*
(125) *RcuiV*, c. 3.10: ***Pauperum***, *peregrinorum et* ***hospitum curam*** *inter omnia habentes*; c. 4.13: *Similiter* ***pauperum curam gerat***.
(126) *RcuiV*, c. 5.9: ***Diligatur*** *ergo proxima non* ***carnis*** *affectu sed piaetatis ministerio.*
(127) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 6.
(128) *RcuiV*, c. 3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent* ***lucra***, *dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*
(129) *RcuiV*, c. 3.10: ***Pauperum***, ***peregrinorum*** *et hospitum curam.*
(130) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* $_{19}$ *ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.*
(131) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A–C.

> Jesus Christ. And because she carried this out with these and other most honest customs, the Christianity of the brothers and sisters was edified by the example of **her love, and all paupers and pilgrims** were comforted by her abundant generosity. Through her, the Lord assembled so much great delight for the salvation of souls that even from overseas the faithful kings of the Saxons asked her through trusted messengers to send some of her disciples to them for the education and holy instruction which they heard was wonderful in her, or even such people who might build convents for men and nuns in that land (of the Saxons).][132]

The presence of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in Chelles and Jonas' possible connection to Chelles supports but does not prove that Jonas of Bobbio wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Other scenarios are possible: Chelles could, for example, have imported the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* from Jouarre, Bertila's mother house, or Bertila herself could have been its author.

In order to make a definitive point about Jonas' authorship we now need to enter the thorny bushes of philological inquiry. A detailed count of words, comparison of phrases, and list of stylistic idiosyncrasies not only prove that four texts (Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which will be discussed in Chapters 7–8 of this book) were written by the same author, but also give us access to important elements of the monastic practice in Jonas' world.[133] Linking these texts will show that both the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* can be read as narrative versions of the same *regula* that was codified in the form of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo*,[134] or, conversely, that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo ad Deum* can be seen as an attempt to transform the monastic ideals expressed in Jonas' hagiographical works into a normative text.

In developing the argument for Jonas' authorship, I will first focus on the lexicographic, semantic, and stylistic parallels between Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Thereafter I will describe how the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* relate to each other in terms of their contents. For this endeavour I will first discuss the connections between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the parts of the *Vita Columbani* addressing the life of Columbanus himself and his successors Athala and

(132) Transl. McNamara/Halborg/Whatley, *Sainted Women*, pp. 285–286 (thoroughly revised).

(133) Analyses of Jonas of Bobbio's language have mostly addressed grammatical and morphological questions which are of limited use for this particular problem since neither Jonas' hagiographic texts nor the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are preserved in their original Merovingian textual form. See Roques, Gilles, 'La langue de Jonas de Bobbio, auteur latin du VII^e^ siècle', in: *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 9 (1971), pp. 7–52; Löfstedt, Bengt, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio', in: *Arctos* 8 (1974), pp. 79–95; Norberg, Dag, 'Le développement du Latin en Italie de S. Grégoire le Grand a Paul Diacre', in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo*, vol. 5.2, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1958, pp. 485–503; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, pp. 54–60.

(134) On Jonas' hagiographic works as "narrated rules" see Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani?*'; id., 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk in Gaul. Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Iohannis* and the construction of a monastic identity', in: *Revue Mabillon* 80 (2008), pp. 5–50, at pp. 38–44. On "narrated rules" in general, see also Blennemann, Gordon, 'Hagiographie: une norme narrée. Regards sur les Vitae de Jutta de Sponheim et de Hildegarde de Bingen, et sur le Liber visionum d'Élisabeth de Schönau', in: Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabeth Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (eds.), *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieux clos (IV^e^-XIX^e^ siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2015, pp. 115–127.

Eusthasius – parallels that are of particular interest because they cross the boundaries of gender. In Chapter 2 of this study I will compare the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the section of the *Vita Columbani* that recounts the lives and deaths of the nuns of Faremoutiers. I will briefly return to Jonas' hagiographic works in Chapters 7–8 when analyzing the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum* as the "lost chapter" of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Semantic and Stylistic Parallels between the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines* and Jonas' Hagiographic Works

Louis Gougaud has pointed to the similarities between chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on confession and Jonas' description of the confessional practices of Faremoutiers. He indicated that there might be more parallels, though he may not have been aware that his observations were only the tip of the iceberg.[135] There is an overwhelming number of connections in vocabulary, phrasing, expressions, and metaphors between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and both of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic saints' Lives. Appendix 1 documents eighty of them – and I may still have overlooked some. These parallels are not limited to the sections of the *Vita Columbani* that deal with Faremoutiers or with female monastic life. In fact, almost every chapter of both books of the *Vita Columbani* and of Jonas' *Vita Iohannis* contains parallels in phrasing, similarities in content, or at least overlap in vocabulary with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Conversely, we can find connections to Jonas' hagiographical works in each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The less a chapter of the Rule is influenced by the *Regula Benedicti*, the more parallels it shows with the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis*.

A proximity search in the *Patrologia Latina Database*, the *Acta Sanctorum Database*, and the *Library of Latin Texts* indicates that eighteen of the eighty parallels listed in Appendix 1 appear exclusively in Jonas' hagiographical work and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Here are some examples: *ex praesentibus pompis* (of the present pomp),[136] *uerecundiae metu* (with the fear of shame),[137] *de cuius relegione non dubitetur* (whose piety is beyond doubt),[138] *ab omni congregatione obiurgetur* (she should be rebuked by the entire congregation),[139] *moderante scientiae* (by the moderation of knowledge).[140] Another twenty-eight parallels can be found in only a handful of other patristic and early medieval works, which indicates that they are not commonly used expressions and were probably not derived from a shared source.

Some of the expressions that appear exclusively, or almost exclusively, in Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* relate to core aspects of the monastic

(135) Gougaud, 'Inventaire', pp. 328–331.
(136) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; cf. *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23–170, l. 1: *praesentium pompam facultatum*.
(137) *RcuiV*, c. 8.5: cf. *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 9–10: *uerecundiae metu*; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 24–25: *perculsa metu, uerecundia correpta*.
(138) *RcuiV*, c. 14.9; c. 24.9: *de quorum religione non dubitatur*; cf. *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10: *de quorum religione nihil dubitabatur*; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25–26: *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur*.
(139) *RcuiV*, c. 18.3; cf. *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*.
(140) *RcuiV*, c. 20.4; cf. *VCol* II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 25: *scientiam moderantem*.

ideals expressed in both sets of texts, such as the expressions *correptio pia* (loving reproach),[141] *fructum laboris recipere* (to receive the fruit of one's effort),[142] *damnum neglegentiae* (harm of negligence),[143] or *ad salutem redintegrare* (to restore to salvation).[144] We also find instances when a specific expression appears in both works in unrelated contexts, such as *clemens iudex* (mild judge),[145] *peracta oratione* (after having ended prayer),[146] *feruens aestus* (boiling heat).[147] This precludes the possibility that the author of one text simply used the text of another author in the same way as, for instance, the author of the *Vita Bertilae* used the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[148] The authors of the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* and of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* speak the same language to such an extent that they can only be the same person.

Besides the list of exact parallels offered in Appendix 1, we can find countless instances in which key expressions appear in varying combinations in Jonas' Lives and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. These correlations support just as strongly the argument that one person wrote both sets of texts with the same semantic repertoire. Several of these textual connections will be discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the Faremoutiers miracles and in Chapter 4 on Jonas' notions of space, boundaries, and purity.

The vocabulary of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* also displays a strikingly extensive overlap. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses 1329 different terms (particles, prepositions, and pronouns included). 1022 of them appear in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, which amounts to a 77% overlap. If we subtract all the expressions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* directly derived either from biblical quotations (25 terms) or from the *Regula Benedicti* (42 terms) the overlap of the vocabulary reaches 81%. A control experiment comparing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with the *Regula Benedicti* provides significantly lower degrees of overlap, despite the fact that both texts belong to the same genre and the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* largely paraphrased the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares 812 terms with the *Regula Benedicti*; 517 terms do not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*. This means that their vocabulary overlaps with 61%. Roughly 70% of the 517 terms absent in the *Regula Benedicti* appear in the *Vita Columbani*.[149] Jonas used, thus, words and phrases we find in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* to rewrite the *Regula Benedicti*.

Additionally, a significant number of expressions that appear in Jonas' hagiographic works and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* do not appear in any other monastic rule.[150] Nume-

(141) *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; cf. *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 30.
(142) *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; cf. *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328.
(143) *RcuiV*, c. 4.16; cf. *VIoh*, c. 7, p. 333, l. 12–13; *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21–22.
(144) *RcuiV*, c. 7.2; cf. *VCol* II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 19: *omnia saluti redintegraret*.
(145) *RcuiV*, c. 6.15; *De accedendo* 26; *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10–11; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17.
(146) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; cf. *VIoh*, c. 2, p. 330, l. 6–7; c. 7, p. 333, l. 17; c. 13, p. 337, l. 9.
(147) *RcuiV*, c. 12.6; cf. *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 17.
(148) See pp. 176–179.
(149) This number is based on a sample of the first 175 of the 517 words absent in the *Regula Benedicti*. 122 of them appear in the *Vita Columbani*, which is roughly 70%.
(150) A complete list includes *fessus* (twice in *RcuiV*/9 times in *VCol*); *fuscare* (2/1); *garrulus* (2/4); *ignauia* (3/3); *imbutus* (1/9); *incrementum* (1/4); *ingenium* (1/6); *intimare* (1/1); *intueri* (2/10+); *iungere* (3/9); *iurgium* (1/1); *lenitas* (1/5);

rous expressions that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares with Jonas' hagiographic works relate to key theological concepts, such as sin, salvation, damnation, absolution, emotion, and motivation, purity, and purification.[151] Jonas' language is in itself an important source for a study into his theological programme.

Aside from parallels on a semantic level, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shares several specific stylistic mannerisms with the *Vita Columbani*, many of which are stumbling blocks for anyone who tries to provide a literal translation. These stylistic peculiarities sometimes resemble an author reaching for grandiose or pompous language to give their ideas more weight. We find in the *Vita Columbani*, the *Vita Iohannis*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* numerous instances of overemphasizing – by using the phrase *manet*/*maneat* (it remains/it stays), *positus*/*posita* (he/she/it is placed/in the state of) and *existit* (it exists) – that we would simply translate as "it is", "let it be" or "should be". *Manet* and *maneat* appear with this meaning eight times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*[152] and eleven times in the *Vita Columbani*.[153] *Positus*/*posita* appears eleven times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*[154] and twen-

malitiosus (1/1); *obiurgare* (1/7); *opax* (1/2); *penes*/*penitus* (19/10+); *perfunctoria* (1/1); *persuasio* (1/4); *peruigil* (1/3); *pompa* (1/3); *praestus* (1/2); *preconium* (1/7); *primordium* (1/2); *priuare* (2/7); *procliuis* (1/2); *proditio* (1/4); *proditor* (1/1); *sagax* (1/10); *satire* (1/6); *sedare* (1/1); *segnitia* (1/1); *series* (3/3); *sollers* (2/3); *sopor* (1/9); *sospitas* (1/10+); *suffragium* (1/5); *sycerus* (1/1); *temeritas* (3/3); *tenebrae* (2/2); *tenor* (3/3); *tepiditas* (1/1); *tepor* (1/3); *torpere* (2/2); *transgressio* (1/8); *transilire* (1/3); *trutinare* (1/3); *uiridis* (1/1); *uirus* (1/2).

(151) For example: *abluere* (once in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*/9 times in the *Vita Columbani*); *aestus* (1/4); *affectus* (10/8); *antidotum* (1/3); *commeatus* (9/2); *confessio*/*confiteri* (27/10+); *consilium* (3/10+); *crimen* (5/6); *cursus* (15/10+); *custodia*/*custodire* (10/10+); *damnum* (3/10+); *delictum* (10/1); *disciplina* (15/10+); *emendare* (8/9); *fructus* (7/5); *intentus*/*intentio* (6/10+); *interrogare* (5/5); *iudicare*/*iudex* (7/10+); *iudicium* (5/5); *iungere* (3/9); *labere* (3/5); *lauare* (7/1); *macula*/*maculare* (7/10+); *medicina* (3/2); *meritum* (2/10+); *ministerium* (3/3); *minister*/*ministra*/*ministrare* (16/10+); *misericors*/*misericordia* (8/10+); *mortificatio* (1/6); *necessitas* (14/9); *nitor* (1/10+); *noxa* (1/10+); *praemium* (2/4); *praesidium* (2/2); *redintegrare* (2/3); *religio* (12/10+); *sanies* (3/1); *septa* (4/10); *zelus* (1/2).

(152) *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis* ***manere*** *conspexerunt?* c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum sed secundum Deum* ***maneat*** *amor*. c. 5.12–13: ***Maneat*** *ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, sicut scriptum est: Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum*. (Sap. 2, 24); c. 6.11: *Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem* ***manere*** *iam nouimus copiosam*. c. 14.1–2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant,* ₂ *ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil* ***maneat***… c. 22.7: *Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera* ***manet*** *caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera* ***manet*** *humilitas*. c. 23.2: *Quid enim aliam defendat quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata* ***manet*** *crucifixa*… c. 23.7: ***Maneat*** *ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat*.

(153) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 6–7: *Fides tantum* ***manebat*** *christiana, nam penitentiae medicamenta et mortificationis amor uix uel paucis in ea repperiebantur locis*; I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 18: *quia regio timore omnium corda perculsa* ***manebant***; I, c. 24, p. 206, l. 16–17: *dum in omnibus conditoris* ***manebat*** *auxilium*; I, c. 27, p. 215, l. 1–2: ***manebat*** *intemerata atque inconcussa fides*; I, c. 27, p. 217, l. 6–7: *quod* ***maneat*** *totus orbis desertus*; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 4–5: *cum cernerent in discipulum magistri instituta* ***manere***; II, c. 13, p. 262, pp. 20–21: ***manebat*** *inconcussa fides*; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 16–17: *super animan transgressione deceptam* ***maneret***; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 8–9: *quo diu subiectus sanctae regulae religionique gratus omnibus* ***mansit***; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 13: *nec quicquam discordiae* ***manebat***; II, c. 23, p. 285, l. 19–20: *ut secum quoadusque sospis redderetur,* ***maneret***. Instances in which *manere* really means "to stay" are discounted.

(154) *RcuiV*, c. 4.12: *In infirmitate* ***positis*** *sororibus diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu ministret*; c. 6.12: *In oratione* ***posita*** *semper penitens dicat*… c. 8.5: *ut in loco ultimo* ***posita****, id est in eo loco qui talibus neglegentibus fuerit deputatus, adstare*… c. 8.8: *Intus etenim* ***posita*** *nec totum perdit*… c. 10.20–21: *Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis*

ty-six times in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and *Vita Iohannis*.[155] *Existere* appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*[156] in the sense of "it exists" and four times in the *Vita Columbani*.[157] These phrases may not have been uncommon in post-classical Latin but neither the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus, nor the hagiographic works that were written as continuations of the *Vita Columbani*, use *manere*, *existitere*, or *positus est*. The only exceptions are Audoinus' *Vita Eligii* where we find these expressions occasionally,[158] and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, where the term *existere* appears twice.[159]

There are hardly any semantic and stylistic parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Vedastis*, a work that has been ascribed to Jonas of Bobbio by Bruno Krusch who added it to his edition of Jonas' hagiographic works.[160] The lack of parallels might be explained by the fact that the *Vita Vedastis* does not address monastic life at all, but it nevertheless casts doubt on Jonas' authorship of this *Vita*.[161]

studeant costodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere. [21] *Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint* ***positae****, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper* ***positae****, necessaria conloquantur.* c. 11.2: *Similiter et uesperum erit caenandum, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit, ut nullus in ecclesia* ***positus*** *tristitiam demonstret.* c. 22.1: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae* ***positae*** *debeant diligere…* c. 22.12: *In cursu uero* ***positae***; c. 23.7: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine* ***positam*** *tueri studeat.* c. 24.7: *In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam* ***positam****.*

(155) *VCol* I, prologue, p. 147, l. 16–17: *Quae sunt ergo* ***posita*** *duobus libellis intercisi*; I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 7: ***Positus*** *ergo in praefatu sinu eminentis saxi*; I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 1–2: *febre correptus adque in extremis* ***positus***; I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 13: *in ecclesia* ***positum*** *flentem repperit*; I, c. 19 p. 192, l. 23: *in angustia* ***positis*** *aditum pandit*; I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 9: *illi in medio eorum* ***positum***; I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 25–26: *Columbanum in ecclesia* ***positum***; I, c. 22, p. 204, l. 19–20: *ut simul* ***positi*** *pro largitricem Dominum precarentur*; I, c. 24, p. 206, l. 25 – p. 207, l. 1: *qui Neustrasis Francis regnabat extrema Gallia ad Oceanum* ***positis***; I, c. 27, p. 213, l. 16: *ceruisa plenum in medio* ***positum***; I, c. 28, p. 217, l. 18–19: *in ecclesia* ***positus****, sacre subderetur religione*; I, c. 30, p. 222, pp. 5–6: *plano terrae solo* ***positum*** *uehere non ualebant*; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 24–25: *Qui temeritatis hac arrogantiae inibi* ***positi***; II, c. 2, p. 232, l. 27–29: *inter quos ego* ***positus*** *et beati uiri ministerio deputatus tenebar*; II, c. 4, p. 235, l. 23–24: *in extremis febrium anxietatibus* ***positus***; II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 20 - p. 242, l. 1: *Hanc in extremis anhelis* ***positam****, Eusthasius patrem increpat*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 31: *matrem monasterii in extremo* ***positam*** *esse*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 11: *ante tribunal aeterni iudicis* ***posita***; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 32: *Nec mora, in extremis horis* ***posita***; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 23: *quam in saeculo adhuc* ***posita***; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 18: *Cumque iam in extremis* ***posita***; II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 1–2: *in extremis anxietatibus* ***positus****. VIoh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 4–5: *in quo serpens inter deserta positus habitabat*; p. 330, l. 24–25: *infra monasteriorum septa* ***positus***; c. 6, p. 332, l. 19: *eo in loco quo uir Dei* ***positus*** *erat*; c. 16, p. 339, l. 26: *sub fragilitate* ***positus****.*

(156) *RcuiV*, c. 3.7: *Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate* ***existant***; c. 19.9: *quae culpis grauioribus* ***existentibus****.*

(157) *VCol* I, prologue, p. 145, l. 9–10: *quo uos praesules* ***existitis***; I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 4–5: *in breui inuitus clericus* ***existat***; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 8–9: *ne quis largitori muneris praeco* ***existeret***; II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 11–12: *qui modo Resbacensis coenubii praesul* ***existit****.*

(158) Similar constructions with *manere* appear twice in the *Vita Eligii*; *positus esse* four times, and *existere* eight times. *Existere* is used once in *Vita Agili*; *posita esse* once in *Vita Sadalbergae*. I checked the Lives of Agilus, Adelphus, Bertila, Balthild, Eigil, Romarich, Sadalberga, Vedast, and Wandregisel.

(159) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 17.4; ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos". Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la "Regula monachorum" de Colomban', in: *Revue d'histoire de la Spiritualité* 49 (1973), pp. 3–36, at p. 25; c. 20.1, p. 26.

(160) *Vita Vedastis*, *MGH SRG* 37, pp. 309–320.

(161) See p. 175, footnote 101. Only three expressions of the *Vita Vedastis* appear similarly in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *Vita Vedastis*, c. 1, *MGH SRG* 37, p. 309, l. 8: *mercedis lucra*; c. 3, p. 311, l. 5: *sub religionis cultu*; c. 4, p. 312, l. 24–25: *mentem macularet*. I would identify three more expressions as representing Jonas' ideas

Content-related Parallels between the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines* and Jonas' Hagiographic Works

Thus far I have argued for Jonas' authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the basis of similarities in terminology, expressions, and stylistic mannerisms but not in terms of parallels in the content. Jonas' *Vitae* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* not only use similar words (or use similar phrases in different contexts) but also express the same ideas with or without using similar words. Comparing Jonas' hagiographical texts – especially the *Vita Columbani* – with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, demonstrates that both texts are not only products of the same mind, but that they served the same agenda: to define and claim the essence of a distinct monastic ideal, which Jonas in the *Vita Columbani* relates to Columbanus himself. In other words, reading the *uita* and the *regula* concurrently helps us to better understand what constituted – at least in Jonas' mind – Columbanus' *regula*. Indeed, reading both texts together allows us to see things which are only visible in the mirror of each respective text.

The best passage to access Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal is to be found in his depiction of Columbanus' arrival in Gaul. There, Jonas provides an extensive description of the saint's virtues and that of his original community: a *Regula Columbani* in a nutshell, which bears little resemblance to the two monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus (the *Regula monachorum* and the *Regula coenobialis*) but expresses some of the central tenets of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[162] For reasons of convenience, I have divided Jonas' "*Regula* in a nutshell" into eight sections and will discuss parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in my commentary on each section.

Jonas begins by describing Columbanus as someone who lives the virtues that he teaches:

> Erat enim gratum hominibus, ut quod facundiae cultus adornabat, elucubrante praedicationis doctrina, simul et exempla uirtutum confirmabant.
>
> [For it was pleasing to the people that the examples of his virtues immediately confirmed that which the practice of his eloquence embellished, by the enlightenment of erudition of his preaching.][163]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* describes the abbess as a teacher (using the term *lucubrare*); it emphasizes that *uox* and *opus* may not contradict each other and that *doctrina* needs to be supported by exemplary behaviour. Both texts highlight that the teaching and behaviour

and language: c. 1, p. 309: *rerum sator aeternus*; c. 5, p. 313: *ad omnia paratos*; c. 7, p. 316: *salubria medicamenta*. I do not think, however, that this evidence is strong enough to prove the ascription of the *Vita Vedastis* to Jonas.

(162) Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, ed./transl. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 122–168 leave very few traces in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, except for two allusions in *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250–251 in the context of the monk Agrestius' attacks on the *Regula Columbani*. On Columbanus' Rules, see Diem, 'Columbanian Monastic Rules', pp. 68–71. On using the *Vita Columbani* as "*Regula Columbani*", see also Helvétius, 'Hagiographie et réformes', pp. 40–42.

(163) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161. Krusch offers *confirmarent* as alternative, which would allow the translation of *ut* as "that".

of the head of the monastery should have a public impact (*gratum hominibus*; *omnium ore laudabilis*).[164]

Subsequently, Jonas describes how Columbanus and his monks compete with each other in humility:

> Tanta humilitatis ubertas, ut uersa uice, sicut de honoribus homines saeculi conantur quaerere dignitates, iste cum sodalibus suis de humilitatis cultu alter alterum nitebantur praeuenire, memores praecepti illius: *Qui se humiliat exaltabitur* (Luc. 14, 11); et illud Esaiae: *Ad quem respiciam, nisi ad humilem et quietum et trementem sermones meos?* (Is. 66, 2).
>
> [So great was the abundance of humility that, in contrast to the worldly people who try to seek standing from high offices, Columbanus and his companions strove to outdo one another in the practice of humility, mindful of this command that, "He who humbles himself, shall be exalted", and that of Isaiah, "To whom shall I look, but to him who is humble and silenced and who trembles at my words?" (Is. 66, 2)][165]

The idea of competitive *humilitas* in mutual interaction is a central theme in chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[166]

The next topic Jonas' addresses is the imperative of mutual love, concord, and kindness:

> Tanta pietas, tanta caritas omnibus, ut unum uelle, unum nolle, modestia atque sobrietas, mansuetudo et lenitas aeque in omnibus redolebat.
>
> [So great was their piety, so great was the love for all, that, being of one accord in what they wanted and in what they did not want, modesty and moderation, gentleness, and mildness in all things spread over all.][167]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* dedicates an entire chapter (c. 5) to the imperative of mutual love (*pietas*, *caritas*, *amor*) and emphasizes its importance throughout the Rule.[168] All other qualities mentioned by Jonas in this section, *modestia*, *sobrietas*, *mansuetudo*, and *lenitas*, appear both as attributes of those who hold office in the community and as guidelines for specific situations.[169]

(164) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1–7: *Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet,* 2 *ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione* ***lucubra****t, propriis actibus non contradicat.* 3 *Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur quam* ***doctrina****e inlatae aurem adcommodant.* 4 *Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur* ***doctrina****m ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere,* 5 *ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.* 6 *Sic ergo sit et uoce* ***orna****ta et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi. Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriis imitabilis* ***exempl****o.* 7 *Sit caritatis beniuolentia* ***orna****ta, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda.*

(165) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 106–107 (slightly revised).

(166) See Chapter 6, pp. 538–547.

(167) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.

(168) See especially *RcuiV*, c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum sed secundum Deum maneat amor.* c. 8.3: *cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina currat.* c. 20.5: *Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur.*

(169) *Modestia*: *RcuiV*, c. 23.12; *lenitas*: c. 1.12; c. 4.11; c. 4.19; c. 9.15; c. 20.5; *sobrietas*: c. 2.4; c. 4.6; c. 9.15; c. 10.1; c. 11.5; c. 22.23; *mansuetudo*: c. 5.9; c. 8.3.

In the following sentence of this same short passage of the *Vita*, Jonas provides a list of vices that Columbanus' monks successfully overcame:

> Execrabatur ab his desidiae atque discordiae uitium, arrogantiae ac elationis supercilium duris castigationum ictibus feriebatur, irae ac liuoris noxa sagaci intentione pellebatur.
>
> [He detested in them the sin of indolence and discord. The haughtiness of arrogance and vainglory was struck by harsh blows of (his) chastisments. The offence of anger and envy was routed by (his) keen diligence.][170]

Just like the virtues listed in the previous sentence, the vices *desidia*, *arrogantia*, *elatio, ira*, and *liuor* appear throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[171] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* speaks of *sagax cura*[172] instead of *sagax intentio* but uses the term *intentio* on several occasions in other contexts.[173] This is one example of the reshuffling of key words that appears in both texts.

Jonas then returns to the theme of love and mildness:

> Tanta patientiae uirtus, caritatis affectus, lenitatis cultus aderat, ut mitem in medio eorum Dominum patule non ambigeres habitare.
>
> [So great was their virtue of patience, their tenderness of love, their practice of gentleness that you could not doubt that the gentle Lord was dwelling openly among them.][174]

Patientia appears in the context of the prioress;[175] *affectus* appears as *affectus cordis*, *promptissimus affectus*, *affectus mentis piae*, *affectus pietatis*, and *affectus uel caritatis ministerium*.[176] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not speak of a *cultus lenitatis* but of a *cultus pietatis ac dilectionis*.[177]

Jonas describes how the community as a whole deals with sinners:

> Si quempiam his labere in uitiis repperissent, simul omnes aequo iure neglegentem correptionibus cedere studebant.
>
> [If they found that anyone among them was falling into sin, they all at once and in equal measure sought to strike the negligent one with reproofs.][178]

The notion of falling (*labi*, *dilabi*) appears five times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, where it is linked to *delicta*, *casus*, and *facinus*.[179] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses *reperire* several times in the context of discovering a transgression.[180] *Simul omnes* appears four times in the

(170) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107 (thoroughly revised).
(171) *Desidium*: *RcuiV*, c. 9.18; c. 24.3; *discordia*: c. 5.16; *arrogantia*: c. 2.5; c. 22.12; *elatio*: c. 4.6; *ira*, c. 2.4; *liuor*: c. 5.12.
(172) *RcuiV*, c. 6.1.
(173) *Intentus*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 3.9; c. 8.2; c. 9.11; c. 14.2; *De accedendo* 22–23; *intentio*: *RcuiV*, c. 12.2; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 26.
(174) *VCol* I, c. 5, pp. 161–162; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.
(175) *RcuiV*, c. 2.4.
(176) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; c. 4.7; c. 4.12; c. 5.8; c. 12.12; c. 22.1.
(177) *RcuiV*, c. 5.11.
(178) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 107.
(179) *RcuiV*, c. 16.4; c. 16.5; c. 18.2; c. 22.17; c. 23.5.
(180) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.19; c. 12.20; c. 12.29; c. 24.11. *Reperire* can also be found in the *Regula Benedicti*.

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines, only once in the context of reproach and punishment.[181] The collective responsibility of the community for the sinner is expressed numerous times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,[182] as is the notion that everyone must be treated equally.[183] We find instances of *negligentia* defined as sin throughout the text.[184]

The imperative of sharing all possessions and the prohibition to claim anything as one's own are common in monastic rules:

> Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur.
>
> [They had everything in common and if anyone had tried to take anything for himself, he was removed from the company of others and punished by the imposition of penance].[185]

Chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses this topic and imposes the *disciplina regularis* on those who might claim things as their own. Exclusion from the community as punishment is mentioned in the chapters on excommunication (c. 19–20).

Jonas ends what I would call his narrated *Regula Columbani* with describing how Columbanus' monks were supposed to speak to each other without using harsh words:

> Nullus proximo contrarietatem rependere, nullus asperum sermonem proferre audebat, ita ut in humana conuersatione angelicam agi uitam cerneres.
>
> [No one dared to return evil for evil to his neighbour or to say a harsh word, so that you would see that the angelic life was being led by these men in their everyday lives.][186]

The restraint of speech and the necessity to communicate with a gentle voice is a topic addressed at several points in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[187]

There are many more parallels between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas describes, for example, how the community accepts a donation from a pious woman:

> Quod ostiarius celeri cursu patri indicanda properat; ait ille: "Sine", inquid, "se scire fratrumque coetum adunare, ut simul positi pro largitricem Dominum precarentur simulque grates referant conditori, qui suos solare non desinet in omnibus famulos necessitatibus, et post munus oblatum recipiant". O mira conditoris pietas! Egere sinit, ut sua dona egentibus largiendo demonstret; temptari permittit, ut in temptatione subueniens suorum uberius in se corda excitet famulorum.
>
> [When the doorkeeper rushes to tell this to the father, Columbanus says, "Let them know and let them assemble the group of brothers so that all together they might pray to the Lord for their benefactress and at the same time give thanks to the Creator, who never fails to comfort His servants in their every need. Afterwards let them receive the gift". Oh wonderful compas-

(181) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; c. 3.12; c. 11.6; esp. c. 18.3: *Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur*.
(182) *RcuiV*, c. 18.3; c. 20.7; c. 22.17; c. 23.4.
(183) *RcuiV*, c. 4.2; c. 10.3; c. 23.6.
(184) See pp. 255–256.
(185) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. Wood/O'Hara, p. 107.
(186) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162; transl. Wood/O'Hara, p. 107 (slightly revised).
(187) *RcuiV*, c. 3.7; c. 4.11; c. 4.19–22; c. 9.18; c. 22.5; c. 22.16.

> sion of the Creator! He permits us to be in need, that He may show His bounty by giving to the needy. He permits us to be tempted, that by aiding us in our temptations He may turn the hearts (*corda excitet*)[188] of His servants more fully to Himself.][189]

Chapter 3 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the doorkeepers prescribes the same procedure of responding to gifts with intercessory prayer, albeit in different words:

> Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.
>
> [And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented it.][190]

The second book of the *Vita Columbani* begins with a description of the uprising during the reign of Columbanus' successor Athala.[191] This lengthy passage contains several parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (listed in the footnotes).

> Ergo cum egregiae post beatum Columbanum supradictum coenubium regeret et in omni disciplina regularis tenoris erudiret,[192] contra eum antiqui anguis uersutia loetiferum discordiae uirus noxiis[193] ictibus laxare coepit, excitans aliquorum contra eum corda subditorum,[194] qui se aiebant nimiae feruoris auctoritatem ferre non posse et arduae disciplinae pondera portare non ualere. At ille, sagaci ut erat animo,[195] pia fomenta praebere[196] et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta abscideretur,[197] potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur.
>
> [So, when he (Athala) was ruling the aforesaid monastery with distinction in succession to blessed Columbanus, and was instructing it in every discipline of the content of the rule, the cunning of the Ancient Serpent began to spread against them the deadly virus of discord with harmful blows, exciting against him the hearts of some of his subordinates, who said that they could not bear the precepts of excessive fervour, and that they were unable to sustain the weight of the harsh discipline. But Athala, being of wise mind, was anxious to provide holy

(188) *RcuiV*, c. 2.12: *corda excitare*.

(189) *VCol* I, c. 22, pp. 204–205; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 149–150 (revised).

(190) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12. On the exchange of gifts and prayers, see Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 196–197.

(191) On the uprising against Athala, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris*', in: Alexander O'Hara (eds.), *Columbanus and the gentes*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259–306; Dunn, Marilyn, 'Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio', in: *Peritia* 20 (2008), pp. 1–27.

(192) Jonas uses *tenor regulae* in *RcuiV*, c. 15.12 and *tenor paenitentiae* in c. 20.9. Cf. also *RcuiV*, c. 15.12: *tenor paenitentiae*; c. 20.9: *disciplina regularis*.

(193) *RcuiV*, c. 4.3: *transgressionis noxa*; c. 5.12: *hostis liuoris uirus*; c. 5.16: *discordiae fomenta*.

(194) *RcuiV*, c. 2.12 (here in a positive sense): *corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat*.

(195) *RcuiV*, c. 6.1: *sagaci cura*.

(196) *RcuiV*, c. 20.5: *Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur*.

(197) *RcuiV*, c. 1.13: *ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat*; c. 20.6: *Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit…*

poultices and to give a draught of a health-giving antidote, by which the putrefied scab might be removed, and thus he sought to soften their arrogant hearts].[198]

Subsequently, Jonas tells how the rebellious monks face divine punishment, which motivates others to seek readmittance to the monastery. He uses several expressions that appear otherwise only in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In particular the passage on allowing the monks to return to the monastery shows striking resemblance to chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which emphasizes in a similar way as the *Vita Columbani* that fear might propel a fugitive to return to the monastery.[199] I quote the passage in full in order to show the parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the footnotes:

Qui temeritatis hac arrogantiae inibi positi mox intentu damna sensere. Nam cum his in locis morarentur et uirum Dei suis detractionibus laniarent, unum eorum qui Roccolenus dicebatur, qui et iurgiorum, ut credebatur, incrementa ministrabat,[200] subito ictu igne febrium accensus, inter poene incendia clamare coepit, se, si ualuisset, ad beatum Athalam uenire uelle et amissi criminis damna paenitentiae medicamento lenire.[201] Nec mora, uix haec dicere licuit, obmutuit ac extremum alitum dimisit. Ast hii qui aderant uidentes uiri Dei iniurias diuina ultione uindicari, plurimi eorum ad uirum Dei remeant suasque noxas confitentur; se in omnibus, si recipiantur, emendaturos pollicentur.[202] Quos uir sanctus miro gaudio, acsi e luporum ora receptas oues, recepit suisque locis suas culpas agnoscentes restituit. At uero alii qui uerecundia praeueniente uel temeritate hac arrogantiae[203] uitio maculati[204] redire noluerunt et datum locum paenitentiae contempserunt, diuersis mortibus sunt direpti, ut manifestae daretur intellegi, socios eos fuisse eius in excitanda contumaciae incrementa, quem ultio diuina percusserit, propterea cum ceteris ueniam non meruisse.

[Having set themselves up in these places they soon experienced punishment for their intended temerity and arrogance. For while they were staying in these places and were slandering the man of God, one of them, called Roccolenus, who was believed to have stoked up the quarrel, was suddenly burnt up with a blazing attack of fever. He began to cry out from the fires of his punishment that he wished, if he could, to go to blessed Athala, and to assuage with the medicine of penance the evils of the crime which had been committed. Hardly had he said this when suddenly he fell silent and breathed his last. But many of those who were present, seeing the injuries to the man of God avenged by divine vengeance, return to the man of God and confess their sins; they promise that if they are taken back they would emend themselves in every way. The holy man received them with great joy as if they had been sheep recovered from the jaws of wolves, and he restored those who acknowledged their faults to their places. But the others who, stained with the vice of arrogance, and prevented by shame or rashness, refused to return, and who despised the chance of repentance, were snatched away by a variety

(198) *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 180 (revised).

(199) *RcuiV*, c. 21 is a revision of *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29, *SC* 182, p. 554. The theme of fear as motivation to return to the monastery does not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*.

(200) *RcuiV*, c. 5.21: *…si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur!*

(201) *RcuiV*, c. 3.16: *Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit, et modum paenitentiae augebit.*

(202) *RcuiV*, c. 21.1–2: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.* $_2$*Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.*

(203) *RcuiV*, c. 10.18: *disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia*; c. 22.12: *in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.*

(204) *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata.*

> of deaths, in order that it became clear that they, in inciting the growth in obstinacy, had been the companions of him, whom divine vengeance has struck, [and] subsequently had not merited pardon with the rest since they did not merit pardon with the rest].[205]

Towards the end of the description of Athala's life, Jonas inserts a list of Athala's virtues, beginning, like the praise of Columbanus' virtues (in the "*Regula* in a nutshell"), with *erat enim* – the usual opening for a list of a saint's qualities.

> Erat enim his uir gratus omnibus, singularis feruoris, singularis alacritatis, singularis caritatis, in peregrinis, in pauperibus; nouerat et superbis resistere et humilibus subditus esse, sapientibus condigna rependere et simplicibus mystica aperire; in soluendis ac opponendis questionibus sagax, aduersus hereticorum procellas uigens ac solidus, fortis in aduersis, sobrius in prosperis, temperatus in omnibus, discretus in cunctis. Redundabat amor et timor in subditis, redolebat doctrina in discipulis, nullus iuxta eum uel merore tediebatur neque nimia letitia extollebatur.
>
> [For Athala was pleasing to all and a man of singular passion, enthusiasm, and love for strangers and the poor. He knew how to stand up against the proud, and to be the servant of the humble, to respond to the wise coequally, and reveal mysteries to the simple. He was wise in solving and countering questions, active and firm in dealing with the storms of heretics, strong in adversity, sober in prosperity, controlled in all things, discreet in everything. Love and fear abounded in those subordinate to him, while right teaching flowed over in his disciples. No one in his presence was either depressed with sorrow or elevated with excessive joy].[206]

Athala perfectly embodies the requirements of a good abbess as it is laid out in the first chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both texts share the general sense that the monastery should be ruled by *sapientia* and *discretio*[207] and *sobrietas* and *sagacitas* just as much as by *uigor* and *feruor*.[208] Athala's Life ends, thus, with another summary of the content of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

So far, I have described only parallels between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the parts of the *Vita Columbani* that deal with the saint himself or his successors and their communities – thus parallels that transcend gender boundaries. They tie some of the central themes of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to the most programmatic parts of the *Vita Columbani*. They include topics like the role of abbot and abbess, the exchange of gifts with intercessory prayer, virtues and vices, punishment and excommunication, and reintegration into the community. As such, they point us to some of the key aspects of Jonas of Bobbio's monastic ideal – aspects that are applicable to monasteries for both genders. The next chapter will focus on the connections between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the section of the *Vita Columbani* that addresses the convent of Faremoutiers. The Faremoutiers miracles in particular appear to constitute a monastic rule presented in the form of exemplary narratives. This narrated Rule is to a large extent complimentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(205) *VCol* II, c. 1, pp. 231–232; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 180–181 (revised).
(206) *VCol* II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 14–24; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 185 (slightly adjusted).
(207) On the *discretio* of the abbess, see also *RcuiV*, c. 4.18; c. 12.23; c. 19.1–2; c. 24.11.
(208) *RcuiV*, c. 24.5 emphasizes the right combination between *amor* and *timor* in the context of the education of children.

CHAPTER 2

THE DYING NUNS OF FAREMOUTIERS: THE *REGVLA* IN ACTION

The middle section of Jonas' second book of the *Vita Columbani* recounts events in the monastery of Faremoutiers, which was founded about five years after Columbanus' death. The monastery was a product of collaboration between his successor Eusthasius, Chagneric, the head of the Burgundian aristocratic family of the Faronids, and Chagneric's children Burgundofara and Chagnoald.[1] As the first female foundation under the *Regula Columbani*, Faremoutiers marks a turning point in the history of the monastic communities that claimed Columbanus' heritage. Its founders may have viewed Faremoutiers as an experiment that would show to what extent Columbanus' monastic ideals could be applied to religious women and which aspects needed to be adjusted.[2] This would explain why it was so important for Jonas to include his stories of Faremoutiers in his *Vita Columbani*. One (of many) ways to approach this section of the *Vita* would be to read it as a sort of "lab report" of the experiment of a female adaptation of Columbanus' monastic ideals.

Columbanus himself had founded no female communities, and his own works contain few references to religious women.[3] His primary target group was, if we take Jonas' word, the sons of aristocratic families who flocked to the newly founded monasteries of Fontaines, Annegray, and Luxeuil:

> …ad cuius famam plebes undique concurrere et *cultui religionis* dicare curabant, ita ut plurima monachorum multitudo adunata, uix unius caenubii collegio sistere ualeret. Ibi nobilium liberi undique concurrere nitebantur, ut, exspreta *faleramenta saeculi* et *praesentium pompam* facultatum temnentes *aeterna praemia* caperent.

(1) On the foundation of Faremoutiers, see *VCol* II, c. 7, pp. 241–243. On the Faronids, see Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester 2007, pp. 28–72. On the early history of Faremoutiers, see O'Carroll, James, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', in: *Sainte Fare et Faremoutiers*, vol. 1, Faremoutiers: Abbaye de Faremoutiers 1956, pp. 2–35, at pp. 2–18; Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes', pp. 375–382; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011, pp. 151–169, at pp. 160–162.

(2) See also O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', pp. 10–15.

(3) Columbanus shared this largely male perspective on monastic life with John Cassian and the authors of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*. The exclusion of women from the monastic option did usually not last for longer than one or two generations. See Diem, 'The Gender of the Religious', pp. 438–439.

> [Crowds of people from all over were eager to flock together to his fame to dedicate themselves to the religious life, so that the great multitude of monks that gathered could scarcely be contained in one monastery. The children of nobles from everywhere strove to come there so that by despising the trappings of the world and by scorning the pomp of present wealth, they might seize eternal rewards].[4]

After Columbanus' death it became, it seems, necessary to open the opportunity to "despise the trappings of the world and to scorn the pomp of present wealth" to female members of the families that supported Columbanus. The same key words Jonas uses to describe Columbanus' appeal to young aristocratic men appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*: the *cultus religionis* (roughly: "practice of piety") becomes, as these documents show, a general descriptive of monastic life – an option for men and women alike.[5] Nuns should also have an opportunity to avoid the trappings of the world (*faleramenta* – probably a neologism created by Jonas that appears both in his *Vitae* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*)[6] and to despise the *pompae praesentes*.[7] Everyone is supposed to be able to strive for *aeterna praemia* (eternal rewards).[8]

Besides Faremoutiers, Jonas mentions a number of other female communities which were probably founded soon after: the monasteries of Jouarre and Remiremont, Saint-Paul in Besançon, a monastery in Bourges founded by a certain Berthora, Eligius' foundation in Paris, and two convents founded in Charenton and Nevers by a certain Theodulph.[9] Many more would follow. Columbanus' successors created monastic models that became almost equally attractive to both genders.[10]

It is possible that these new female communities became, even more than Bobbio, Luxeuil, and Luxeuil's male affiliations, the experimental grounds for the transformation of Columbanus' ideals and (re-)definition of his heritage. These experiments led to the production of at least three different monastic rules for women: a female version of the text of the *Regula Columbani*, the Rule of Donatus, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Each of

(4) *VCol* I, c. 10, pp. 169–170; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 116 (revised).

(5) *Cultus religionis* appears in *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 24.5; *De accedendo* 1 and in *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 3.

(6) *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; *VCol* I, prologue, p. 146; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 18; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 23; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 4. Niermeyer, Jan Frederik, C. van de Kieft, G. S. M. N. Lake-Schoonebeek, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002, vol. 1, p. 533 and Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, *Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis*, vol. 3, Niort: L. Favre 1843, col. 403c give no sources before Jonas that use *faleramentum*. Most later references appear in texts that were inspired by Jonas' work.

(7) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1–3: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, quibus mundus…, si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent,* 2 *sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* (Ps. 72/73, 28) 3 *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?*

(8) *RcuiV*, c. 5.11; *De accedendo* 23. See also *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25.

(9) *VCol* I, c. 14, p. 176; I, c. 26, p. 210; II, c. 10, p. 252; II, c. 10, pp. 255–256. On the first female foundations related to Columbanus or Luxeuil, see Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, pp. 15–23 and pp. 29–52.

(10) For a list of seventh-century female monastic foundations in Francia, see Weidemann, Margarethe, 'Urkunde und Vita der heiligen Bilhildis aus Mainz', in: *Francia* 21:1 (1994), pp. 17–84, at pp. 77–83.

these rules can be read as a distinct response to the question of how to define Columbanus' legacy and how to apply his monastic ideals to communities of nuns. In order to have a framework for comparison, I will briefly address the first two Rules before discussing Jonas' ideas about female monastic life.

The second to last folio of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* contains the only preserved fragment of the female version of the *Regula Columbani*. Its author changed the grammatical gender of the final chapters of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* from male to female but left the text itself almost completely unchanged, aside from some modifications of the order of its provisions and a few lines that do not appear in the male version of the *Regula coenobialis*.[11] The Rule even includes Columbanus' regulations on nocturnal pollutions.[12] This indicates that the person who produced this female *Regula Columbani* saw little need to change or adjust the content of the original text. The monastic programme Columbanus had allegedly written himself was, in his or her view, perfectly suitable for monks *and* nuns.

Since we have only a fragment of the female *Regula Columbani*, we cannot determine whether the text was a revision of both parts of the original *Regula Columbani* (i.e. the *Regula monachorum* and the *Regula coenobialis*) or only of the *Regula coenobialis*. Unfortunately, the codicological evidence of the Munich Codex of the *Codex regularum*, does not give a conclusive answer.[13] Between fol. 214v (where the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off in chapter 24) and fol. 215r (where the fragment of Ps.-Columbanus' Rule begins), there is a loss of one quaternium, i.e. eight pages (or fifteen columns, if we substract one column that would have been covered by the missing part of chapter 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). A gap of fifteen columns is too large for the *Regula coenobialis*, which would need about twelve more columns, but too small for the entire *Regula Columbani* (i.e. *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*), which would require twenty more columns. We will probably never know whether the female *Regula Columbani* was a complete or just an abbreviated version of the original *Regula Columbani*.

Just changing the grammatical gender is *one* answer to the challenge of adjusting Columbanus' Rule to a female community. Neither Donatus of Besançon nor Jonas agreed with the author of the female *Regula Columbani*. Donatus regarded the *regulae* written by Columbanus and Benedict as unsuitable for a female community because they were written for monks. He also viewed the only extant female rule, the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles, as unsuitable because it was written for a different spatial setting (an aspect

(11) Ed. by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl in *CSEL* 98, pp. 191–240 (with an extensive introduction). See also ead., '*Elegi pauca e plurimis*… Editorische Fragestellungen zur Regula Donati, dem Fragment einer Nonnenregel (CPPM II 3637) und Columban', in: ead., Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 225–252.

(12) Columbanus, *Regula monialium* 34–36, *CSEL* 98, p. 237. *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1–4, p. 164 refers to nocturnal pollutions as well.

(13) The second manuscript that contains the fragment, Cologne, Historisches Archiv W.f. 231, is a direct copy of the Munich Codex and is therefore not relevant in this context.

discussed in Chapter 4).[14] Therefore, Donatus replaced these three Rules with a new one largely consisting of carefully arranged and discretely altered extracts from all three texts.[15]

Jonas developed with his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a third strategy for creating a female *Regula Columbani*. He regarded none of the existing textual material as suitable to be quoted in full and started from scratch, thoroughly rephrasing fragments of the *Regula Benedicti* and a handful of other texts. All three Rules are, thus, developed with different textual techniques: simply changing the grammatical gender of an existing rule; creating a florilegium of quotations of older rules with few adjustments, and, thirdly, writing a new rule that loosely paraphrases existing texts. All three textual techniques have, sometimes combined with each other, been applied in earlier monastic rules.[16]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the paraphrasing rule, is deeply entwined with the vignettes of the lives and deaths of the Faremoutiers' nuns in the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* – to an extent that we can speak of *one* rule that manifests itself both in a narrative and in a normative form. This chapter takes therefore a different approach than the previous one. Instead of totting up the evidence for Jonas' authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* I will use the parallels between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to explore the content and programme of this *one* rule in which Jonas expresses his own interpretation of the *Regula Columbani*. Since a detailed analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself will follow in Chapter 6, I will focus, for the moment, on analyzing the "hagiographic version" of Jonas' Rule, i.e. the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.

First, however, it is necessary to make some general observations of this particular – and most peculiar – part of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. It has often been mined for details, like many early medieval hagiographic texts, but never been studied as an integral text and as a masterwork on its own.[17] The text is not at all a *Vita* of Faremoutiers' founder Burgund-

(14) *Regula Donati*, prologue.4–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139: …*dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent,* [5]*et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret*. See also Chapter 3, pp. 246–249.

(15) For an analysis of the *Regula Donati*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1–38.

(16) Another example of a *Regula*-florilegium is the *Regula Eugippii*; another grammatically adjusted rule is Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines* and maybe the (not preserved) female *Regula Pachomii*. Other paraphrases of existing rules include the Aurelianus' *Regula ad monachos* and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.

(17) There have been few studies on the Faremoutiers section and its place within the *Vita Columbani*: Tatum, *Hagiography*, pp. 28–72 looks at it in passing in her study on the Faronid family; O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', pp. 15–17 briefly uses the Faremoutiers episodes as source for everyday life in Faremoutiers; Le Jan, Régine, 'Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia', in: Mayke de Jong, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 243–269 discusses the representation of an attack on Faremoutiers by the Frankish aristocrat Aega in *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269; Wood/O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio: Lives*, pp. 48–54 discuss the place of the Faremoutiers episodes within the *Vita Columbani* without, however, addressing their content, though Wood and O'Hara provide a wealth of information in the commentary to their translation on pp. 204–226; see also O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 245–248. Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 197–200 uses some of the Faremoutiers miracles as a source for understanding Jonas' theological programme. The Faremoutiers section may have inspired the description of the miracles in the monastery of Barking

ofara; she only plays a minor role in the text.[18] Its chapters do not provide a chronological narrative but consist of twelve independent episodes that all address the virtues, failings, and deaths of individual nuns – not especially holy ones, but ordinary members of the community: hagiography without saints. Most of the dying nuns eventually experience a *felix exitus* (to use Jonas' own terminology) that leads them into eternal salvation; some of them narrowly escape damnation; and three nuns go straight to hell.[19]

The Faremoutiers Chapters and Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogi*

Jonas' stories of Faremoutiers' dying nuns are not only different from the other parts of Jonas' work;[20] their literary form and the themes they address give them a unique position within the body of early medieval hagiography.[21] They are, however, related to another exceptional hagiographical work: Book Four of the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great.[22] Renate Vogeler and Adalbert de Vogüé have shown that Jonas was familiar with Gregory's *Dialogi*. He used Book Four extensively in the Faremoutiers section but also elsewhere in his *Vita*

that Bede inserted in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 6–10, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 354–364. Bede refers several times to the monastery's *disciplina regularis*. Bede's description of the events in Barking shows, however, no allusions to Jonas' Rule except for the use of the phrase *famulorum famularumque* (IV, c. 10, p. 362) which appears in *RcuiV*, c. 22.6.

(18) Paris, BnF, lat. 5573, fol. 56v–69v contains a supposedly Carolingian *Vita Burgundofarae* (BHL 1490), which has never been edited, though it is possible that it formed the basis of Carcat, Augustine, *La vie de Saincte Fare. Fondatrice et première abbesse de Fare-Monstier en Brie*, Paris 1629. See Guerout, Jean, 'Fare (sainte)', in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 16, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1967, cols 505–509.

(19) On the concept of *felix exitus* as an announced death that followed a meticulous preparation, see also Kreiner, Jamie, 'Autopsies and Philosophies of a Merovingian Life: Death, Responsibility, Salvation', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22:1 (2014), pp. 113–152, at pp. 116–128. Kreiner emphasizes that Jonas' work marks a turning point by focusing on death as the decisive moment for someone's eternal fate.

(20) One other section of Jonas' work, however, *VCol* II, c. 25, pp. 289–294, recounts the death of several monks of Bobbio in a similar manner.

(21) The question of whether Bruno Krusch's reconstruction of the second book of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* represents the original setup of the work and whether the Faremoutiers chapters really belonged to the original *Vita Columbani* are a matter of discussion because no manuscript fully represents the arrangement of texts as we find it in Krusch's edition. Krusch places the Faremoutiers chapters between the *Vita of Eusthasius* of Luxeuil and a history of Bobbio under Abbot Bertulf. Rohr, 'Hagiographie als historische Quelle', questions this order of texts; Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', in: John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2001, pp. 189–220 argues more convincingly in favour of Krusch's reconstruction. In *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243, l. 17–18 and II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 12–18 Jonas announces a report on the *uirtutes* of the nuns in Faremoutiers *si uita comes fuerit*, thus if his lifespan allows him to do so. These references indicate that the Faremoutiers episodes indeed belonged to the *Vita Columbani*, although it is possible that they were originally something like a triumphant conclusion of the work rather than an interlude that separates his reports on Luxeuil and Bobbio.

(22) For an introduction to Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogi*, see Lake, Stephen, 'Hagiography and the Cult of Saints', in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 225–246; Moreira, Isabel, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press 2010, pp. 85–94.

Columbani.[23] In order to understand the monastic programme Jonas develops in his Faremoutiers section it is therefore necessary to look at Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogi* first.

Book Four of the *Dialogi* consists of a conversation in which Gregory explains to his disciple Peter the fate of body and soul after death. The text provides a vivid depiction of paradise and hell that deeply impacted Christian imaginations of the afterworld.[24] It begins with a discussion on the nature of faith, followed by questions and answers about the immortality of the soul, bodily resurrection, corporal punishment in hell and the distinction between the immediate judgement of the deceased soul, and the final judgement of the soul reunited with the body. Gregory debates whether purgation is possible before death (yes) and after death (yes, hesitantly, although there is no designated place of purgatory; two penitent souls have to serve in a smelly bathhouse instead),[25] whether the saved and damned souls recognize the others sharing their fate (yes), whether punishment in hell is truly eternal (yes), whether hell is situated beneath the earth (probably), whether dreams might be trusted (not too much),[26] whether burial in churches is beneficial (only for souls who are not doomed), whether it is useful to pray for doomed souls (no), and whether it is effective to pray for the living (yes) or for the dead and the forgiveness of their sins (only if their sins are pardonable). Gregory concludes by emphasizing that salvation can be attained through a combination of the sacrifice made by despising the world and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.[27]

Matthew dal Santo shows masterfully how Gregory's *Dialogi* contribute to fervent theological debates on topics such as the veneration of saints, the fate and the agency of the soul after death, the question of whether there is a post-mortem purgation and whether the soul is submitted to divine judgement immediately after death or only at the day of the Last Judgement, and, consequently, whether the living can do anything for the dead. Dal Santo demonstrates that these discussions were held in both Rome and Constantinople and that the questions and reservations articulated by Gregory's interlocutor Peter were by no means simply rhetorical. They were were genuine expressions of a scepticism that had its place in the theological debates of both the Latin and Greek worlds.[28]

(23) Vogeler, Renate, 'Exkurs: Jonas und die Dialogi Gregors des Grossen', in: Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 43–45; de Vogüé, Adalbert, 'La mort dans les monastères: Jonas de Bobbio et les Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand', in: *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont (1920–1986)*, Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum" 1988, pp. 593–619.

(24) Le Goff, Jacques, *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. by Arthur Goldhammer, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1981, pp. 88–95. An important witness of Gregory's impact is Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, c. 12–13, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 488–502.

(25) Instead of cleansing themselves in a purgatory, two punished but not doomed souls have to serve in a bathhouse. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 41–43, *SC* 265, pp. 146–156; c. 57, pp. 184–194.

(26) On this topic, see Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 93–103.

(27) Among monastic rules, the *Regula cuiusdam patris* is the only one that assigns the Eucharist a similar function: *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 32, ed. Villegas, p. 35. See Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 276–278.

(28) Dal Santo, Matthew, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012, pp. 85–148.

Gregory's and Peter's theological reflections are interrupted by forty-seven *exempla* on the deaths of monks, nuns, priests, and laypeople. These *exempla*, on the one hand, prove and explain Gregory's theological arguments and, on the other, serve as moral exhortations and warning examples. Gregory chooses, thus, a highly effective literary form to convey his ideas both to the learned who might focus on the theology, and the unlearned who might be edified or frightened by the *exempla*. Like the *Wizard of Oz* the *Dialogi* could mean vastly different things to different audiences.

The tone of Gregory's *Dialogi* becomes more and more gloomy the further we delve into the text. Gregory starts with visions of blessed souls ascending (IV, c. 8–13), deaths that accompanied by signs that the deceased have earned eternal salvation (IV, c. 14–24), deathbed visions, prophecies, and instances of foresight of death, one's own or others' (IV, c. 27–28), visions that indicate eternal damnation (IV, c. 31–33), returns from visits to hell (IV, c. 37.3–13), pre-visions of hell (IV, c. 40), examples of post-mortal cleansing punishment for venial sins (IV, c. 42), visions that indicate salvation (IV, c. 49), and stories that prove that it is useless or even harmful for sinners to be buried in a church (IV, c. 53–56). His work ends on a conciliatory note with some examples of effective prayer for the dead (IV, c. 57.3–17) and for the living (IV, c. 58–59). With some hesitation, and supported by miracles rather than arguments, Gregory admits that pious people have some agency with regard to the eternal fate of their dead fellow Christians.

Jonas as well, starts on an almost cheerful note with his description of the *felix exitus* of the nun Sisetrudis. From there Jonas moves with increasingly intense episodes towards the dramatic climax, the story of two fugitive nuns who incur eternal damnation. He ends his sequence of death stories with a number of episodes that show that there is hope for those living – or at least repenting – according to precepts we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The Faremoutiers episodes borrow various motifs from Gregory's stories, such as the punishment of blindness,[29] disease as a form of penance or compensation,[30] the community that is negligently absent at the moment of death,[31] deceased people coming back to life,[32] predicted and announced deaths,[33] rejection of proper funerals and sinners burning in their graves,[34] the fierce battle for a dying soul between the devil and the praying community,[35]

(29) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1–2, pp. 44–46; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 12–23.

(30) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1–2, pp. 44–46; c. 14.3, p. 56; c. 16.3, p. 64; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 13–19; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 22–25; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5–7.

(31) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 13, pp. 52–54; *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 17–276, l. 6.

(32) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 27.11, pp. 92–94; c. 32.2–5, pp. 106–108; c. 37.2–14, pp. 126–134; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17–21; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 9–25.

(33) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.3, p. 46; c. 18.1, p. 70; c. 27.4–8, pp. 88–92; c. 27.11, pp. 92–94; c. 36.1–3, pp. 116–118; c. 49.3–4, pp. 168–170; c. 49.7, p. 172; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 1–3; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 29–33; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 19–20; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1–5.

(34) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 33.3, p. 110; c. 56.1–2, pp. 182–184; *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 16–276, l. 9.

(35) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.2–3, pp. 72–74; c. 40.4–5, pp. 140–142; *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 273, l. 32–274, l. 1.

black men snatching a soul,[36] punishment for secretly breaking fast,[37] the terror of dying as a form of penance,[38] preparation for death with tears and compunction,[39] and the salvific effect of begging for forgiveness.[40]

When comparing Gregory's *Dialogi* with Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters, the first impression is that Jonas simply imitated the literary model of an *exempla*-collection that expounds on the theme of death, and used Gregory's work extensively as a quarry for motifs and narrative elements. Both texts are illustrated by similar dramatic effects, extreme opposites, and drastic sensory experiences.[41] We smell sweet fragrance[42] and foul odours (in the *Dialogi*),[43] hear angelic singing,[44] and frightening noise,[45] we face darkness[46] and are blinded by bright light.[47] The dying protagonists in both works share with those surrounding them terrifying and awesome visions, encounters with Jesus, the Apostles, Prophets, martyrs, angels, beautiful young men, and despicable demons.[48] They express amazement that their companions cannot see or hear what they themselves experience so vividly.[49]

Yet the relationship between the *Dialogi* and the Faremoutiers episodes is much more complicated than that of a simple adaptation. Gregory's and Jonas' borderlands between this life and the afterlife look, as I will demonstrate, similar only at first sight. The Faremoutiers episodes are much more than a variation of a textual model. Jonas interrupts

(36) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.3, pp. 72–74; *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 273, l. 32–274, l. 1.

(37) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 40.10–11, pp. 144–146; *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277–279. It is important to note that the culprit's confession does not have a salvific effect in the *Dialogi* but does so in the *VCol.* See p. 210–213.

(38) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 48, p. 168; *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 12–17; II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 16–23.

(39) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 49.1–4, pp. 168–170; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 5–8; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 20–22.

(40) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 62, pp. 204–206; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, pp. 15–19.

(41) On the use of opposites in the Faremoutiers-stories, see Dérouet, Jean-Louis, 'Les possibilités d'interpretation semiologiques des textes hagiographiques', in: *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 62 (1976), pp. 153–162; on sense perception on early medieval texts, see Penkett, Robert, 'Perceiving the other: sensory phenomena and experience in the early medieval Other World', in: *Reading Medieval Studies* 25 (1999), pp. 91–106.

(42) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.5, p. 62; c. 16.5–6, pp. 64–66; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 28.4–5, pp. 96–98; c. 37.9, p. 130; c. 49.5, p. 170; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 1–5; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 27–268, l. 5; II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 16–18.

(43) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.8–9, p. 130; c. 38.4–5, pp. 136–138; c. 39, p. 138. There are no foul odours mentioned in *VCol.*

(44) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.4, p. 48; c. 15.1, p. 58; c. 15.4, pp. 60–62; c. 16.7, pp. 66–68; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 22, p. 78; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8–14; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4–5; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 20–24; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 25–268, l. 5; II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 24–26.

(45) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.4, pp. 60–62; c. 16.5, pp. 64–66; *VCol* II, c. 15, p. 272, l. 8–13; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 2–6 and l. 24–25.

(46) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 1.2, pp. 18–20; c. 1.3, p. 20; c. 1.5, pp. 20–22; c. 11.2, p. 46; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 32–p. 264, l. 2; II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 2–3.

(47) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 8, p. 42; c. 13.3, p. 54; c. 16.5–6, pp. 64–66; c. 17.1, p. 68; c. 43.2, p. 154; *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 14; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 7–10.

(48) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12.4, pp. 50–52; c. 13.3, p. 54; c. 14.5, p. 58; c. 17.2, p. 68; c. 18.3, pp. 70–72; c. 20.4, p. 76; c. 35, p. 116; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 8–10 and l. 29; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 10–14.

(49) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12.4, pp. 50–52; c. 15.4, pp. 60–62; *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 4–5; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 3–4; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 16–21; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 20–21; II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 5–6; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 31–p. 272, l. 1.

the flow of his narrative about Luxeuil and Bobbio to address the nuns of Faremoutiers and give a textual form to the experience of seeing the first members of their community die. He and his audience may have regarded the deaths of the pioneers in this new type of community as the ultimate test case on whether a female adaptation of Columbanus' monastic ideals works. It does so for most, but not all of Faremoutiers' nuns.

Jonas' decision to speak to his audience in this unusual fashion by describing the experiences of dying nuns makes most sense if we assume that the nuns of Faremoutiers were familiar with Gregory's work as well. The *Dialogi* spread rapidly in the Frankish world and some of the oldest manuscripts were produced in foundations that historians associated with Columbanus and his successors.[50] The work was less than twenty-five years old when Faremoutiers was founded and its nuns probably did not read the *Dialogi* as stories from a distant past, but rather as a description of recent events occurring in the borderland between life and afterlife. As such, Gregory's work may have impacted how the nuns of Faremoutiers perceived the first deaths in their own community and how they envisioned their own post-mortal existence. The work might have made a similar impression on the nuns of Faremoutiers as on the poor monk Wetti two hundred years later who chose to listen to Book Four of the *Dialogi* while on his sickbed. Wetti himself subsequently embarked on a terrifying journey through an afterlife of eternal or temporary punishment. It was certainly not the most comforting sickbed reading for a monk who was already tormented by a guilty conscience.[51]

Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters should, however, not at all be understood as a simple extension of Gregory's *Dialogi,* or as an attempt to stage Gregory's work within the confines of the monastic community. It is rather a critical response to Gregory's eschatology – a response that was purposely written in a language familiar to the nuns of Faremoutiers. Jonas' narrative is much more audacious and complex than Gregory's in its way of addressing the interplay between the pursuit of eternal salvation and monastic discipline. Matthew Dal Santo's analysis of Gregory's *Dialogi* explicates how Rome, in comparison to Constantinople, was by no means a theological backwater but rather a place where

(50) Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 106–112 documents the early dissemination and reception of Gregory's *Dialogi*. He provides a comprehensive list of early manuscripts of the *Dialogi* on pp. 232–235, which includes 18 manuscripts produced before the ninth century, among them a fragment possibly from Luxeuil, s. VII^{ex} (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm s.n.); a manuscript from Bobbio, s. VIII^{1} (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 159 Sup.); and a manuscript possibly from Chelles, s VIII^{2} (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 20 (S221)). He suggests that the *Dialogi* first came to Bobbio and from there spread through monasteries related to Columbanus' foundations (pp. 107–108).

(51) Heito, *Visio Wettini*, c. 4, ed. Hermann Knittel, *Visio Wettini. Einführung, lateinische-deutsche Ausgabe und Erläuterungen*, Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag 2004, pp. 40–42; Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, v. 283–291, p. 82. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Teaching Sodomy in a Carolingian Monastery: A Study of Walahfrid Strabo's and Heito's *Visio Wettini*', in: *German History* 34 (2016), pp. 385–401. Richard Matthew Pollard is currently producing a new critical edition, translation and analysis of the two versions of the *Visio Wettini*. See also Pollard, Richard Matthew, 'Nonantola and Reichenau: A New Manuscript of Heito's *Visio Wettini* and the Foundations for a New Critical Edition', *Revue bénédictine* 120 (2010), pp. 245–294.

scholars reflected fundamental doctrinal questions on an equal level of sophistication. Jonas' work indicates that this applies also to the monastic centres in seventh-century Francia.[52]

Jonas, however, chose a slightly different literary form. Instead of having his theological viewpoints spelled out in a conversation, he merged them with the narrative itself and established various kinds of dialogues: between the living and the dying nuns, between himself and the nuns of Faremoutiers, between himself and Gregory, and between the different episodes which react and respond to each other.

The Faremoutiers episodes show that the nuns can and must take care to remain on the narrow path towards salvation. Jonas also explains *how* narrow a path this is and how easy it is to slip off – even under the best possible circumstances.[53] He is, on the one hand, somewhat more optimistic than Gregory with regard to the active role of individual and community in their pursuit of salvation.[54] It is telling that only Jonas (but not Gregory) speaks of death as *felix exitus* (happy end). On the other hand, the terror of damnation is much more present for the nuns of Faremoutiers than for Gregory's monks, nuns, priests, and laypeople, who are essentially on the safe side if they decide to do the right thing. For Jonas' nuns, a *felix exitus* is a happy and sometimes narrow escape out of a structurally perilous situation.

One of the most important differences between Gregory's and Jonas' viewpoints on the afterlife concerns the question of agency after death. In his *Dialogi* Gregory cautiously admits to something like an afterlife-purgation of less egregious sins. He acknowledges that prayer has an effect on the souls of the dead who suffer temporal punishments.[55] Jonas does not agree on this matter. For him, prayer is effective and intercession is a possibility so long as the nuns are still living (or, in exceptional instances, return to life). Post-mortem rites for the dead, however, are a mere matter of duty and respect without impacting the fate of the deceased.[56] Since prayers for the salvation of the soul became such a self-evident part of monastic practice,[57] I would have expected them to appear in Jonas' Faremoutiers section as well – where the place of death within the community is its overarching theme – but they are simply not there. The same applies to the rest of the *Vita Columbani*.

Even though Jonas describes in detail the last moments of no fewer than fifteen nuns (spread over eleven chapters), he mentions what was done after their death only at four occasions, and there is no hint of any post-mortem intercession.[58] Thirty days after the

(52) Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult*, pp. 146–148.

(53) Cf. for example *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 266, l. 22–27.

(54) Brown, Peter, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell 2003, pp. 251–252.

(55) Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, pp. 86–93 analyzes how Gregory engages with viewpoints on purgation and prayer for the dead as we find then in the works of Augustine, Pomerius, and Caesarius. Gregory somewhat hesitantly admits that there is something like post-mortem purgation and that prayer and Masses for the sinful but not doomed souls have an effect. See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 41–43, *SC* 265, pp. 146–156 (on cleansing after death) and c. 57, pp. 184–194 (on the effect of prayer and Masses).

(56) On burial as duty, see Rebillard, Éric, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2009, pp. 89–122.

(57) Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 262–265.

(58) This disinterest in the dead applies to the entire *Vita Columbani*. Even Columbanus' death deserves not more than a short sentence: *VCol* I, c. 30, pp. 223–224.

death of the nun Gibitrudis, the community duly celebrated Mass "according to the customs of the church" (*more ecclesiastico*) and at that occasion the church was miraculously filled with scents of oils and spices. The miracle at Mass proclaims Gibitrudis' salvation, but the Mass itself had no effect on it.[59] The funerary rites (*exequiarum officia*) of another nun, Willesuinda, were accompanied by the singing of an angelic choir that had appeared earlier at her death as she was already on her way to heaven.[60] The two fugitive nuns who died unreconciled were denied a grave in the community's cemetery and buried outside the monastery. The fact that these nuns did not receive a worthy burial did not *cause* their damnation but duly anticipated their punishment.[61] A last reference to activities after death appears in the chapter on the nun Landeberga. Here Jonas tells how the attending nuns fell asleep instead of praying at her deathbed. An angelic choir took over the task and supported her soul's ascent to heaven. Only after Landeberga's death did a nun, who had witnessed the event, manage to awaken her sisters and prompt them to sing for the corpse (*corpus* – not the soul!) of their deceased sister.[62] Again, it is a matter of duty, and the salvation of her soul did not depend on it.

It is possible that Jonas expresses at this point dissent not only with Gregory the Great, but with a general current towards believing in the salutary effect of prayer for the dead.[63] Donatus, for example, in his *regula,* explicitly asks the nuns of his monastery to pray for him while he is alive but also for the forgiveness of his sins after death.[64] For Jonas, as we saw, everything must happen *before* death: lifelong preparation, ceaseless confession, penance, and purgation of sins, adherence to the *regula*, and the active support of the community performing intercessory prayer. The central point Jonas develops in his Faremoutiers chapters is that monastic discipline is effective, and that (along with God's mercy) it is the only effective remedy.

Despite the fact that the Faremoutiers chapters are meticulously designed narratives full of supernatural occurrences and multiple layers of meaning, they may have borne a

(59) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 1–8.

(60) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 270. One of the few normative sources on funerary rites in the monastery is *CaesRV*, c. 70, *SC* 345, pp. 266–268.

(61) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 16–18.

(62) *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 276, l. 4–8: *Cumque iam in altum nubs eleuata fuisset, et eius aures canentium uoces non audirent, tum demum aegra sodales excitare ualuit ac, ut corpus debitos cantus persoluerent, monuit…* Transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 222–223: "When the cloud had been raised up on high and her ears no longer heard the singing voices, then at last the sick woman succeeded in waking her companions, and told them to offer the songs owed to the corpse". Some manuscripts offer *corpori* or *ad corpus* instead of *corpus*, which would allow for the translation "owed to the corpse".

(63) For early medieval sources on *intercessio*, see Blennemann, Gordon, 'Ascetic Prayer for the Dead in the Early Medieval West', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 278–296; Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 178–191. See also Constable, Giles, 'The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages' in: Julia M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 169–195.

(64) *Regula Donati*, prologue.33–34, *CSEL* 98, p. 141: *…et, postquam Domino iubente migrauero, sacras pro me hostias offerri Domino faciatis,* [34] *quatenus cum uobis in choro sanctarum ac sapientium uirginum uirginitatis palma beatitudoque tribuetur, saltim mihi cunctis onerato peccatis delictorum uenia tribuatur.*

closer resemblance to "reality" than much of the rest of the *Vita Columbani*.[65] It is hard to imagine that the nuns of Faremoutiers did not recognize themselves in the deep emotions, the *metus simul ac gaudia*, that Jonas put into words.[66] Almost all of the dying nuns have names, and Jonas' immediate audience must have known how they died and may even have been present at the dramatic scenes Jonas describes. Jonas and his nuns were part of the same "emotional community" and probably expressed their joy, anxiety, panic, and triumph in a shared language.[67]

Jonas' stories may echo Gregory's dramas of heaven and hell but his vocabulary is that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* rather than Gregory's. Both the *Vita* and the *Regula* are "high-energy" texts, express the same sense of urgency and anxiety, and provide no middle ground between salvation and damnation. Whatever the nuns of Faremoutiers do, desire, feel, or think places them at a crossroads between paradise and hell. Those who are saved expect *aeterna gaudia* (eternal joy), the *regna caelorum* (kingdoms of heavens), the *spes gaudiorum et exultatio uitae aeternae* (hope of joy and the praise of eternal life), the *lucrum uitae aeternae* (reward of eternal life), the *caelestia regna* (heavenly kingdoms), the *lumen caelestis claritatis* (light of the heavenly splendour), the *lucra capienda* (rewards to be seized), *donum permissi muneris* (the gift of the granted favour), the *caelestia praemia* (heavenly prize), and the *paradisus*. On the other hand, those who are doomed incur the *damnum uitae aeternae* (loss of eternal life) and face the *aspectus terribilis daemonum* (terrible sight of demons), the *sententia damnatorum* (sentence of the doomed), and the *terror damnatorum* (terror of the doomed).[68]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* sets the same tone. Here, the nuns may expect the *praemium* (reward), *lucrum mercedis* (the reward of the revenue), the *aeterna praemia* (eternal prizes), the *lucrum animae* (reward for the soul), the *beatae uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium* (reward of a blessed life and the everlasting favour of the eternal gift), and they will see the *lumen lumine* (light through the light). But even the slightest transgression can destroy

(65) On the historical accuracy of the *Vita Columbani*: Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, pp. 345–347; Wood, Ian N., 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in: Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's fall: narrators and sources of early medieval history: essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99–118; Stancliffe, 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus'; Dunn, 'Columbanus, Charisma', pp. 1–27.

(66) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 10–11.

(67) On emotional communities, see Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 20–29. Rosenwein (pp. 130–162) describes the group of aristocratic supporters of Columbanus at the Neustrian court as an emotional community but she does, in this study, not focus on monastic communities as emotional communities. The *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies* is currently preparing a special issue on monasteries as emotional communities.

(68) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 15; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 12; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 16: *aeterna gaudia*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 3: *regna caelorum*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 23–24: *spes gaudiorum et exultatio uitae aeternae*; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 13; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 18; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 14: *lucra uitae aeternae*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 7: *caelestia regna*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 14: *lumen caelestis claritatis*; II, c. 16, p. 266, l. 26: *lucra capienda*; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5–6: *donum permissi muneris*; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 16: *caelestia praemia*; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 6: *paradisus*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 27–28; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21–22: *damnum uitae aeternae*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 9–10: *damnum incurrere*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 27: *terror*; II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 13: *aspectus terribiles daemonum*; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 28: *sententia damnatorum*; II, c. 19, p. 275, l. 5: *terror damnatorum*.

everything. The Rule describes their fate with expressions such as *damnum incurrere* (incur loss), the *fructus damnationis* (fruit of damnation), the *damnatio animae* (damnation of the soul), *iudicium damnationis incurrere* (incurring the judgement of damnation), *damna inbecillitatis capere* (seizing loss through weakness), the *damnatio animae* (damnation of the soul), and the *facies diaboli* (grimace of the devil).[69] None of these expressions appear in the *Dialogi*; they appear rarely in the rest of Gregory's work.

A more detailed analysis of each of the *exempla* and *exhortationes* in Jonas' Faremoutiers chapters will show the crucial points at which Jonas deviates from the theological programme laid out in Book Four of the *Dialogi*. Next to Jonas' dismissal of post-mortem agency, Gregory's *Dialogi* and Jonas' works both mark something of a watershed in the view of human agency and the role of monastic discipline in the pursuit of salvation.[70]

The Design and Structure of the *Faremoutiers* Chapters

Jonas' Faremoutiers section may be a close representation of events in Faremoutiers and the (inner) life of a group of monastic pioneers, but it is also a highly sophisticated theological treatise. Unlike Gregory's *Dialogi*, the stories of Faremoutiers are arranged in the form of a *tema con variazioni*. Jonas plays with modes of recurrence, juxtaposition, allusion, and cross-references, both within this particular section of the *Vita Columbani* and in his work as a whole. At first glance his Faremoutiers chapters seem to be repetitive, just describing one death after another. However, a closer analysis shows that, in fact, Jonas hardly ever says the same thing twice. His chapters are in dialogue with each other; they pick up the topics of previous chapters and take them in new directions. They form a chain – and we will find similar chain structures in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[71] It is tempting to see a connection between Jonas' chain structures and his concept of enclosure as discussed in Chapter 4.

One purpose of Jonas' structure of *tema con variazioni* is to be comprehensive and cover as many different scenarios as possible. Jonas works himself, as it were, through a number of different lists of matters to be addressed. For example, the nuns whose death Jonas recounts represent the specific social composition of Burgundofara's community of monastic

(69) Reward: *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *praemium*; c. 3.6: *lucrum mercedis*; c. 5.11 and *De accedendo* 23: *aeterna praemia*; c. 9.19: *lucrum animae*; c. 13.5: *merces recipere*; *De accedendo* 7: *beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium*; *De accedendo* 17: *lumen lumine*. Punishment: c. 4.15: *damnum incurrere*; c. 9.14: *fructum damnationis*; c. 9.19: *damnum animae*; c. 13.5: *iudicium damnationis incurrere*; c. 14.4: *damna inbecillitatis capere*; c. 16.9: *damnatio animae*; c. 16.10: *facies diaboli*.

(70) On Gregory's eschatology and his notion of sin, see Baun, Jane, 'Gregory's Eschatology', in: Matthew Dal Santo and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013, pp. 157–176; Straw, Carol, 'Gregory's Moral Theology: Divine Providence and Human Responsibility', *ibid.*, pp. 177–204, esp. pp. 187–190.

(71) I owe this observation to Julian Hendrix who read and commented on a draft of this chapter. On other chain structures and on the understanding of the community as *ambitus uirtutum* (protective circle of virtues), see pp. 392–393 and p. 547.

pioneers.[72] Sisetrudis, the *cellararia*, may have come from another monastery; Gibitrudis is an aristocrat and, as a relative of the abbess, may have belonged to the inner circle of the monastic founders. She had already lived a private religious life and entered the monastery despite the objections of her parents; Ercantrudis entered the monastery as a child and grew up within the monastic confines, unstained by any knowledge of the world outside; Deurechilda entered the monastery as an adolescent, with her mother; Willesuinda is a foreigner; Bithildis is young and inexperienced, and the unnamed nun in the last chapter is *nobilis genere*.[73] By emphasizing the different statuses and backgrounds of these nuns, Jonas makes it clear that his message is addressed to everyone in the monastery – no exceptions, whether aristocratic or not, experienced or novice, part of a network of kinship, or originating from a foreign country. Only one group is conspicuously absent: none of the nuns died of old age, which indicates that Faremoutiers was a fairly young community and that many of the founding members were still alive when Jonas was writing. Most of the nuns whose deaths Jonas recounts died prematurely, which contributes to the dramatic potential of their passing.

Jonas' comprehensive intent expresses itself not only in the representation of as many different social backgrounds as possible. The true main protagonist in the Faremoutiers chapters, God himself, appears with no fewer than twelve different names and signifiers, all of which have their own theological implications: *clemens iudex* (mild judge), *conditor* (creator), *arbiter clemens* (mild judge), *iudex aeternus* (eternal judge), *rerum sator* (creator of things), *creator omnium* (creator of everything), *rerum reppertor* (inventor of things), *aeternum* [*sic*] *rerum sator* (creator of eternal things), *creator et saluator meus* (my creator and saviour), *largitor benignus* (benevolent benefactor), *iustus iudex* (just judge), *bonitatis ac munerum institutor* (creator of goodness and of gifts).[74] Only one of these divine epithets recurs regularly: *iustus arbiter*, the impartial judge who condemns those worthy of condemnation and saves only those worthy of salvation.[75] With his use of multiple divine names, Jonas may have been emulating Gregory the Great who also used various signifiers for God,[76] although Gregory

(72) We can make a similar observation in another hagiographic collection, Gregory of Tours' *Liber uitae patrum*. The protagonists of this collection of hagiographic stories represent a cross-section of society ranging from a fugitive slave to senatorial nobility. Jonas knew Gregory's work and he may have been inspired by it when designing the Faremoutiers section. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Gregory's Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul', in: Philippe Depreux, François Bougard, and Régine Le Jan (eds.), *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 165–191, at pp. 178–182.

(73) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 19–21 on Sisetrudis; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 1–26 on Gibitrudis; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 1–12 on Ercantrudis; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 3–5 on Deurechilda; II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 15–16 on Willesuinda; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 12–14 on Bithildis; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 2 on an unnamed nun.

(74) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: *clemens iudex*; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 30: *conditor*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 17: *arbiter clemens*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 13: *iudex aeternus*; II, c. 12, p. 262, l. 5–6: *rerum sator*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 20: *creator omnium*; II, c. 15, p. 264, l. 27: *rerum reppertor*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 13: *aeternum rerum sator*; II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 5: *creator et saluator meus*; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 5: *largitor benignus*; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 27: *iustus iudex*; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 11–12: *bonitatis ac munerum institutor*.

(75) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 14; II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 16–17; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 11; II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 16.

(76) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 1.4, *SC* 265, p. 20: *inuisibilium et uisibilium creator*; c. 5.4, p. 34: *incircumscriptum atque inuisibilem Deum*; c. 17.1, p. 68: *auctor ac retributor uitae*; c. 19.3, p. 74: *maiestas*.

assigns to God the role of *iudex* only in one single chapter of Book Four of the *Dialogues*.[77] It seems indeed that Gregory's God had little to judge. His cases were much more clear cut than those presented in Jonas' work.

Each dying nun in Jonas' work provides a distinct glimpse over the border separating the present life from the afterlife. Altogether, these glimpses constitute a sort of cartography of the borderland and its population. The nuns see places of eternal bliss; they meet hordes of Ethiopian demons and visit the site of rigorous judgement and assessment in which they must not only give account of their deeds, but also of their innermost motivations. "Don't you see?!" many of them exclaim,[78] and the fellow nuns eagerly want to see and to know what's happening on the other side. Who made it to paradise?[79] Who is doomed?[80] How do we prepare? Gregory asked similar questions, but his answers were different.

Finally, the *tema con variazioni* of Faremoutiers provides an opportunity to address a number of recurring topics, most of which also play a central role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – and with these topics in particular, we see how Jonas parts way with Gregory. First, there is the role the community plays in the course of events. Their *solamen* (comfort), *sospitas* (safety), *consolatio* (consolation), *supplementum* (reinforcement), and, above all, *intercessio* for the dying (but not for the dead!) is crucial in experiencing a *felix exitus* and attaining salvation. In Gregory's *Dialogi*, the community may be present, but its presence does not determine or change a monk's or nun's eternal fate. Gregory does not talk about *sospitas*, *solamen*, *supplementum*, *suffragium*, or *intercessio* offered by a monastic community, and he mentions *consolatio* only once: he himself denied a dying monk his *consolatio* so that his miserable death might purge him of his sin of greed.[81]

The second recurring theme is that of the absolute necessity of revealing one's innermost thoughts and motivations. They are eventually more determinant of one's fate than deeds and misdeeds.[82] We find no reference to *confessio* in Gregory's work. Some of his protagonists reveal their sins, but this does not determine their fate. Gregory seems to have little interest in the inner disposition of his protagonists, aside from mildly condemning lustful thoughts.[83] Jonas, on the opposite, is *especially* concerned about his nuns' inner disposition.

(77) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 46.3, p. 162; c. 46.8; c. 46.9, pp. 162–166 use *disctrictus iudex*, *iustus iudex*, and *iustissimus iudex*.

(78) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 4–5: *"Non", inquid, "cernis uiros stoa indutos adstare…?"*; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 3–4: "*Non uidetis", inquit, "quantus splendor aduenia*t…*?"*; II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 16–21: *Quod cum hae qui aderant haracteri, quid rei gestae ueritas haberet, uel quae intendentis ad caelum oculi aspicerent, nec omnino palpebris mouentibus, quid oculi contemplarentur, cognoscerent, ait se sursum uocari ab praesentis uitae nexibus absolui*; II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 5–6: *"Non cernitis sorores uestras, quae de uestro collegio ad caelos migrauerunt?"*; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 31–p. 274, l. 1: *"Non aspicitis turba Aethiopum aduentantium, quae nos rapere et abducere uolunt?"*

(79) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 258, l. 12–13; *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 270, l. 6–11. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 34.5, *SC* 265, p. 116.

(80) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 21–25.

(81) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 57.11, p. 190.

(82) See pp. 406–431.

(83) Gregory reports a vision of paradise in which those who were zealous in good deeds but harbouring lustful thoughts dwell close to the odiferous river separating paradise from hell. See *Dialogi* IV, c. 38.4–5, *SC* 265, pp. 136–138.

A third theme is the necessity to be aware of one' imperfection and full dependence upon the *clementia* and *misericordia* of the *iustus iudex*.[84] None of the nuns would make it without the *sospitas* provided by the community and the divine *clementia* and *misericordia*. In Gregory's *Dialogi*, God is not *clemens* and his *misericordia* stretches so far as to chastise a monk through disease[85] and allow another to return to life and mend his ways.[86] It seems, however, that Gregory believed that an individual who lives a well-restrained life, avoids greed and lust, and engages in almsgiving, is not really in need of God's mercy to achieve eternal salvation.[87] The nuns in Faremoutiers are in a much more difficult position. For Jonas, it is a combination of all three factors: the constant care of the inner state of the individual nun, the cooperation of the community's prayers, and the divine *misericordia* that makes a *felix exitus* possible. Once we read *De accedendo ad Deum* we will understand how this synergy of communal prayer and divine clemency actually works.[88]

Numerous aspects of Jonas' Rule, ranging from the teaching and oversight of the abbess, to the imperative of love and confession, the regularization of interaction, and the application of penance and punishment, become essential tools for achieving the one and only purpose of monastic life: the attainment of salvation and escape from damnation both individually and collectively. Every single chapter of the Faremoutiers section not only speaks in the language of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but operates with the same categories and elaborates on at least one (and often several) very specific prescriptions of the Rule.

There is one last observation on Jonas' compositional technique that complicates an analysis of the Faremoutiers section. Jonas shows unique eagerness to explain and justify his monastic programme and to show that it can applied in any given context. This means that we as reader need to piece it together from each episode like parts of a jigsaw puzzle. The result of such an exercise is a series of highly sophisticated thematic reflections which can be read as a "meta-rule": the ultimate expression of Jonas' understanding of the *Regula Columbani*. We find, for example, spread throughout (and hidden in) several episodes, a detailed exposition on the practice and purpose of confession. We discover a reflection on the practice and purpose of intercession that explains in detail which forms of intercession work. Jonas analyzes the various layers of sin encoded in inner disposition and outward action. He shows that monastic space and boundaries create something much more complicated than a simple "enclosure". We can read the various episodes of the Faremoutiers section as a handbook on emotions and their control.[89] We can compile all references to

(84) Cf. for example *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 5–8; II, c. 14, p. 266, l. 16–19.
(85) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 11.1–2, p. 46.
(86) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 37.2, p. 126.
(87) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 8.1, p. 42; c. 14.3, p. 56; c. 15.3, p. 60; c. 37.13, p. 132; c. 37.16, p. 134, c. 38.1, p. 136.
(88) See pp. 573–585.
(89) Investigating Jonas' concept of emotions would be a book project in itself. An excellent starting point is Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 134–162. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules', in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/

the practice of prayer mentioned throughout the *uita* to reconstruct a range of regular and situative, ordinary and extraordinary liturgical activities.[90] Jonas does, as we will see in Chapter 6, something similar in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in which every chapter addresses a specific topic but ties it to various recurring themes – largely the same as in the "meta-rule" hidden in the Faremoutiers miracles.

There are two possible approaches to the Faremoutiers chapters. Either we take the narratives apart and reassemble Jonas' "Rule of Faremoutiers" by arranging all the fragments thematically, or we keep the narratives intact, isolate each element, connect it to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and occasionally "harvest" and synthesize the evidence. I have chosen the second option, though this may lead to a number of cross-references, some repetitions, and instances in which the same text is discussed more than once in different contexts. The stories themselves are simply too good to be torn apart. Jonas' careful arrangement and the interplay between them would get lost if we don't treat them as the stories they are.

Sisetrvdis[91]

Sisetrudis, the protagonist of the first chapter in the Faremoutiers section, has received foreknowledge that she will die within forty days. She alters her ways and makes herself ready in all regards – *in omnibus parata* – by zealously pursuing *religio* through fasting, prayer, tears, and vigils. Thirty-seven days later her soul leaves her body and is taken up to heaven by two young men and tested by "various examinations" (*multis discussionibus*). She meets the blessed souls and faces the "tribunal of the mild judge" (*tribunal clementis iudicis*).[92] Yet her hopes for "eternal joys" (*aeterna gaudia*) are not immediately fulfilled. Her soul returns to her body as her forty days are not yet complete, and she must be even more prepared after three more days (*ut se uberius paratam post triduum habeat*).

Böhlau, pp. 17–39. Emotional terms used in the Faremoutiers section include (in the order of their appearance): *lacrimae*, *laetus*, *exultatio*, *gaudium*, *gaudere*, *ouare*, *metus*, *ardor*, *aegre ferre*, *angere*, *timor*, *anxius*, *lamenta*, *laetificare*, *flere*, *anxietas*, *uerecundia*, *amor*. I am sure I overlooked some.

(90) A synthesis of all references to ritual and liturgical activities would make sense only if we apply it to the entire *Vita Columbani*, which I hope to do on another occasion. Just to give a hint of the richness of liturgical references: we find mixed choruses of nuns and angels (*VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258); prayers for the dying (II, c. 11, p. 259); rituals of farewell (II, c. 12, p. 261; II, c. 15, p. 266; II, c. 18, p. 271); intercessory prayer for one's family (II, c. 12, p. 260); prayer to extend someone's life (II, c. 12, p. 261); Masses (II, c. 12, p. 262); feasts of saints (II, c. 13, p. 263); prayer for the forgiveness of sins (II, c. 13, p. 263); prayer of Ps. 135/136, 1–2 (II, c. 13, p. 264); Ps. 50/51, 9–10 (II, c. 14, p. 264); praying the Lord's Prayer and the Creed (II, c. 15, p. 265); celebrating Mass and taking the Eucharist (II, c. 16, p. 267); the *officium psallendi* for the dying (II, c. 16, p. 267); spontaneous, improvised prayer (II, c. 16, p. 267); prayers after death (II, c. 17, p. 270); moments of absolute silence (II, c. 18, p. 271); arming oneself with the sign of the cross and the Office of the Psalms (II, c. 19, p. 274); Easter and Christmas (II, c. 19, p. 274); Exod. 15, 1 (II, c. 20, p. 275); prayers after death (II, c. 20, p. 276); readings of the Bible (II, c. 21, p. 276); Matins and Lauds (II, c. 21, p. 276). It is striking that Jonas rarely mentions the same liturgical activity twice.

(91) *VCol* II, c. 11, pp. 257–259; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 204–206.

(92) We find the *iudex clemens* in *RcuiV*, c. 6.15 and *De accedendo* 25 but also in *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10–11. The expression very rarely appears elsewhere.

The term *paratus/a* holds a prominent place both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *De accedendo ad Deum*. According to chapter 14 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* a truly devoted nun needs to be *parata* at any moment, day and night; *De accedendo ad Deum* emphasizes that everyone must be prepared in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy and that their mind must be prepared (*parata*) for prayer and unshackled by any obstacle of worldly desire.[93]

Aside from intensifying her preparation, Sisetrudis needs to do two more things after her return: giving an account of her experience and asking for the prayer and consolation of the community:

> Reuersa itaque in corpore, matrem uocat omnemque famularum Dei cateruam precatur, ut suis orationibus ei solamen ferant.
>
> [Restored to her body, Sisetrudis calls the abbess and implores the whole company of female servants of God to offer to her consolation with their prayers.][94]

The chapter on confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 6) links in similar words the expectation to stand before the *clemens iudex* hopeful of receiving forgiveness for sins to the prayer of the community.[95]

Jonas concludes the chapter on Sisetrudis with the following words:

> Hanc primam huius coenubii exhortationem Dominus famulabus suis uoluit demonstrare, ut ceterae, quae superstites essent, omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent.
>
> [This was the first encouragement (*exhortatio*) of this monastery which the Lord wished to show to His female servants, so that the others, who were still alive, might aspire to the practice of piety (*cultus religionis*) with all their might.][96]

De accedendo describes in similar words how to approach God through work and prayer: "We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search and how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion (*ad cultum religionis*) through both works and prayer".[97]

Sisetrudis' death forms what we could call the "best-case scenario". With a slight delay that gives her fellow nuns an opportunity to profit from her experience and to play a role in her salvation, everything happens exactly as it should. Hardly any of the subsequent episodes meet the standard Sisetrudis set. Some complication, rupture, or challenge will occur in nearly every one of them.[98]

(93) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 14.1: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant*; *De accedendo* 14: *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus*; 22: *Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio.*

(94) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 205 (adjusted).

(95) *RcuiV*, c. 6.15: *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur!*

(96) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 205–206 (slightly adjusted).

(97) *De accedendo* 1: *Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur.*

(98) Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 198–199. Only Augnofledis' death is described as free of complications: *VCol* II, c. 14, p. 264. See pp. 214–215.

Jonas links most chapters of the Faremoutiers section with specific "cliff hangers" that establish connections to the previous and following chapters. In this case it is the expression *disciplina regularis*. The *disciplina regularis* (which Jonas identifies with the *Regula Columbani*) forms the basis for Sisetrudis' and the other nuns' pursuit of salvation.[99] The same idea that *disciplina regularis* forms the ideal preparation appears in the very last chapter of the Faremoutiers section.[100] By connecting the beginning and the end Jonas gives the Faremoutiers episodes a circular character. Jonas connects the Sisetrudis episode with the next chapter (on Gibitrudis) with the expression *cultus religionis*, and by calling both chapters an *exhortatio* (admonition).[101] They are, moreover, tied together by the shared experience of dying and coming back to life, and then dying again with the support of the community. Gibitrudis' return to life has, however, much more serious reasons. She did not just appear early for her appointment.

Gibitrvdis [102]

Gibitrudis is "noble by birth and piety" (*genere et religione nobilis*).[103] She is a close relative of Burgundofara (*consanguinitate proxima*).[104] Before entering Faremoutiers, she owned her own small oratory – and it is not clear whether she lived in a domestic community of sacred virgins or simply had a place of private worship in her parents' home.[105] She causes a punishing miracle upon the nurse who dared to prevent her from entering her oratory.[106] Then she performs two acts of *intercessio* through prayer – and in both cases it is an *intercessio* for the living.[107] First she restores the health of her father, who subsequently

(99) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 20.

(100) *VCol* II, c. 22, p. 279, l. 12.

(101) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–7; II c. 12, l. 28. Other expressions that connect both chapters are references to the *iter* (path) to heaven and the characterization of God as *clemens* (merciful): *iudex clemens*; *arbiter clemens*; *clementia conditoris*.

(102) *VCol* II, c. 12, pp. 259–262; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 206–208, quoted here with some slight modifications.

(103) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 1.1: *tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis*.

(104) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 23.1: *Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio*. See also *VCol* II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 18: *qui consanguinitatis proximus erat*.

(105) On domestic monasticism, see Magnani, Eliana, 'Female House Ascetics, from the Fourth to the Twelfth Century', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 213–231; Cooper, Kate, 'Approaching the Holy Household', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 131–142; Hartmann, Martina, 'Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1–19, at pp. 12–13. The *Vita Segolenae*, c. 7.9, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 632D describes in a similar way how Segolena escaped a domestic religious life by convincing her parents that she may enter a monastery.

(106) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 10 describes this act of obstruction as "the cunning of the crafty enemy began to cast darts at her" (*coepit contra eam callidi hostis uersutia tela iacere*). *RcuiV*, c. 8.7–8 warns nuns who arrive late for prayer not to stay outside the oratory because of the snares of the devil.

(107) Another example for *intercessio* for the living can be found in *Vita Segolenae*, c. 27/28.29, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 635E.

allows her to enter the monastery of Faremoutiers, then she saves the life of her sick abbess Burgundofara.[108]

Gibitrudis' prayer for her abbess has a rather selfish reason: she wants to be sure of her own salvation and that of her companions before Burgundofara "would be freed from the ties of this present life" (*praesentis uitae nexibus…dissolui*). This resonates with the provisions on the abbess that Jonas makes in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The abbess must, according to his Rule, care for the protection and salvation of those under her and may expect the reward for her efforts at the end of her life.[109] Gibitrudis does not want to concede this reward to her abbess at a moment disadvantageous for her own pursuit of salvation.

In the second part of the story, Gibitrudis dies and appears before the eternal judge (*iudex aeternus* – he is not the *clemens iudex* of the previous chapter any more). Like her fellow nun Sisetrudis she must return to present life, this time not merely for a formality but for a serious fault she had committed when she was still alive. Her eternal salvation is in jeopardy because she held a grudge against three nuns and did not give them an opportunity to beg for forgiveness. She confesses her guilt of having held back evil thoughts. Six months later she dies. Jonas himself witnesses that at a commemorative Mass three months after her death the church was filled with the scent of oil and spices confirming her salvation.

Jonas develops in this chapter two themes that are central to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the imperative of mutual love and forgiveness (c. 5) and the absolute necessity of revealing one's innermost thoughts in confession (c. 6–7). Almost all of the expressions Jonas uses in his description of Gibitrudis' verdict (including both biblical quotations) can be found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

> "Reuertere, quia adplene **saeculum** non **reliquisti**. Scriptum est enim: ***Date et dabitur uobis*** (Luc. 6, 38), et alibi in oratione: ***Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris***. (Matth. 6, 12) Non enim **dimisisti sodalibus** totum, quia tibi **inlatas** molestias **retinuisti**. Meminiscere, **te aduersum** tres conpares laesos portasse animos nec omnino indulgentiae medicamine **uulnus** ex totum **inlatum sanasse**. **Corrige** ergo **mores**, compone animos, quos **tepore** uel **neglegentia maculasti**". Mirum dictu! Rediens ac **uitae pristinae reddita**, tristibus lamentis **inlatam** depromsit sententiam **reatumque** suum **confitetur sodalesque** uocat, **aduersum** quas **motus animos** deportarat, **ueniamque** deposcit, ne de tacita dolositate **damna incurrat uitae aeternae**.[110]

(108) Paxton, Frederick S., *Christianizing Death. The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1990, p. 57 discusses the prayers for the sick listed in the *Missale Gothicum*, no. 240–241, *CCSL* 159D, p. 443.

(109) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* $_{19}$*ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum*. This is the only reference to death in the *RcuiV*.

(110) *Saeculum* (*RcuiV*, c. 4.4; c. 5.9); *date et dabitur uobis* (c. 5.19); *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* (c. 5.24); *sodales* (c. 3.6; c. 3.13 as *consodales*); *retinere* (c. 5.21); *te aduersum* (c. 6.6); *medicamine* (c. 6.12; c. 6.18; c. 7.3 as *medicina*); *uulnus* (c. 6.18; c. 7.2–3; c. 14.8; c. 20.5); *inferre* (c. 1.3; c. 23.9); *sanare* (c. 1.1; c. 6.18); *corrigere* (c. 1.9; c. 10.18; c. 16.3–4; c. 20.1–3; c. 20.13; c. 23.9); *mos* (c. 1.6; c. 1.14; c. 2.1; c. 2.3–4; c. 2.6; c. 3.7; c. 4.6; c. 21.1); *tepor* (c. 16.10); *negligentia* (c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 4.16; c. 12.29; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.1; c. 16.4); *maculare* (c. 20.12; c. 24.3); *reatus* (c. 16.10). See especially *RcuiV*, c. 4.15: *ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat*; c. 13.5: *et non iudicium damnationis incurrant*.

> ["Go back, for you have not completely left the world behind. For it is written: *Give, and it shall be given unto you* (Luc. 6, 38), and elsewhere in the prayer: *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.* (Matth. 6, 12) Indeed, you have not forgiven your companions altogether, because you have remembered the injuries that were inflicted on you. Remember that you have held against three of your companions a spirit of resentment and that you did not at all heal the whole of the wound that was inflicted with the remedy of forgiveness. Therefore, correct your behaviour, soothe feelings which you have defiled through laziness and negligence". Wonderful to say, returning, and having been restored to her former life, she recounted with sad cries the sentence that had been passed, confesses her crime, calls the companions against whom she had borne hostile feelings, and asks their pardon lest, due to this silent deceit, she might incur the loss of eternal life.][111]

Jonas concludes this chapter with a reminder of the incompatibility of simultaneously loving God and the world.[112]

> Merito etenim rerum sator hic sibi dicatas animas suis muneribus facit effulgere, qui ob suum amorem nullatenus uoluerunt saeculum diligere uel amare.
>
> [And rightly this Creator of Things makes the souls that have been consecrated to Him – those who wished, on account of their love, in no way to value and love the world – to shine with his gifts.][113]

This final assertion is puzzling because this specific chapter (unlike some of the following) does not address what we would understand as "loving the world" (*saeculum diligere et amare*), i.e. striving for worldly luxuries and pleasure. Jonas may have had something different in mind when speaking here about *saeculum*. Gibitrudis is reproached and sent back because by holding a grudge against her fellow nuns, she has not entirely relinquished the world (*saeculum non reliquisti*). Perhaps *saeculum amare* means to cling to worldly emotions incompatible with the monastic ideal, such as anger or resentment and to have not reached a state of mutual forgiveness.

Jonas deploys the main themes in this chapter, intercession (in the first part) and mutual love and confession (in the second part), with a set of expressions that all express (good) emotions, zeal, and urgency: *ardor*, *intentio*, *flagrare*, *desiderare*, *aspirare*, *poscere*, *postulare*, *metus*, and *timor*. All of these expressions can be found throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo*.[114] Zeal and motivation is a central theme both in the *Vita* and in the *Regula*.

(111) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 207–208 (adjusted).

(112) The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expresses the same idea, although in different words: *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?*

(113) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 262; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 208 (adjusted).

(114) *Ardoris igne efferbuerat*: cf. *RcuiV*, c. 14.14; *De accedendo* 6; 16; *flagrare*: *De accedendo* 24; *desiderare*: *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; c. 3.3; *intentio*: *RcuiV*, c. 12.12; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 26; *metus*: *RcuiV*, c. 8.5; c. 8.8; c. 20.7; c. 24.9; *timor*: *RcuiV*, c. 4.14–15; c. 12.15; c. 13.4; c. 21.1; c. 24.5; c. 24.9; *De accedendo* 19; *aspirare*; *poscere*: *RcuiV*, c. 4.11; c. 9.7; c. 9.8; c. 10.3; c. 14.12; c. 15.7; c. 16.8; c. 18.4; *De accedendo* 8; *postulare*: *RcuiV*, c. 22.11.

Several key terms of Gibitrudis' story reappear in the next episode, on Ercantrudis. Both live a *uita religiosa per multos annos* (a pious life for many years), receive forgiveness for a transgression, and experience a *felix exitus*.[115] Yet Gibitrudis lived a *uita religiosa* of an adult convert while Ercantrudis never had a life outside the monastery.

Ercantrvdis[116]

Ercantrudis entered the monastery as a child. She has been secluded from the world and educated to such a perfection that she does not know the difference between men and women. Jonas praises her virtues, describing how she patiently suffered from a chronic disease.[117] At some point she breaks the Rule, is placed in a state of penance and excommunication but later earns (like Gibitrudis) reconciliation and forgiveness for her misdeed. The last part of her chapter recounts her *felix exitus*, which is interrupted by a terrifying vision in which she exposes the dead soul of a fellow nun who held back her secret desire to return to the world. Ercantrudis cries a great deal – as one should according to *De accedendo ad Deum*. Both texts use the otherwise rare expression *ubertas lacrimarum* (abundance of tears).[118]

Jonas describes Ercantrudis' sickness as *poena corporis*, which resonates with a depiction of disease as punishment in the chapter on sick nuns of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 15).[119] Ercantrudis shines because of her gentleness (*mansuetudo*), piety (*pietas*), mildness (*lenitas*), and love (*caritas*). All these virtues appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; *mansuetudo*, *pietas*, and *caritas* are listed as the main attributes of love.[120] As someone who is shielded to an extent that she does not know about the difference between the sexes, Ercantrudis is the perfect product of the monastic *custodia* laid out in the chapter on children of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 24).[121]

Ercantrudis' violation of the wording of the Rule (*tenor regulae*),[122] her confession of guilt (*admissae noxae culpam*),[123] her penance, excommunication, and reconciliation closely follow

(115) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 27: *uitam religiosam per multa annorum spatia*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 13: *per multos annos uitam religiosam ageret.* On *felix exitus*: *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 31; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 11.

(116) *VCol* II, c. 13, pp. 262–264; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 208–211 with some adjustments.

(117) Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 16.3, *SC* 265, p. 64.

(118) *De accedendo* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat.* See also *VCol* II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 17.

(119) *RcuiV*, c. 15.6: *…quae in infirma carne poenam portat.*

(120) *RcuiV*, c. 5.9: *Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum sed secundum Deum maneat amor.* For *mansuetudo*, see also *RcuiV*, c. 8.3; for *pietas RcuiV*, c. 1.17; c. 4.21; c. 5.8; c. 5.11; c. 6.15; c. 8.3; c. 15.1; c. 15.12; c. 20.5; c. 20.7; c. 20.8; c. 21.3; c. 24.2; for *lenitas RcuiV*, c. 20.5; for *caritas RcuiV*, c. 1.7; c. 22.1; c. 22.6; c. 22.7; c. 22.9.

(121) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 24–26: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam. RcuiV*, c. 24.2–3: *Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et disciplinae ministerio,* 3 *ne desidiae uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripi.*

(122) *Tenor regulae* appears rarely outside of Jonas' works but twice in the Jonas' *Vita Iohannis* and twice in the *RcuiV*. See *RcuiV*, c. 3.25; c. 15.12; *VIoh*, c. 2, p. 303, l. 11 and c. 19, p. 342, l. 21. On the translation of *tenor regulae* as "wording of the Rule", see p. 391.

(123) *RcuiV*, c. 4.3: *per transgressionis noxam.*

the protocol set out in the provisions on confession in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In the text, Jonas describes how the abbess imposes an appropriate penance that forces a guilty nun to abstain from Communion and to pray separate from the community.[124] Ercantrudis receives forgiveness in a dream she duly recounts to the abbess in humble confession (*per confessionem humilem matri patefecit*). Here Jonas uses almost the same words as in the chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the gatekeepers (c. 3).[125] Jonas does not tell us what transgression Ercantrudis is guilty of; it is unimportant and has no impact on her future *felix exitus*, because it has been treated appropriately.

Before her death Ercantrudis experiences a feverish vision that unmasks a fellow nun secretly longing to live a secular life outside the monastery. This nun is therefore unworthy of the company of those nuns who live no longer for themselves but have been crucified by the world for Christ's sake. Jonas ingenuously juxtaposes Ercantrudis' (forgivable) transgression with this much more serious hidden desire:

> "Cito currentes unam e uobis mortuam segregate atque a ceterarum consortio deicite;[126] non enim dignum est, ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt, mortuam et a uita segregatam se inter retineant". Cumque omnes inter se conquirerent, et quidnam dicere uelit sciscitarent, una eorum confusa ac terrore perculsa solo prosternitur suamque noxam confitetur ac in omnibus emendaturam pollicetur. Erat enim saeculo uacans, et foris saecularem uitam desiderans, nec mortifactioni omnino praebebat studium, sed tota uiuebat saeculo.
>
> ["Quickly, run, and segregate the dead[127] woman from your midst and throw her out of the fellowship of the others. For it is not right that those who having been crucified to the world for Christ, do not live for themselves, should keep among themselves a woman who is dead and segregated from life". And while they all began to ask among themselves and wondered what she wants to say, one of them, dismayed and struck with terror, prostrates herself on the ground, confesses her guilt, and promises to improve herself in all things. For she was devoted to the world and longing for the secular life outside, and she did not show any enthusiasm for mortification, but was living entirely for the world.][128]

Here Jonas blends language and the themes of two chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In the chapter on family relations (c. 23) Jonas prohibits nuns from defending one another and urges them not to tolerate the sins of their relatives.[129] In the chapter on readmission (c. 21) he addresses nuns who, in reality, not in thought, escape from the monastery. They must promise improvement (*omnium morum emendationem polliceatur*) after

(124) *RcuiV*, c. 6.24: *Hae uero sorores quae pro grauibus culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.*

(125) *RcuiV*, c. 3.15: *Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur.*

(126) Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 17.9: *Excommunicata uero soror, quae culpis grauioribus existentibus, aut cellula recluditur aut a consortio congregationis separatur.*

(127) On the notion of being death while still being alive, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 47.2, *SC* 265, p. 258.

(128) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 210 (adjusted).

(129) *RcuiV*, c. 23.2–3: *Quid enim aliam defendat quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?* Both texts use here Gal. 2, 19.

returning, shaken by fear (*perculsa timore*).[130] In line with the previous episode, Ercantrudis' vision shows that she and her fellow nuns are judged not by their deeds but by their attitudes, thoughts, and desires, which therefore must be confessed and assessed at all times.

At the moment of her death, Ercantrudis reports to her fellow nuns that she hears an angelic choir singing Psalm 135/136:1–2: *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius. Confitemini Deo deorum, quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.* (Confess to the Lord, because he is good, because his mercy endures forever. Confess to the God of gods, because his mercy endures forever). This indicates that she is on the path towards salvation.

> Emisit spiritum, ac post felicem exitum caelo reddita, aeterna promeruit gaudia possidere et ex praesentibus poenis lucra capere uitae aeternae.
>
> [She breathed out her spirit; after a happy death, she was returned to heaven, and she deserved to take possession of eternal joy and from the trials of this life to take the gains of eternal life.][131]

Jonas describes Ercantrudis' *felix exitus* as a reward for the hardships of her present life – a thought we find expressed in similar words in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*.[132]

All in all, the short episode about Ercantrudis' life and death ingeniously folds together ideas from no fewer than nine chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 1, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24) and from *De accedendo ad Deum*. Jonas narrative is truly a "*regula* in action". Again, Jonas uses a key term of his programme to tie Ercantrudis' chapter to the next one, on Augnofledis. Both of them "take the gains of an eternal life" (*lucra capere uitae aeternae*). In the case of Ercantrudis, though the trials (*poenae*) of the present life; in the case of Augnofledis because of the loss (*damnum*) of the present life.[133]

Avgnofledis[134]

Augnofledis dies around the same time as Ercantrudis. While the dying Ercantrudis reports that she hears a choir singing, it is now the community who experiences angelic singing – and it is a different Psalm, Ps. 50/51, 9–10: *Asperges me ysopo, et mundabor; lauabis me, et super niuem dealbabor. Auditui meo dabis gaudium et laetitiam, et exultabunt ossa humiliata* (You will sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: you will wash me, and I shall be made

(130) *RcuiV*, c. 21.1: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.*

(131) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 211.

(132) Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* [19] *ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum. De accedendo* 8: *…quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium.* On disease as punishment, see *RcuiV*, c. 16.6: *Sic tamen abbatissae cura sit, ut separatim cellam habeant cum omnibus oportunitatibus, ut nullum exteriorem laborem sentiat quae in infirma carne poenam portat.*

(133) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 12–13: *ex praesentibus poenis lucra capere uitae aeternae*; II, c. 14, l. 17–18: *pro damno praesentis uitae lucra caperet uitae aeternae.*

(134) *VCol* II, c. 14, p. 264; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 211.

whiter than snow. You will give joy and gladness to my hearing, and my humbled bones will rejoice). Ercantrudis' Psalm points to confessing one's sins and salvation by God's mercy (*misericordia eius*); Augnofledis is, as her Psalm indicates, saved through the purification of her sins. By juxtaposing both Psalms, Jonas makes, thus, an important theological statement about different paths towards salvation.

Despite its brevity, the Augnofledis-chapter shares, like the previous chapters, a key phrase with the subsequent one. Augnofledis is, through her death, "freed from the bonds of her flesh". Jonas describes Deurechilda's death in almost the same words.[135]

Devrechilda[136]

Deurechilda enters the monastery as an adolescent accompanied by her mother. Here Jonas presents another, probably not uncommon, form of monastic entry. The young nun shows much more fervour for monastic life than her mother who is led astray by the devil and subsequently incites Deurechilda's reproach (*correptio*). Deurechilda experiences a *felix exitus* but her mother, who dies forty days later, narrowly escapes damnation, already facing her demons eye-to-eye. She is saved only because her daughter had urged her to obtain the "remedies of penance" (*medicamenta paenitentiae*) and performed *intercessio* for her. We see here a third form of *intercessio*. In the chapter on Gibitrudis, *intercessio* consisted of acts that restored health or saved someone's earthly life; here it saves a nun from incurring eternal damnation.

Jonas is just as discreet about the mother's transgressions as he was about Ercantrudis' violation of the Rule. What matters is not what they did but how they dealt with it. Ercantrudis confesses her transgression in an exemplary way and easily earns salvation; Deurechilda has to be forced to take the *medicamenta paenitentiae* and narrowly escapes. Besides that, Jonas makes a very important point about conceptualizing her sinful state: "… whereas the mother, forced back by weakness, yielded to her fragile nature" (*…quod genetrix inbecillitate abacta fragilitati obtemperabat*). Both categories, *imbecilitas* and *fragilitas*, appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[137]

Jonas develops, both in the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines,* a fascinating typology of the nature of sin and manifestations of sinfulness. In this chapter of the *Vita*, he describes sinfulness as manifestation of weakness; in subsequent chapters, he adds a number of other aspects of human sinfulness. I will "harvest" these manifestations later.[138]

The fact that Deurechilda scolds her mother rather than siding with her, also resonates with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which prohibits nuns from defending their relatives. The Rule requires what Deurechilda carries out in an exemplary way: reproach as an act

(135) *VCol* II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 19: *a carnis nexibus separaretur* (following a variant given in the apparatus); II, c. 15, p. 266, l. 15–16: *animamque deinceps carnis nexibus solutam caelo reddidit*.

(136) *VCol* II, c. 15, pp. 264–266; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 211–213.

(137) Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 6.20: *mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit*; c. 14.1: *damna capiant inbecillitatis*.

(138) See pp. 216–218 and p. 225.

of love.[139] Three things save the mother from eternal damnation that would otherwise have been inevitable – and all three appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the loving reproach, the *medicamenta paenitentiae*, and the *intercessio* performed on someone else's behalf.[140]

Both Deurechilda and Domma, the protagonist of the next episode, die from a fever (*febre correpta*).[141] Domma, however, does not escape eternal damnation.

Domma[142]

Domma's death shows how even the best possible conditions cannot fully protect a nun from incurring damnation. Two particularly pure young nuns see a fiery globe arise from her mouth while she was praying.[143] After hearing about this extraordinary event, Domma is trapped in the sin of pride and dies unreconciled while one of the two pure nuns experiences a "good death" (*bonus exitus*). Jonas introduces this story as an example "to help in the progress and advancement of the perfect, or even for the correction of sinners" (*ad profectum uel augmentum perfectorum uel etiam ad emendationem delinquentium*). This reminds us of the abbess' task to deploy the double strategy: curing the sluggish and motivating those of healthy character to continue to improve.[144]

One of the purposes of this chapter is to expand on the typology of human sinfulness that Jonas began in the previous chapter:

> …ne uanitatis noxa – sicut actum est – eius corda fuscaret, cuius os affluens gratia lumen reddebat amoenum. Sed mens fragilitate corrupta coepit post Spiritus sancti lucra elationis uel superbiae stimulos amare, contumaciae crimen incurrere, arrogantiae supercilium praeferre, ita ut matrem contemneret, sodales dispiceret et omnium monita sperneret. Nec mora, febre correpta hac in extremum deducta, nec sic studuit emendare.
>
> […so that the sin of pride should not cast a shadow – as in fact happened – over the heart of her through whose mouth an outpouring of grace shed the beautiful light. But Domma's mind, corrupted by its frailty, after these rewards of the Holy Spirit, began to love incitements

(139) *RcuiV*, c. 23.7–9: *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat,* [8] *ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.* [9] *Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.*

(140) Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; c. 3.14–17; c. 5.24–25; c. 6.14–17; c. 6.24–26; c. 9.20; c. 12.24; c. 12.28; c. 16.7–10.

(141) *VCol* II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 21–23: *Inlucescente ergo in crastinum die dominico, febre correpta, adolescentula suppremum expectabat exitum…*, l. 32–33: *Nec mora, in extremis horis posita, monasterii matrem postulat*; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 18–22: *Nec mora, febre correpta hac in extremum deducta, nec sic studuit emendare. Hae uero qui uiderant, una earum nomine Ansitrudis dolore capitis, alia febre correpta, atque ad extremum deductae, suppremum expectant exitum.*

(142) *VCol* II, c. 16, pp. 266–268; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 213–217, quoted here with slight adjustments.

(143) A common hagiographical motif. See, for example, Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* II, c. 2.1–2, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Nicole Dupré, *SC* 510, Paris: Cerf 2006, p. 222. Other examples are provided by Picard, Jean-Michel, 'The marvellous in Irish and continental saints' Lives of the Merovingian period', in: H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan (eds.), *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, Oxford: BAR 1981, pp. 91–103, at p. 95. The notion that only the pure can see miracles appears in Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 7.1, *SC* 265, p. 40.

(144) *RcuiV*, c. 1.13–14: *Incautis etenim sic blanda persuasione subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat.* [14] *Sanis uero moribus ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant.*

> of arrogance and pride, and to fall into the sin of obstinacy, and to prefer the haughtiness of pride, so that she scorned the mother, looked down on her companions, and shunned the warnings of all. Without delay she was seized with fever, and brought to the point of death, but she made no attempt to improve.][145]

Jonas describes here no fewer than eight different aspects of Domma's sinfulness and every single of them also appears somewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the sin of vanity (*uanitatis noxa*),[146] the darkened heart (*eius corda fuscaret*),[147] the mind corrupted by weakness (*mens fragilitate corrupta*),[148] arrogance and pride (*elationis uel superbiae stimulos*),[149] the crime of haughtiness (*contumaciae crimen*),[150] *arrogantia*,[151] shunning warnings (*monita sperneret*),[152] and not showing zeal for improvement (*nec sic studuit emendare*).[153] Domma's sins were too numerous for her to be saved.

If we examine the chapters on discipline in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and compare them to their models in the *Regula Benedicti*, we see how Jonas' focus shifts from sinful acts and transgressions of the Rule (as we find them in the *Regula Benedicti*) to habits, attitudes, sinful thoughts, and wrongful motives.[154] The internal state of mind must be disciplined and punished because the inner disposition – in Domma's case her arrogance, pride, and unwillingness to amend – has a stronger impact on damnation or salvation than what the nuns actually do.

Jonas links this chapter with the following in his description of the sweet melodies that the nuns hear when the two innocent nuns and Willesuinda die.[155]

Willesvinda[156]

While working with some fellow nuns in the garden of the monastic enclosure, Willesuinda (Jonas also calls her Wilsinda and Wilsindana) receives a vision predicting that one of them will die soon and must prepare herself accordingly (as Sisetrudis did). Willesuinda does not

(145) *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 11–19; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 214 (adjusted).

(146) *RcuiV*, c. 4.1: *unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat.*

(147) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14: *ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata.* c. 6.2: *et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum.*

(148) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20: *mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit.*

(149) *RcuiV*, c. 20.2: *sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata.*

(150) *RcuiV*, c. 3.16: *Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit.*

(151) *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *…non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata.*

(152) *RcuiV*, c. 2.10: *Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio.*

(153) *RcuiV*, c. 20.t-3: *De his quae per sedulam correptionis curam saepius correptae emendare nolunt.* $_1$ *Soror si saepius correpta emendare noluerit, excommunicatione pro modo culpae corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc uerberum uindictae subiacebit.* $_2$ *Quod si sic emendare noluerit, sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata, opera uel actus de quibus corrigitur, defenderit,* $_3$ *tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est.* (Sap. 3, 11).

(154) See pp. 319–322.

(155) *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 24–26: *Coepit una earum inaudita auribus humanis carmina ac dulcia modulamina pio ore canere*; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 15–16: *Coepit deinde orationes ac deprecationes, quaeque sacerdotum officia depromunt, dulcia modulamina canere.* Both chapters also share the expressions *exitum uitae* and *uita aeterna*.

(156) *VCol* II, c. 17, pp. 268–270; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 215–217, quoted with small adjustments.

reveal that it is she who will die – presumably to spur her fellow nuns to make themselves ready (*paratae*) as well. On her sickbed Willesuinda miraculously recites all the books of the Bible from memory and announces the downfall of an enemy of the monastery, the Neustrian Mayor of the Palace Aega who has violated the boundaries of the monastery.[157] Shortly before her death she experiences a vision similar to that of Ercantrudis. She reveals that a certain nun has not purged herself through honest confession of the filth of her heart, which she had accumulated before entering the monastery. Struck with fear, the repugnant nun reveals her hidden vices. At the moment of her death Willesuinda sees the sisters who already have reached heaven and mentions one of them, Ansilidis, by name.[158] The chapter on Willesuinda addresses three different themes: how to be prepared against "the negligence of lukewarmness", the necessity of confession, and, most importantly, the role of space and boundaries.

First, Jonas describes, somewhat more precisely than in the Sisetrudis episode, what the nuns should do to safeguard their salvation: to "prepare themselves, lest the negligence of lukewarm diligence cause the loss of eternal life" (…*et ideo paratas esse debere, ne neglegentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae*). Here Jonas adds two new elements to his catalogue of the manifestations of sinfulness: the threat of negligence and the danger of becoming less than zealous. Both *neglegentia* and *tepiditas* are matters of great concern in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* since they are just as dangerous to the individual and the community as any conscious violation of the rule.[159]

The theme of confession has already appeared three times in previous chapters of the *Vita* and will return two more times later. So far, Jonas described four notions of confession: the confession of an emotion (Gibitrudis), the confession of a violation of a rule (Ercantrudis), the revelation of a dream (Ercantrudis), and confessing a secret desire (the nun denounced by Ercantrudis). Now Jonas talks about confession as an act of purification and of revealing hidden vices (*uitia celata*). Willesuinda drastically calls the nun rubbish (*quisquiliae*) because she has not confessed to the filth in her mind, accumulated while

(157) On Aega, see O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 52–53; Fox, *Power and Religion*, pp. 68–69 and pp. 202–204; Le Jan, Régine, 'Convents, Violence, and Competition for Power in Seventh-Century Francia', in: Mayke de Jong, Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theeuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 243–269, at pp. 250–255; Ebling, Horst, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag 1974, pp. 38–40.

(158) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 34, *SC* 265, pp. 112–116 argues that the blessed souls can recognize each other in paradise.

(159) *RcuiV*, c. 2.6: *quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare*. c. 2.18: *ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt*. c. 2.24: *ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata*. c. 3.22: *ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant*. c. 4.15: *ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat*. c. 6.21: *Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit…* c. 13.6: *…anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter*. c. 14.3: *ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis*. c. 16.1: *Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis delinquitur*. c. 16.10: *ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat*. c. 22.4: *et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur*. See also *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 275, l. 8. Columbanus himself expresses this idea in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 144, l. 31–32: …*de omnibus non solum capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis*. See also *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, p. 162 on dealing with the Eucharist negligently.

she was still in the world, and because she has not cleansed her heart through the act of confession:

> "Non aspicitis quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcita maculauit?" Perculsa metu,[160] uerecundia correpta[161] et a lumine Spiritus sancti deprehensa, cui talia dicebantur, solo prosternitur celataque uitia matri per confessionem prodit.
>
> ["Don't you see with how much filth she has filled her mind, and how she has not attempted in any way to purge by means of confession the filthy space of her heart, which she polluted with all kinds of dirt while still in the world, before she was enclosed here?" Struck with fear, overcome with shame, and seized by the light of the Holy Spirit, the one to whom such things were said prostrates herself on the ground, and reveals her hidden vices to the mother in confession.][162]

Jonas presents here a new and significant aspect of sinfulness: sin as a form of pollution (while, previously, he described it as a weakness, a darkening of the heart, and negligence). It is the *sordes* (filth) of the mind and the *spurcitia* (dirt) that has stained (*maculauit*) the heart and turns her into rubbish (*quisquiliae*). In this context, confession becomes all the more important as the definitive and absolutely vital act of washing away the pollution of sin.[163] The notion of sin as a stain (*macula*) is ubiquitous in the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,[164] but it is absent from Gregory's *Dialogi* and from the *Regula Benedicti*. Columbanus himself talks in his works about *macula* and *coinquinatio* (pollution) but only in the context of chastity.[165] Expanding the notion of purity and impurity beyond the sexual seems to be Jonas' very own contribution.

Now for the main theme of Jonas' chapter on Willesuinda: space – a topic I will discuss more in detail in Chapter 4. It may not be coincidental that Willesuinda herself is "a nun from outer space", i.e. from Anglo-Saxon England (*ex genere Saxonorum*).[166] Jonas addresses

(160) *RcuiV*, c. 21.1: *et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore…*

(161) *RcuiV*, c. 7.2: *Illa etenim quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est…*

(162) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 20–27; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 217.

(163) Dolan, Autumn, 'A Revival of Female Spirituality: Adaptations of Nuns' Rules during the Hiberno-Frankish Monastic Movement', in: *Medieval Feminist Forum* 1 (2010), pp. 38–62, at pp. 55–57 comes to a similar conclusion.

(164) *VCol* II, c. 2, p. 234, l. 17; II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 9/19; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 23; II, c. 19, p. 271, l. 26; II, c. 22, p. 278, l. 10 and p. 279, l. 16. *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata*; c. 5.11: *numquam peccati maculam incurret*; c. 5.14: *Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat*; c. 6.22: *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante conpletam confitendum est.* c. 20.12: *Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes*; c. 21.5: *Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit…* c. 24.3: *ne desidiae uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripi*. The terms *macula* and *maculare* appear 15 times in the *Vita Columbani*.

(165) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 6, ed. Walker, p. 128: *Deus enim spiritus in spiritu habitat ac mente, quem immaculatum uiderit, in quo nulla sit adultera cogitatio, nulla spiritus coinquinati macula, nulla peccati labes sit.*

(166) Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III, c. 8, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 236–238 reports that King Eadbald of Kent sent his daughter Eorcengota to Faremoutiers in 640. Ana, King of the East Angles, did the same with his stepdaughter Saethryth and his daughter Aethelburth. According to Bede, various Anglo-Saxon aristocrats

the theme of space on four different, yet corresponding levels. Willesuinda receives the revelation of her imminent death *in horto intra monasterii septa* (in the garden, within the confines of the monastery). The monastic *septa* are, as we know from other instances in the *Vita Columbani,* the designated places for miraculous occurrences.[167]

Willesuinda's bucolic monastic garden is threatened by two violations of the monastic space. Aega, the evil courtier, violates the boundaries of the monastery and endangers the nuns' physical safety. He faces divine punishment just as King Theuderic II did in the first book of the *Vita Columbani.*[168] The protection of the monastic space and the exclusion of outsiders is a central theme of the chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the gatekeepers (c. 3). The nun whom Willesuinda accuses in her vision, violated the monastic space in a different, though equally serious way. She carried into the monastery the dirt of the world, which had been stored in her mind and in the space of her heart instead of being properly cleansed through true confession. The dying Willesuinda sees this hidden dirt and her response shows that she is primarily concerned with keeping the monastic space unstained. The dirty nun must be removed from the monastery and tossed outside (*foras*) like a bag full of garbage: "*Eice foras, eice, iacta quisquilias!*" ("Throw her out! Out the door! Throw out that rubbish!").

Monastic space is, as we learn from Willesuinda's vision, threatened from two directions – and in both cases, confession is the cleansing remedy. It can be polluted by the outside world; the incriminated nun carried dirt into the monastery by not confessing and cleansing herself at the moment of entry.[169] But it is also threatened by the filth the nun keeps in her *area pectoris* (the space of the heart), and this area constantly collects dust and stains. As we will see in the analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, one of the major dilemmas of the Rule is how to control the gateways that connect the monastery to the potentially defiling inner space (of the individual) and outer space (of the world): the *ostium* (gate) of the monastery and the *os* (mouth), ears, and eyes of the individual nun.[170]

Since the *area pectoris* continuously attracts dirt,[171] it is necessary to purify oneself at all times but especially at the moment of entry into the monastery. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not address the topic of monastic conversion,[172] but it prescribes that nuns

sent their daughters to Faremoutiers, Chelles and Andelys-sur-Seine. On the connections between Frankish and Anglo-Saxon monastic life and especially the role of Faremoutiers, see Dierkens, Alain, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Îles Britanniques et le Continent pendant le Haut Moyen Âge. La diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII^e^ siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in: Hartmut Atsma (ed.), *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke 1989, pp. 371–394.

(167) *RcuiV*, c. 3.23; c. 20.9; c. 21.1–2. See also *VCol* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 2 on Columbanus who turns invisible when soldiers enter the monastic *septa*. See also pp. 304–305.

(168) On the topic of space and boundaries in the *Vita Columbani* and Theuderic' violation of the *septa* of Luxeuil, see Diem, 'Monks, kings', pp. 533–538 and pp. 542–543.

(169) Jonas describes the world later as the *putrimenta uiscerum* (vomit) a dog returns to. See *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 1, based on Prou. 26, 11.

(170) See pp. 319–328.

(171) On the notion of accumulating sin, cf. *RcuiV*, c. 6.18–22.

(172) Possibly because this theme is abundantly discussed in Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines*. See pp. 254–256.

who escape the monastery and return, must submit themselves to spatial separation and undergo a sincere penance (which implies confession) before being readmitted to the *septa* of the monastery.[173] Jonas not only defines confession as an act of purification but also gives two more clues that confession has much to do with space, contamination, and decontamination.[174] The abbess must make absolutely certain that none of the nuns leaves the *schola* of the monastery (*nullam foras egredi permittat*) before having given confession,[175] and if a nun confesses a sin too grievous to be cleansed immediately, she must be spatially separated from the rest of the community, pray in a different church, and then wait in front of the doors of main church (*fores ecclesiae*) until the "clean" nuns come out and pray that the stains of her deeds may be erased by contrition of their heart.[176] Everything we want to know about Jonas' concept of monastic space is skilfully woven into the story of Willesuinda.

Willesuinda's chapter and the next one on Leudebertana revolve around the process of preparation following an announced death. Moreover, both describe divine benevolence in similar phrases: "so that, through the manifestation of divine piety, the rewards of eternal life might be loved more richly" (in the case of Willesuinda); "His abounding goodness again heaped up additions to His gifts" (in the case of Leudebertana).[177]

Levdebertana[178]

The short chapter on the death of Leudebertana describes, at first glance, a fairly unproblematic *felix exitus*. Leudebertana receives a vision in her sleep announcing that she should be even more prepared for her death (*ut ad uitae exitum paratiorem efficeret*). A voice tells her that she should by no means deviate from her mother's (i.e. the abbess') admonitions (*ut se a supradictae matris monita nullatenus deuiaret*), and this reminder adds a hint of a dissonance to this otherwise smooth transition to the afterlife.

Differently from Willesuinda, who is greeted by her deceased and saved fellow sisters, Leudebertana meets the Apostle Peter. With her last words, she asks her fellow nuns why

(173) *RcuiV*, c. 21.1–4: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.* 2 *Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.* 3 *Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur,* 4 *sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.*

(174) See pp. 424–426.

(175) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: *Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio.* On *schola*, see p. 312.

(176) *RcuiV*, c. 6.24–26: *Hae uero sorores quae pro grauibus culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.* 25 *Et expleto cursu egredientes ante fores ecclesiae in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur.* 26 *Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis.*

(177) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 13–14: *ut per apparitionem pietatis diuinae uberius amarentur lucra uitae aeternae*; c. 18, p. 270, l. 24: *uberis bonitas munerum suorum congerit supplimenta.* Both chapters also share the use of *exitus uitae*.

(178) *VCol* II, c. 18, pp. 270–271; transl. Wood/O'Hara, p. 218.

they do not recognize the patron of their monastery. Jonas may have inserted this detail in order to remind the nuns of the importance of their patron saint.[179]

Jonas' description of Leudebertana's somnolent experience ("when she had relaxed her limbs in sleep" – *cum sopore membra laxasset*) alludes to the chapter on sleep of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 14) which begins by stating, in similar words, that a nun should always be prepared for God, even when her limbs are weakened by sleep (*ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant*).[180]

Leudebertana's chapter has, however, another hidden theme, which may have been the main reason for telling her story. For the first time in the Faremoutiers section Jonas refers to obedience – though in a rather unexpected way. It is noteworthy – and in fact crucial to the understanding of the overall purpose of the Faremoutiers chapters and of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – that Jonas does not use the expression *oboedientia* and that he refers to *monita* (admonitions or instructions) rather than using the words *praeceptum*, *mandatum*, *iussio* (order), or *imperium* (command). These are the terms appearing in the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus which put a strong emphasis on *oboedientia* understood as unconditionally following a superior's order until death (*usque ad mortem*).

For Benedict, *oboedientia* is the epitome of humility.[181] If a monk is obedient to the abbot, the abbot takes over the responsibility for his salvation.[182] It is striking that *oboedientia* does not figure among the criteria for damnation and salvation in Jonas' work. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* mentions *oboedientia* only twice in passing, once defined as submission under the *regula* and once defining mutual love as an expression of mutual *oboedientia*.[183]

The absence of *oboedientia* in the episode on Leudebertana and its inferior role elsewhere in Jonas' work does not mean that the nuns of Faremoutiers were required to be any less obedient – on the contrary: Jonas' concern is not whether they carry out orders but whether their actions are determined by the correct inner disposition. Taking a superior's admonitions (*monita*) to heart is an expression of the correct attitude – which is not necessarily the case if someone simply carries out an order. Obedience must be internalized to

(179) Saint Peter also appears in a vision of the sick abbot Bertulf of Bobbio who recovered afterwards. See *Vita Columbani* II, c. 23, pp. 283–284. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 12, *SC* 265, pp. 48–52 tells a similar story of the Roman abbot Stephen seeing the Apostles Peter and Paul on his deathbed. Several monasteries founded in the first generation after Columbanus' death were dedicated to Saint Peter.

(180) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 14.1–2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant,* $_2$ *ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat…*

(181) *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1–3, *SC* 181, p. 412; prologue.40, p. 422; c. 5, pp. 464–468; c. 7.34–43, pp. 480–484; c. 58.7, *SC* 182, pp. 626–628; c. 68, p. 664; c. 71, p. 668; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122–124. See also *Regula Donati*, c. 37, *CSEL* 98, p. 166; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 3, ed. Villegas, pp. 11–13; Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283–287; Diem/van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, pp. 31–38.

(182) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.6–15, *SC* 182, pp. 442–444; c. 2.33–40, pp. 450–452.

(183) *RcuiV*, c. 3.24: *Intus uero tantummodo quae sacram Deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus. RcuiV*, c. 5.t: *De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*. It is noteworthy that the term *oboedientia* appears only in the title of this chapter (as a remanence of the title of *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71, *SC* 182, p. 668), but not in the text itself. See p. 400–401.

such an extent that there is no more need to refer to it and no more need to give orders.[184] To illustrate this, we must briefly return to the episode of the doomed nun Domma. It is not disobedience that leads Domma into damnation but a corrupted mind that expresses itself in an attitude of pride, arrogance, obstinacy, disdain, and, indeed, disregard of *monita* (using the same term). Active disobedience is a mere symptom of the real problem, as we already saw in the episode on the nun Domma.[185]

All this resonates with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines,* which is, on the one hand, concerned with the role of the superiors who teach, admonish and excite, and on the other, worried by the nuns' state of mind rather than their outward behaviour. The abbess rules by her *eruditio*, *doctrina*, and exemplary behaviour. She gives *consilia* (advices), *admonitiones*, and *commeatus* (assignments) rather than plain orders to be carried out mechanically with unconditional obedience.[186] Leudebertana's reminder not to stray from her mother's *monita* encompasses all these ideas.

There is only one expression that the chapter on Leudebertana shares with the next chapter. Both Leudebertana and the fugitive nuns "breath their last breath".[187]

The *Fugitive* Nuns[188]

This chapter is one of the dramatic highlights of the *Vita Columbani* and the richest and most complicated part of the Faremoutiers section. It describes a veritable battle for the salvation of the souls of two nuns, fought between the monastic community armed with prayers and a crowd of Ethiopian demons.[189] Unlike most battles with demons, this one is lost by the community.[190] The chapter was used by Louis Gougaud as fodder for ascribing

(184) See p. 363.

(185) See pp. 216–217.

(186) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1–5: *Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet,* $_2$*ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat.* $_3$*Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant.* $_4$*Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere,* $_5$*ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.* c. 2.9–10 *Interrogandum semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum consilio animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent.* $_{10}$*Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio.* c. 2.12: *et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat*; c. 3.11: *Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant.* c. 22.19: *Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere, quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.*

(187) *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 15: II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 15.

(188) *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 271–275; transl. Wood/O'Hara, pp. 219–222, quoted here with small adjustments.

(189) On Ethiopian demons, see Brakke, David, 'Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self', in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001), pp. 501–535.

(190) Compare, for example, *Vita Antonii*, c. 8–9 in the translation of Euagrius of Antioch, *CCSL* 170, pp. 13–16; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 19.2–3, *SC* 265, pp. 72–74; c. 40.4–5, pp. 140–142. On demonic battles, see Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2006; Diem, Albrecht, 'Encounters between Monks and Demons in Latin Texts of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in: A. Harbus, Tette Hofstra, and Karin Olsen (eds.), *Miracles and the Miraculous in Medieval Latin and Germanic Literature*, Leuven: Peeters 2004, pp. 51–67.

the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Waldebert of Luxeuil who, as Jonas recounts, taught the nuns of Faremoutiers the *regula*. Jonas refers in this chapter to the *consuetudo et regula monasterii* and subsequently describes in almost the same words as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that the nuns need to confess thrice daily. It is here, that the narrated and the prescriptive *regula* most explicitly meet and Jonas provides drastic evidence of the dangers of neglecting the *regula* and not performing regular and sincere confession.[191]

Jonas tells two tales of escaping nuns that the reader is supposed to compare. First, a group of nuns is caught in the act. They admit their guilt, confess to the abbess and incur no further harm, just as Ercantrudis who violated the *tenor regulae* and duly confessed. Two other nuns attempt to escape, refuse to reveal their motivations and their guilt through confession, and therefore incur eternal damnation, despite the community's attempt to save them. Jonas leaves out no detail of their dramatic demise, how they are buried outside the monastery, how they suffer punishment in their graves, and how this punishment increases at the times of Easter or Christmas.[192]

Jonas uses two dramatic stories of escape, violation of monastic space, demonic temptation, and the allure and pollution of the world for the purpose of reiterating topics he had addressed in previous chapters – but this time he uses a different perspective. The main actors of this chapter are the devil and his demons who tempt and deceive the inexperienced nuns, especially those "who were less sophisticated on account of the newness of their conversion" (*quas noua conuersatio rudes reddebat*)[193] and "whom the way of life rendered inexperienced and very foolish" (*quas nouiores et multo inbecilliores conuersatio reddebat*).[194]

The devil (*diabolus*, *inimicus*, *antiquus hostis*, *serpens* – another one of Jonas' lists) appears no fewer than eight times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,[195] more often than in the *Regula Benedicti*. For Benedict, some simple preventive measures suffice to keep him at bay.[196] The same applies to Book Four of Gregory's *Dialogi*, which describes life as not particularly dangerous for someone who avoids greed, lust, or idle chatter, lives a modest life, and gives alms abundantly. Gregory's devil waits to pick the souls up that are already doomed, but shows little motivation to drag them to hell. The devil of Faremoutiers is much more present and active in this life.[197]

(191) See pp. 417–427.

(192) This section is inspired by Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 33.3, *SC* 265, p. 110. The motive returns in *Vita Leobae*, c. 4, *MGH Script.* 15, pp. 123–124. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 56, pp. 182–184.

(193) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 10.5: *…aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est.*

(194) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 14.4: *…tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.*

(195) *RcuiV*, c. 1.19; c. 5.12–13; c. 8.7; c. 14.8; c. 16.10; c. 18.1; c. 20.8; c. 22.3.

(196) The devil appears in *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.4, *SC* 181, pp. 436–438; c. 43.8, *SC* 182, p. 588; c. 54.4, p. 618; c. 58.28, p. 632, but never as active deceiver.

(197) On the devil in Jonas' work, see O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 248–252. With regard to Jonas' hagiographic works, O'Hara comes to the opposite conclusion and argues that the devil and demons appear in Jonas' work less frequently than in older hagiographic texts.

The chapter on the fugitive nuns explains how the devil operates – and here we recognize Jonas as a reader of John Cassian's work:[198] the devil deprives the nuns he attacks of the ability to direct their minds. After their return, the second group of fugitive nuns responds to the demand to confess their motivation, stating "that they would be driven outside [the monastery] by the darts of the devil and that their minds were totally unable to take direction" (*respondent se telis fore stimulatas diaboli et mentes nequaquam habere posse directas*). Jonas returns to the uncontrollable mind later in the chapter when he describes the "hardness of the mind" (*duritia mentis*) or "hardened heart" (*cor obdurata*) of the fugitive nuns.[199] We can thus add to our growing typology of manifestations of sinfulness the concepts of demonic temptation, the unfocussed mind, and the hardened mind. Unsurprisingly so, for in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* the mind (*mens*) is the primary object of concern as well.[200]

Another central theme of this chapter, which is already addressed (especially in the chapter on Willesuinda), is that of the *septa monasterii*, the monastic confines. The expression *septa* appears no fewer than five times. Jonas describes the nuns' transgression not as a simple escape, but as an attempt to violate (*uiolare*) the *septa monasterii*. This violation – now from within and not, as in the case of the evil courtier Aega,[201] from outside – is a matter as serious as the escape itself.[202]

In his description of the first attempt to violate the boundaries of the monastery, Jonas manages to condense the entire chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on fugitive nuns (c. 21) down to one pivotal moment. This is Jonas at his best:

> Quae tonitrui fragor et dormientes excitauit et egregientes monasterii septa correxit, et cum iam uallo pedes aliquae eorum traiecissent, et tanto fragore perterritae, intra septa uelint referre, uelut plumbum adgrauatos nequaquam ualebant reducere, quia diabolus qua ualebat arte studebat adgrauare, quas diuina correptio nequaquam sinebat perire. Confusae ergo culpas agnoscunt matrique reuerse per confessionem produnt.
>
> [The noise of thunder woke the sleepers up and brought correction to those who were leaving the boundaries (*septa*) of the monastery. When already some of them had crossed the perimeter (*uallum*) with their feet and, terrified by such great noise, they wished to move back into the enclosure, they were totally unable to raise their feet, which felt as if burdened with lead, because the devil did his best to burden with whatever skill he could those [nuns] whom divine punishment would by no means allow to perish. Thus confounded, they acknowledge their guilt and, having turned back, they reveal them to the mother in confession.][203]

(198) Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 95–111. Cassian, *Collationes* VII, *SC* 42, pp. 242–277 and VIII, *SC* 54, pp. 8–37 are devoted to demons.

(199) Cf. *VCol* I, c. 19, p. 273, l. 6–7: *corda obdurando uirus infudisset*; p. 273, l. 27: *obdurata corda*; p. 275, l. 8: *duritia mentis*; II, c. 22, p. 277, l. 20 - p. 278, l. 1: *durae ac ignauae mentis*; *RcuiV*, c. 18.5: *et durae mentis tenacitas culpae*.

(200) Columbanus himself expresses the idea that internal attitude is as important as external acting in a less sophisticated manner in his *Sermo* 2, c. 2–3, ed. Walker, pp. 68–72, paraphrasing Cassian's teachings on vices. There are no indications that Jonas used this *sermo*. The key expressions in Jonas' discourse on the internal state, *mens* and *cor* play no prominent role in Columbanus' work.

(201) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 10–11: *His ergo aduersabatur supradicto coenubio terminosque uiolabat.*

(202) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 3.11–14. See also *RcuiV*, c. 22.3 on the *ambitus uirtutum*.

(203) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 10–18; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 219 (thoroughly revised).

Jonas captures the moment that the nuns set foot on the ground outside the monastery. The thunderstruck fugitives are frozen by a miracle of reproach (*correptio*). With one foot in the monastery and one foot outside they can neither run away nor return to the monastery before fully admitting their manifold guilt (*culpae*). The drama ends with them confessing to the abbess.[204] This divine *correptio* saves them from death, which would inevitably have followed if they had not confessed, even if they had returned to the monastery. An example of the latter is given in the second half of the chapter.

According to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, nuns who crossed the *septa* of the monastery and who, shaken by fear, wish to return, must first promise to improve in a credible way before they are received back into the *septa monasterii*.[205] If we compare this provision from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with its model in the *Regula Benedicti*, we see that Jonas added to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* exactly those aspects which play such an important role in this scene of the Faremoutiers section: the notion of transgressing *septa* as incurring *macula*, the fear of judgement as a motivation for reentering the monastery, and the strict examination of the returning nun as the only acceptable way to take her back. Jonas develops these ideas once by writing them into the *Regula Benedicti* and once by dramatizing them in the *Vita Columbani*.[206]

Jonas juxtaposes the happy resolution of the first escape attempt with the fate of two other nuns longing for the world. With the help of the devil, they succeed in leaving the monastic confines, but return after being found at their old homes. Despite their voluntary return they still face eternal damnation, not because of their crime, but because they refuse to reveal their motivations and guilt in confession – and also because they had failed to do so right from the beginning. Jonas explains why the practice of purging one's mind (*mentem purgare*) of all thoughts, words, and deeds, is essential to hold off the temptation of demons and to safeguard salvation. The two nuns could have avoided their ordeal long before their escape, had they given sincere confession (*uera confessio*)[207] and revealed their evil intention, but since they failed to follow the *regula*, they allowed the devil to shoot his darts (*iacula*)[208] and let their plan of escape ripen.

The community makes an attempt to save these nuns after their return according to a protocol of reproach and punishment strongly resembling the procedure of excommunication laid out in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 18–20). The fugitives are reproached by the entire community (*ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*) and receive corporal punishment

(204) See also *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 6–8 on the monks who rose up against Athala and were allowed to return after they had confessed and promised to mend their ways: *…plurimi eorum ad uirum Dei remeant suasque noxas confitentur; se in omnibus, si recipiantur, emendaturos pollicentur.*

(205) *RcuiV*, c. 21.1–2: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.* 2 *Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.*

(206) See pp. 531–538.

(207) *RcuiV*, c. 6.5; c. 16.5; c. 16.8–9 uses *pura confessione*. Elsewhere Jonas speaks of *uera dilectio* (c. 5.7); *uera mortificatio* (c. 9.20); *uera credulitas* (c. 20.10); and *uera humilitas* (c. 22.7–8).

(208) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 14.8: *ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

(*flagella*) to heal their hardened hearts (*obdurata corda*).[209] But because of their stubbornness even the prayers of the community, which are, according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *ultima ratio* in dealing with unrepentant sinners,[210] cannot save them. The praying nuns, armed with the sign of the cross, do not prevail against the hordes of demons because the fugitive nuns cannot be convinced to save themselves through confession and the receiving of the Eucharist.

The eighth-century *Vita Segolenae*, which contains several allusions to the *Vita Columbani* and possibly to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, tells a remarkable variant of this story. Here a nun develops, instilled by the devil, the plan of escaping from her monastery. Since the nuns can't get control over the impure spirit that motivates her to escape, they tie up her with ropes. Subsequently the entire community prays for the nun – in this case successfully: she makes no further attempt to leave.[211]

One purpose of Jonas' cautionary tale about escaping nuns is to synthesize the previous statements on confession. He establishes in this chapter the ritual of confession that must be performed thrice daily and explains in detail why this ritual is indeed a matter of life and death. All previous chapters of the Faremoutiers section illustrate one specific aspect of the confessional practice. Jonas addresses confessing a bad emotion in the chapter on Gibitrudis (*reatumque suum confitetur*). The chapter on Ercantrudis describes confessing a violation of the *tenor regulae* (*admissae noxae culpam*), dreams (*per confessionem humilem matri patefecit*), and illicit desires (*suamque noxam confitetur*). Willesuinda's chapter describes confession as cleansing the "space of one's heart" (*area pectoris*) from stains and vices and implies that a general confession must be part of the ritual of monastic entry (*nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit*; *uitia matri per confessionem prodit*). The chapter on the fugitive nuns describes confession as an element of readmittance to the monastic space (*culpas agnoscunt matrique reuerse per confessionem produnt*), warns against insincere confession (*primum ne confessionem ueram nequaquam ab ore promerent*; *ut nulla confessio uera ab ore prodiret*), and describes sincere confession as one of the remedies of penance (*ne uera confessio per paenitentiae medica-*

(209) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 18.3–5: *Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur,* [4] *et si sic emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut excommunicationi subiaceat, si eius antea intellectus uiguit,* [5] *aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et inprobitas perseueret, tunc corporali disciplinae subiacebit.*

(210) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 20.7–8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur,* [8] *ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.*

(211) *Vita Segolenae*, c. 24.26, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 635C: *Alio quoque tempore quaedam puella paupercula spiritu ad conuersionem uenit, quam Beatissima libentissime suscepit. Breui tempore monacharum uirtutes exaequauerat. Interea subiit in ea cogitatio injecta per diabolum, et permanere in monasterio nolebat. Quadam die furtim de congregatione discedere uolens, illico impletur a daemone: sed trementem ad monasterium reduxerunt sorores. Cum coerceri in ea immundus spiritus non ualeret, necessitate cogente, magnis funibus alligatur. Non immerita pœna fuit fugitiuae, ut quam non cohibuerat fides, funis cohiberet. Incumbit beata Segolena sine mora orationi, tota congregatio prosternitur, obtinetur obsessae curatio: quae statim promisit, numquam se esse a monasterio recessuram; atque ex eadem hora in sua promissione permansit.* On the *Vita Segolenae*, see Réal, Isabelle, 'Vie et Vita de sainte Ségolène, abbesse du Troclar au VII[e] siècle', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 101:3–4 (1995), pp. 385–406. Another variant of Jonas' story can be found in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Here it is a layman whose refusal to confess incites demons to torture him and eventually causes his damnation. See Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, c. 13, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 498–502.

menta rursus redderet sospitati). Confession, along with the Eucharist, can be a life-saving act in one's last moments (…*ut inter suppremas horas per confessione facinus pandant*; …*ut per confessione pandantur uitia et sacri corporis communione roborentur*). The final chapter of the Faremoutiers section, on the nun Beractrudis, adds one last aspect to this panoply of confession: salvation of one's life by confessing a very specific secret violation of the *regula* (*omni intentu facinorum suorum coniecturam per confessionem pandit*).

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* summarizes these diverse aspects of confession – uncontrolled dreams, deeds, things seen or heard, thoughts, and all stains of the mind:

> 20 Quicquid post conpletorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari. 21 Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu ut purgetur censendum est. 22 Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante conpletam confitendum est.[212]
>
> [20 Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned through confession after the Second Hour. 21 But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought during the daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. 22 But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

Jonas ends the tale of the fugitive nuns with a statement that has little to do with confession itself but rather expresses another key idea of his monastic ideal. The punishment of the fugitive nuns is not only a potent but a painful reminder that the community has failed to save them and must fulfil its responsibility to each individual who, without its support, would inevitably perish:

> Mansitque per triennium inlatae sententiae seueritas, ut terror damnatorum timorem praeberet sodalium remanentium essetque correptio uiuentium poena inlata mortuarum et ex neglegentia uel tepore, immo duritia mentis[213] pereuntium salus ex religione ac uigoris studio[214] propagaretur superstitum.
>
> [The severity of the sentence imposed [on the fugitive nuns] lasted for three years so that the terror of the damned should strike fear into their remaining companions and so that the punishment imposed on the dead would be a reproach to the living and so that the salvation of those who would die from negligence or lukewarmness or even of stubbornness of mind might be obtained because of the piety and the zeal of action of those who survive.][215]

The chapter on the fugitive nuns and the next chapter on Landeberga juxtapose two death scenes determined by extreme anxiety. The devils urge the fugitive nuns to wait and to resist attempts to save them (*expectate*, *expectate*, *sustinete*, *sustinete!*). Leudebertana expects the

(212) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20–22.

(213) *RcuiV*, c. 18.5: *aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et inprobitas perseueret.*

(214) *RcuiV*, c. 14.1: *anima uigore creatoris intenta*; c. 3.25: …*ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem*. c. 6.18: *Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur.* c. 13.4: *cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent*; c. 23.9: *ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio*.

(215) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 275, l. 4–9; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 222 (adjusted).

end of her life in greatest anxiety but also hopes for the consolation of her nuns.[216] In both instances, those who witness their death hear voices: the shouting demons in the case of the fugitive nuns, an angelic choir in the case of Landeberga. Death is no silent event.

Landeberga[217]

A reader of the *Vita Columbani* might expect that the Faremoutiers section ends with the dramatic downfall of the unrepenting fugitives, but, just as in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, the descent into hell is not the end of the drama. The next episode, on Landeberga, elaborates further on the issue of the community's responsibility. Landeberga awaits her end "entrenched by the entire weight of her anxieties and wounded by the strength of her wrongdoings" (*omnique anxietatum mole uallata, ualidis ictuata dolorum*) and hoping for the comfort (*solamina consolationis*) of her sisters.[218]

The nuns who should keep vigil at her deathbed, all fall asleep, save one, Gernomeda, who witnesses the miraculous events at Landeberga's death. A dense, glowing red cloud descends upon Landeberga's bed. Gernomeda hears the singing of an angelic choir. The cloud lifts and Landeberga's soul leaves her body. When the nuns awaken all is finished and the only task left is to sing the liturgy for the dead.

This is the only moment in the Faremoutiers chapters that Jonas explicitly mentions prayers for the dead – as the fulfilment of a responsibility rather than an act affecting Landeberga's salvation.[219] Landeberaga would need the nuns' support while still alive and in the process of dying, but since they are asleep an angelic "emergency choir" has to step in and lift the cloud that has descended on her bed. The nuns fail to perform the intercessory prayer as it is required at various places by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[220]

In another section of the *Vita Columbani*, which recounts miracles happening in Columbanus' foundation Bobbio, Jonas tells a complementary tale: the dying monk Agibodus

(216) *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 13–17: *Nam quaedam uirgo nomine Landeberga, cum iam extremas praesentis uitae expectaret amittere horas, omnique anxietatum mole uallata, ualidis ictuata dolorum stimulis, tantummodo exitum uitae expectabat solamina.*

(217) *VCol* II, c. 20, pp. 275–276; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 222–223.

(218) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.* The *RcuiV*, c. 6.16 uses *solacium* instead of *solamen*, but the idea is the same.

(219) On the liturgy for the dead, see Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 52–69; Effros, Bonnie, *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2002, pp. 169–204; Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead*, pp. 140–175.

(220) For example, *RcuiV*, c. 5.23–25: *Nihil aliud dare precipimur nisi quod nobis dare petimus.* $_{24}$ *Sic et orando dicimus: Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* $_{25}$ *Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a debito.* c. 6.14–16: *Sic nos Scriptura dicendo ortatur: Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16) $_{15}$ *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur!* $_{16}$ *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium*; c. 12.28: *Similiter pro se orari rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me.* c. 20.7–8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur,* $_{8}$ *ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur. De accedendo* 27: *Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam.*

"awaits the hour of his death, placed in a state of extreme anxiety".[221] While the brothers are present to pay their final respects to the soul leaving the world and to sing the Office of the Psalms, Agibodus' soul leaves his body and sees "the eternal light that is prepared for him and the sun shining in golden splendour" (*uidit aeternam lucem sibi paratam solemque rutilo fulgore micantem*). No glowing red cloud obscures his sight and no one falls asleep on duty. Like Sisetrudis, Agibodus returns one last time in order to tell his brothers of his experience. He then dies properly after receiving the last rites and bidding farewell to his brothers. Leudebertana would have died in this way and not in such anxiety, had the community not failed to play its role calming her anxiety and accompanying her *felix exitus*.

Bithildis, the Beast, and *Beractrvdis*[222]

The last two chapters of the Faremoutiers section complete the circle and return to the one factor that appears to be decisive in attaining salvation: the *regula* itself.[223] The dying nun Bithildis is allowed to expect a heavenly reward because of her steadfastness in following the *regula*, just as Sisetrudis, the first nun in Jonas' cycle, has earned her salvation through submitting herself to the *disciplina regularis* and dedicating herself to the *cultus religionis*. We read about Bithildis:

> Quae cum diu regularis disciplinae abenis confecta immobilis desiderio caelestia praemia desideraret, euenit ut iustus arbiter iustam animam iustitiae copia plenam caelos condere uellet.
>
> [Since she had long been rendered immovable by the reins of the regular discipline, and longed with desire for her heavenly rewards, the result was that the Just Judge wanted to make her just soul full of the abundance of justice for heaven.][224]

The rule-obeying Bithildis experiences, like Sisetrudis, an unproblematic *felix exitus* embellished by a miracle of overflowing oil. Both Abbot Waldebert of Luxeuil and Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux, the brother of the foundress of the monastery, are witnesses to this miracle.

Bithildis' death would have been a perfect completion of the cycle, but Jonas deprives us of such an comforting ending. He has two more cautionary tales left to tell, which he introduces with these words:

(221) *VCol* II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 1–7: …*in extremis anxietatibus positus, sui exitus expectabat horam, cumque iam fratrum caterua adstaret, que exeunte de mundo animae suppremos rependeret honores, atque ex more ad psallendi officio se praepararent, elapsa e corpore anima, uidit aeternam lucem sibi paratam solemque rutilo fulgore micantem.*

(222) *VCol* II, c. 21–22, pp. 276–279; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 222–226.

(223) Already at the beginning of the Faremoutiers series, Jonas emphasizes that the monastery was built *ex regula beati Columbani* and that the nuns live according to the *regula*. See *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 14–16: *quemque ex regula beati Columbani omni intentione et deuotione construxerat*; l. 19–20: *Cum iam duce Christo multarum puellarum secum adunatam sub regulari reteneret disciplina cohortem*…

(224) *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 14–18; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 223 (adjusted). The translation of is based on the uaria lectio *caelis* instead of *caelos*.

> Dum magnarum rerum ob boni meriti religionisque studio conlatarum munera non omisimus tradere posteritati, simulque quae ad terrorem durae ac ignauae mentis[225] profuisse conperimus, ratum ducimus intimare.
>
> [While we have not omitted to hand down to posterity the gifts of great things conveyed for the exertion of merit and religious devotion, we likewise consider it right to tell about something that we have found beneficial in inducing terror in a hard and ignoble mind.][226]

After giving several definitions of the nature of sin and weakness, these last two episodes focus on a very concrete violation of the *regula* and we can assume that Jonas refers to events still resounding in the minds of his audience. A noble girl, this time unnamed (perhaps because she was still alive at the time Jonas wrote this text), "comes to submit her neck to regular discipline" (*regularis disciplinae colla submittere uenit*) but is lead astray by the Snake to eat food secretly.[227] Her behaviour, which goes unnoticed for some time, stains her soul (*animam macularet*).[228] She is, however, lucky and receives a *pre-mortem* punishment in the form of a severely upset stomach that prevents her from eating food other than that which is usually fed to boars (and can be found in post-modern cookbooks): "husks of grain, the leaves of trees and wild herbs, and the liquid left over from the dregs of beer". A boar appears to her and explains that this strictly vegan diet is meant as a punishment for her disobedience.

Beractrudis, the last nun in Jonas' cycle on Faremoutiers, also violates the *regula* by eating secretly and – again – stains her soul (*animam macularet*). She, however, does not escape with just an upset stomach. When she dies, her salvation is at risk and she is saved only because she receives a chance to return to life and to confess all her transgressions (*omni intentu facinorum suorum coniecturam per confessionem pandit*).[229]

Jonas ends his Faremoutiers section, therefore, with an *exemplum* of a nun who nearly incurs damnation for a trivial and probably not uncommon transgression. She is only saved by a last minute confession. The reader is, for one last time, reminded of his three major concerns: the urgency of escaping the imminent danger of damnation, the necessity of following the *regula* and, in particular, the necessity of cleansing the stained soul through sincere confession.

(225) Cf. *RcuiV*, c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat ut ad cultum relegionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat.* c. 2.6: …*quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare.* c. 9.4: …*ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat.*

(226) *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277, l. 26–278, l. 2; transl. O'Hara/Wood, pp. 224–225.

(227) *RcuiV*, c. 12–13 and c. 24 determine in detail at which times the nuns ought to eat. A prohibition to eat illicit food outside the proper mealtimes is implicitly present. See also *CaesRV*, c. 30.2, *SC* 345, p. 208; c. 71, p. 268.

(228) *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata*; c. 5.11: *numquam peccati maculam incurret*; c. 5.14: *Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat*; c. 6.22: *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante conpletam confitendum est*; c. 21.5: *fugae culpa maculata fuerit*; c. 24.3: *sub tenera aetate maculati.*

(229) Jonas crafts this story as a variant of Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 10–12, *SC* 265, pp. 144–146. There, however, revealing one's sin on the deathbed has no effect. A gluttonous monk goes to hell nevertheless.

Conclusion: The Impact of Jonas' Monastic Programme

There is more than a simple name to be discovered in Benedict of Aniane's enigmatic *cuiusdam*. Ascribing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* to Jonas of Bobbio provides a great number of new insights into Frankish monastic life after Columbanus and especially into Jonas of Bobbio's role as a broker of Columbanus' heritage. Everything Jonas writes about the nuns in Faremoutiers has to be read in the light of his claim that the monastery was founded under the *Regula Columbani*. The "narrated Rule" of Faremoutiers and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are, in Jonas' eyes, the perfect representation of this *Regula Columbani*.[230]

If we read the *Vita Columbani* alongside the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* we garner access to a highly sophisticated monastic theology that sets itself apart from the sources Jonas has used: Gregory's *Dialogi* and the *Regula Benedicti* but also Columbanus' own works and – as I will show in the next chapter – Caesarius of Arles' *Regula ad uirgines*. Jonas' version of the "*Regula Columbani*" is unique.

The Faremoutiers section is more than just a series of vignettes about dying nuns. It can be read as "narrated Rule" but also as something like a "lab report" on the experiment of shaping a female monastery *ex regula Columbani*. This "lab report" focuses on what everyone would understand as the ultimate benchmark for Faremoutiers' success: whether the first members of this pioneering community experienced a *felix exitus* at the moment of death.[231] Jonas contrasts his notion of monastic discipline, which is built around unceasing awareness of the danger of damnation, confession, following the *regula*, and reliance on mutual intercession, with Gregory the Great's simple instructions on how to live and die well. Deviating from Gregory, Jonas develops his own language of urgency, his repertoire of emotions, an explanation of the mechanism of intercession, and, most importantly, the imperative of repetitive purifying confessions as the only possible response to the imperfection and inescapable sinfulness of each human being. With all this, we must keep in mind that Jonas does not just theorize but speaks directly to a monastic community that is supposed to recognize itself in Jonas' narrative and is expected to view the *regula* as an essential tool for escaping the danger of eternal damnation.

We have to ask at this point whether Jonas' "lab report" produced results that were indeed applicable only to a community of nuns or whether he saw his experiment and his rendition of the *Regula Columbani* as relevant for nuns and monks alike. Jonas could have used the entire *Vita Columbani* to develop his theology of monastic discipline but he

(230) On narrated texts as monastic rules, see Blennemann, Gordon, 'Hagiographie: une norme narrée. Regards sur les Vitae de Jutta de Sponheim et de Hildegarde de Bingen, et sur le Liber visionum d'Élisabeth de Schönau', in: Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabeth Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (eds.), *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieux clos (IVe-XIXe siècle)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2015, pp. 115–127; 'Vita vel Regula: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages', in: Samantha Herrick (ed.), *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, Leiden: Brill 2019, pp. 123–142.

(231) It would be interesting to investigate the theological implications of Jonas' use of *exitus* instead of the much more common *transitus*.

channelled it largely into the Faremoutiers section and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[232] Yet nothing he says there is marked as addressing women only. The theological framework from which Jonas' programme emerges is universal. He may have chosen to describe a laboratory of nuns simply because this gave him the opportunity to start from scratch rather than having to discuss highly contested transformations of monastic ideas as they undoubtedly took place in Luxeuil and Bobbio after Columbanus' death.[233] Writing a *Regula ad monachos* in the same style as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may have been too much of an affront to those who identified Columbanus' own Rule as the definitive *Regula Columbani*.

Much of this is speculation, but it is noteworthy that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had, like Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, an afterlife not only in the context of female communities. An important and widespread Carolingian monastic reform treatise, the *Memoriale qualiter*, which explains the monastic daily routine of rituals and liturgical activities outside of the Hours, shows various traces of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and shares many of its basic ideas, especially on confession, silence, choregraphing bodily movements, and mutual intercessory prayer.[234] The *Memoriale qualiter* is preserved in 39 manuscripts addressing communities of monks and in one manuscript containing a female version. At some point, Jonas' ideas must have been reappropriated for male communities. Either there existed a now lost male version of Jonas' Rule or the *Memoriale qualiter* was originally written for a community of nuns but entered Carolingian reform discourse in a revised version addressing monks.

Another line of inquiry is the extent to which Jonas' monastic ideal in general was shared within the monasteries affiliated with Columbanus foundations and how far Jonas succeeded in implementing his notion of the *Regula Columbani*. There are indications that at least some elements of Jonas' programme were implemented in monasteries other than Faremoutiers. Balthild probably regarded Jonas of Bobbio as a leading authority on Columbanus' monastic ideal; the monks of Réomée implored Jonas to write for them a history of the origins of their monastery. Jonas transformed their founder into a "proto-Columbanus" who embodied Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic ideal.[235] The author of the *Vita Bertilae* created the first abbess of Chelles as someone who perfectly fulfilled the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[236]

Another example might be the monastery of Troclar (close to Albi), founded in the seventh century. The *Vita Segolenae*, which was probably written in the eighth century, not long after Segolena's death, emphasizes that its nuns lived a regular life according to the institutes of the ealier fathers (*secundum priscorum patrum instituta regulariter uiuere*). The text

(232) *VCol* II, c. 25, pp. 290–292 contains two reports on monks who died in Bobbio, but neither of them reaches the depth and sophistication of the those we find in the Faremoutiers section.

(233) Diem, 'Debating Columbanus' heritage'.

(234) *Memoriale qualiter I* and *II*, ed. Claudio Morgand, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Schmitt 1963, pp. 177–282. I provide a detailed analysis of the *Memoriale qualiter* and its ties to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in an article with the working title 'Choreographing monastic life: Some observations on the *Memoriale qualiter*', in: Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward (eds.), *Categorising the Church. Monastic Communities, Canonical Clergy and Episcopal Authority in the Carolingian World*, Turnhout, Brepols forthcoming.

(235) *VIoh*, *praefatio*, pp. 326–327.

(236) See pp. 176–179.

contains various allusions to Jonas' *Vita Columbani* (but also to Gregory's *Dialogi* and the *Vitae Radegundis*) and a number of allusions to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and, possibly, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The text itself is, not unlike the *Vita Bertilae*, a "narrated rule" that uses Segolena as an example for living a perfect monastic life.[237]

We should, however, refrain from assuming that Jonas' monastic ideal represents a consensus among the monasteries related to Columbanus or his successors. There is ample evidence for dissent,[238] and it is possible that the majority of these monasteries did not intend to follow anything close to Jonas' rendition of the *Regula Columbani*. Jonas' track record is, at the very least, ambiguous. He succeeded, on the one hand, in creating and monopolizing Columbanus' *memoria*. Throughout the Middle Ages – and even today – Columbanus is remembered as he was shaped by Jonas rather than as the person who emanated from his own, sometimes impenetrable writings.[239] Jonas' *Vita Columbani* became a "bestseller" and inspired numerous other hagiographic texts.[240] Yet it is striking how minimal a role Columbanus (as constructed by Jonas) actually played within the network of monasteries that modern historians call "Columbanian". His name is rarely mentioned in the sources on Luxeuil's numerous affiliations. Moreover, it is not the *Regula Columbani* that prevails, but the *Regula Benedicti*, the text that Jonas emphatically ignored in his *Vita Columbani* and thoroughly rewrote in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6 of this book.

The fact that Columbanus and the *Regula Columbani* faded away over the course of the seventh century does not, however, mean that Jonas' ideas had no afterlife – to the contrary: much of what is represented in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had a strong impact on the development of medieval monasticism, albeit perhaps not in the way Jonas intended. Jonas' impenetrable *septa monasterii* did not prevail, but they contributed to the shaping of the notion of the monastery as *locus sanctus* and to the medieval cloister. Before him, the *Regula Benedicti* had little to say about the monastery as secluded space, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

Jonas' notion of *intercessio* for the living and of the responsibility of the community for the salvation of the individual may have been replaced by Benedict's monastic ideal, which puts the abbot, rather than the community, in charge of the individual's salvation,

(237) *Vita Segolenae*, *AASS* July, vol. 5, pp. 630F–637D. On the text and its sources, see Réal, Isabelle, 'Vie et Vita de sainte Ségolène, abbesse du Troclar au VII^e siècle', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 101:3–4 (1995), pp. 385–406. See especially c. 12.13, p. 633A on Segolena and her nuns embracing a regular life *secundum priscorum patrum instituta*; c. 12.13, p. 633A on the renunciation of the *faleramenta seculi praesentis et pompam facultatum* by retreating in to the *septa monasterii*; c. 13.14, p. 633B on Segolena's quality as abbess and the dietary rules of the monastery; c. 23.24–25, p. 635A–B on Segolena's confession; c. 24.26, p. 635C on a fugitive nun and the prayer of the community; c. 30.31, p. 636B on Segolena's qualities as abbess; c. 31.32, p. 636C on adherence to the *regula*, mutual love, and avoiding *negligentia*.

(238) Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

(239) On Columbanus' work, see Lapidge, Michael (ed.), *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge: Boydell 1997.

(240) Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 2, pp. 26–111; O'Hara, Alexander, 'The *Vita Columbani* in Merovingian Gaul', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 17:2 (2009), pp. 126–153.

but intercessory prayer – for the living and for the dead – nevertheless became the *raison d'être* for medieval monasticism, despite the fact that this practice is hardly present in the *Regula Benedicti*.[241]

There is yet another unresolved issue, a structural tension between a central observation made in the first part of this section and an insight to be taken from the second. I first noted that Jonas evokes the idea of a "monasticism for all" which may involve monks, nuns, abbots, and abbesses, but also aristocratic lay families, rulers, and bishops. Supporters of Columbanus acted on both sides of the monastic *septa,* not only as monks or nuns but also as founders, benefactors, and protectors of monasteries. Each of these groups had their share in the monastic experiments that evolved after Columbanus' death and each of them produced viable prospects for the authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Jonas was not the only one who expressed the idea that the surrounding world could participate in the monastic endeavour. Numerous episcopal privileges, royal immunities, and hagiographic works corroborate the fact that monastic life opened new – and lasting – options for the involvement of outsiders. Jamie Kreiner, Yaniv Fox, and Anne-Marie Helvétius (among others) have done groundbreaking work on the external impact of Columbanus' foundations and their affiliations on political structures, family networks, lay morality, the cult of saints, etc.[242] How then can we reconcile the idea that a warrior aristocracy could partake in a monastic movement that is, if we believe Jonas, driven by strong sense of urgency and deep anxiety about one's permanently endangered eternal salvation? What chance of survival do those denizens of the world have if even the faintest desire to return to the world puts one's salvation in jeopardy and if survival depends on unceasing introspection,[243] constant assessments of one's deeds, thoughts, emotions, sensory impressions, and on unconditional submission under the *regula* – as the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* imply? Even the carefully enclosed monastery remains, according to Jonas, and despite all safety precautions, still a dangerous place. How much more would this apply to the outside world? Jonas tells us how he himself nearly lost his life when, with the full permission of his superiors, he left the monastery to visit his mother.[244]

(241) Angenendt, Arnold, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153–221; Blennemann, 'Ascetic Prayer for the Dead'; Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*; De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism'; Mattingly, Todd Matthew, *Living Reliquaries: Monasticism and the Cult of the Saints in the age of Louis the Pious*, Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 2019, pp. 69–80 (on the *Vita Wandregiseli prima* as monastic norm).

(242) Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography*; Fox, *Power and Religion*; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Hagiographie et formation politique des aristocrates dans le monde franc (VII^{e}-VIII^{e} siècles)', in: Edina Bozóky (ed.), *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident. Actes du colloque de Poitiers*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012 (Hagiologia, vol. 8), pp. 59–80. On the impact of Columbanus' and Jonas' ideals on Carolingian monasticism, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli" Überlegungen zu den Gallusviten in ihrem karolingischen Kontext', in: Franziska Schnoor, Karl Schmuki, Ernst Tremp, Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hüeblin (eds.), *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben*, St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof 2015, pp. 65–97; De Jong, 'Carolingian monasticism'.

(243) On introspection (not necessarily in form of confession), see Columbanus, *Instructio* 9, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 100.

(244) *VCol* II, c. 5, pp. 237–238.

There are different, but not mutually exclusive, ways to resolve this question. One option is to assume that Jonas' sense of urgency and exclusivity represents just *one* voice among the many who vigorously discuss who might claim to follow the footsteps of the master and formulate the correct *Regula Columbani*. Jonas may have been more radical than Columbanus himself. Columbanus' moral universe was, to a large extent, determined by Cassian's system of the eight principle vices – which can be handled relatively easily.[245] Gregory the Great gave monks and nuns no more than a slight advantage in the race for salvation. Pious laypeople in his world could easily catch up.[246] Other followers of Columbanus and supporters of his monastic ideals may have viewed things much less strenuously than Jonas who created a panicked emotional community in his work.[247] Donatus of Besançon, a man of the world, trusted that he might enjoy the benefits of his nuns' intercessory prayer and partake in their efforts to receive forgiveness even after death.[248]

The author of the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, the other anonymous *regula* that forms a strong witness of dissent arising after (or maybe even before) Columbanus' death, dismissed both the salvific effect of *paenitentia* and of prayer. *The Regula cuiusdam patris* shows no interest in introspection, praises austerity, work, and unconditional obedience to the *mandata Domini* (all of which is conspicuously absent in Jonas' text), and identifies the Eucharist as the main instrument by which the stains of sinfulness may be cleansed away.[249] As such, it dismisses not only the idea that the monastery could serve the world, but also any claim that salvation is only possible in a monastic setting.

Another response – not incompatible with the previous – is that Jonas did indeed make a distinction between the polluted, poisonous, and deadly *saeculum* his nuns and monks had to permanently escape, and a *saeculum* of non-monastic followers of Columbanus' ideals who built their own monastically inspired parallel world in order to emulate monastic life, while fulfilling their duties within the world and supporting the poor and the "holy poor" through almsgiving.[250] It is striking that several works of hagiographers who used Jonas' work tell the story of laypeople who were ardent supporters of monastic life and who later

(245) Aside from the traces of Cassian's octad of vices in Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* there is a short treatise *De octo uitiis principalibus*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 210–212.

(246) Examples of lay men and women being saved due to their merits or repentance can be found in Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 15.2, *SC* 265, p. 60; c. 16.1–2, pp. 62–64; c. 17.1–3, pp. 68–70; c. 18, pp. 70–72; c. 27.2, p. 86; c. 27.10–13, pp. 92–94; c. 28.1–4, pp. 96–98; c. 38.1, p. 136. Many of Gregory's saved laymen earned this salvation through extensive almsgiving. See also Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, esp. pp. 27–28.

(247) On the concept of emotional communities, see Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 20–29; Rosenwein, Barbara H. and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?*, Cambridge/Malden, MA, Polity Press 2018, pp. 39–45.

(248) *Regula Donati*, prologue.33, *CSEL* 98, p. 141.

(249) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, ed. Villegas. See Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'; id./van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln*, pp. 20–47.

(250) On monks as the "holy poor" see Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016, esp. pp. 2–16. On monastic parallel worlds, see Brown, *Ransom of the Soul*, pp. 193–200.

in life became bishops but never entered a monastery. Most of them are praised for their "monastic" virtues of fasting, vigils, liturgical discipline, confession, and penance.[251] Take, for example, the *Vita Eligii*. Eligius is able to live a perfect Christian life as member of the royal court:

> After a short while, when Eligius was living an a adult life, desiring to show himself a vessel sanctified to God and fearing that some sins might stain his breast, he confessed all the deeds of his adolescence to the priest, and so, imposing an austere penance on himself, he began to resist vigorously the struggle of the flesh with the passion of the spirit, to wit in efforts [formulated] by the Apostle: in vigils, in fasts, in chastity, in much patience, and in unfeigned love. For he imagined for himself, against the ardors of his present flesh, the fires of future suffering, and the awareness of the ardor of Gehenna shut out the ardor of lust. He was praying continuously for heavenly gifts, and beseeching God night and day, very often considering these words from the book of Job: "I will beseech the Lord and place my speech to God who does great and inscrutable miracles without number, who places the humble on high and raises the deserving". (Iob 5, 8–11) He would deprive himself of sufficiency of bread so that he could produce heavenly bread. His face got pale from fasts and his withered body pined away, but his mind was always more passionately aflame with love of the eternal fatherland; and as he brought the weightier things to mind, he bore the lighter things more patiently. For always intent on the end of his present life, he was fearing God's future punishment and the frightening judgments…[252]

The *Vita Audoini* praises Audoinus, Eligius' best friend and hagiographer as follows:

> Whereupon the servant of Christ, thinking little of the honour of this world, strove most devotedly towards the heavenly realms. He often fasted, spent the night in vigils, was constantly at prayer, was generous in alms, keenly providing for the poor in the name of Christ, and he was extremely ready for the commands of God. And commonly indeed under his belt surrounded with the glint of gems, and beneath his purple robe shining with gold, a rough hair shirt pressed against the frame of his body in keeping with the ardour of faith.[253]

(251) On the transformation of monastic ideals in seventh-century ideals of pastoral care, see especially Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Hagiographie et formation politique'.

(252) *Vita Eligii* II, c. 7, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 673–674: *Non post longum spatium cum iam Eligius uirilem ageret aetatem, cupiens se uas Deo exhibere sanctificatum ac metuens, ut ne aliqua suum delicta pectus fuscarent, omnia adulescentiae suae coram sacerdote confessus est acta; sicque sibi austeram inponens paenitentiam, coepit fortiter conluctatione carnis spiritus feruore resistere, in laboribus scilicet secundum Apostolum, in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in patientia multa atque in caritate non ficta. Proponebat namque sibi aduersus praesentis carnis ardores futuri supplicii ignes ac memoria ardoris gehennae ardorem excludebat luxuriae. Orabat iugiter pro donis caelestibus, praecabatur Deum diebus ac noctibus, illud ex libro Iob crebrius e reuoluens: Ego, inquit, deprecabor Dominum et ad Deum ponam eloquium meum, qui facit magna et inscrutabilia et mirabilia absque numero, qui ponit humiles in sublime et merentes erigit sospitate.* (Iob 5, 8–11) *Adimebat sibi saturitatem panis, ut caelestem possit promerere panem. Ora quidem eius ieiuniis pallebant, corpus aridum marcescebat, sed mens acrius semper aeternae patriae amore aestuabat; et unde grauiora recordabatur, inde patientius leuiora portabat. Semper enim praesentis uitae terminum intuens, futuram Dei sententiam ac metuenda iudicia formidabat…* Transl. Jo Ann McNamara, Medieval Sourcebook, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/eligius.asp (last accessed April 30, 2020), thoroughly revised.

(253) *Vita Audoini*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 555: *Exinde Christi famulus, honore a saeculi parui pendens, ad caelestia regna deuotissime anelans, in ieiuniis frequens, in uigiliis pernox, in orationibus assiduus, in elemosynis largus, pauperibus pro Christi nomine alacriter fenerans, in mandatis Dei erat prumptissimus. Plerumque etenim sub balteo gemmarum fulgore consepto atque sub purpura auro nitente contexta pro fidei ardore propria corporis stema dura premebat cilicia…* Transl. Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640–720*, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press 1996, p. 155.

The Lives of Audoinus and Eligius, or, to use another example, of the bishop and monastic founder Praeiectus[254] might be markers of a spread of monastic practices and values out into the lay world and into pastoral practice.

This process of the "monasticization" of pastoral care started, of course, long before. One of the key terms of Jonas' monastic programme, the *medicamenta paenitentiae*, was in fact coined by Caesarius' of Arles and widely used in his sermons to laypeople,[255] There is little distinctly monastic in Columbanus' thirteen preserved sermons,[256] and, as already stated, his *Paenitentiale* is among the first to address monks, priests, and laypeople alike.[257]

The *Vita Bertilae* which, as we saw, extensively uses the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, provides one of the most striking examples of such a monasticization of the surrounding world.[258] The text praises Bertila for fostering confession and penance in the vicinity of the monastery. Here we have an instance in which terms derived from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appear in the context of lay people, outside of the monastery:

> Through holy Communion, she moved the monastic household and its neighbours to do penance for their sins after they had done confession. And after very many of them had been corrected, she acquired a reward for herself and profit for their souls.[259]

Other hagiographic texts related to monasteries in the orbit of Luxeuil indicate that confession was practised by people inside and outside the monastery. It seems, however, that

(254) *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 2 and c. 4, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 227–228, praising Praeiectus for his liturgical discipline.

(255) Caesarius uses the term *medicamenta paenitentiae* 32 times in his sermons. See especially *Sermo* 64–66, *CCSL* 103, pp. 274–284. Columbanus speaks once in his *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 144, l. 28 about the *medicamentum diuersitatis paenitentiae*: *Diuersitas culparum diuersitatis paenitentae medicamento sanari debet*. This section appears only in a part of the textual tradition and may as well have been added later. It may itself be inspired by Caesarius' monastic sermon 235, c. 4–5, *SC* 398, pp. 98–102. On Caesarius' influence on Columbanus and Jonas in general and the roots of *medicamenta paenitentiae* in Caesarius' work, see Wood, Ian N., 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29–37, at pp. 32–33. Wood (p. 33) concludes: "À mon avis, la spiritualité colombanienne et le monachisme colombanien dérivent en grande partie de Césaire: en effet elle représente l'application de la tradition césarienne au mode rural du nord-est de la Gaule."

(256) Columbanus, *Instructiones* 1–13, ed. Walker, pp. 60–120. On the sermons, see Stancliffe, Clare E., 'The Thirteen Sermons attributed to Columbanus and the Question of their Authorship', in: Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Columbanus. Studies on the Latin Writings*, Woodbridge/Rochester, NY 1997, pp. 93–202 (defending their authenticity).

(257) Columbanus, *Paenitentiale*, ed. Walker, pp. 168–180.

(258) On monks performing pastoral care for the surrounding world, see Constable, Giles, 'Monasteries, rural churches and the Cura Animarum in the early Middle Ages', in: *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 28.1: *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto Medioevo: espansione e resistenze*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1982, pp. 349–389.

(259) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A: *Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, ut, datis confessionibus, paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent; ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi praemium adquisiuit et illorum animabus lucrum fecit.*

this confession was not yet given a ritual shape or a coherent theological framing.[260] The question of how exactly *confessio* and *paenitentia* crossed the boundaries of the monastic community still remains to be investigated.[261] The next part of this study, however, takes a different turn. After having focused on the role of the monastic community and their responsibility for each individual's pursuit of salvation, I will explore another major agent of salvation, the monastic space. Before analyzing Jonas' notion of space, boundaries, and enclosure as salvific instruments (in Chapter 4) I will show that he wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as an expansion and revision of Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns.

(260) See *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 19, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 237 on the *confessio* of a priest; *Vita Eligii* II, c. 25, *PL* 87, col. 557: A corrupt priest refuses confession. The long sermon of Eligius inserted in the second part of his *Vita* contains several calls for confession and penance: *Vita Eligii* II, c. 15, *PL* 87, col. 535B; col. 541D; col. 547B (incomplete in *MGH SRM* 4). See also *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 17, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 22: Wandregisel admonishes a sinner to rush to confession to protect himself against the devil.

(261) Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014, pp. 48–61 expresses doubts that this happened before the seventh century.

PART II

SPACE

CHAPTER 3

THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*, A SUPPLEMENT TO CAESARIUS' RULE FOR NUNS?

THE SECOND PART OF THIS STUDY CONSISTS, like the previous part, of two sections, *Pflicht und Kür*, as one would say in figure skating. In Chapter 3, I develop another argument about the position of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* within the intertextual web of monastic rules. I show that Jonas' Rule did not stand on its own; it was rather a supplement of an existing normative text, most likely the Rule for Nuns written by Bishop Caesarius of Arles (d. 542), which was completed about a century before the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[1] This argument will form a stepping stone for Chapter 4, which explores the role of space and boundaries in early medieval monastic life – not only boundaries between the monastery and the outside world, but also the boundaries between the individual and the community. Caesarius and Jonas played a crucial role in the development of what modern historians

(1) Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 345, pp. 170–272 (henceforth *CaesRV*); English translation by Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960. On Caesarius, see Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994. Literature on Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* includes Van Rossem, Maaike, 'De poort in de muur. Vrouwenkloosters onder de Regel van Caesarius', in: *Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 4 (1983), pp. 41–91; Nolte, Cordula, 'Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad uirgines des Caesarius von Arles', in: Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn (eds.), *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 7, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1986, pp. 257–271; Hochstetler, Donald A., 'The Meaning of Monastic Cloister for Women According to Caesarius of Arles', in: Thomas F. X. Noble und John J. Contreni (eds.), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 1987, pp. 27–40; Thiellet, Claire, 'La règle de saint Césaire d'Arles et les fondations monastiques féminines', in: *Pratique et sacré dans les espaces monastiques au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Actes du Colloque International des 26, 27 et 28 septembre 1997 de Liessies-Maubeuge*, Lille: CREDHIR 1998, pp. 23–33; Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford: Blackwell 2000, pp. 98–107; Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 162–193; Rudge, Lindsay, 'Dedicated Women and Dedicated Spaces: Caesarius of Arles and the Foundation of St John', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism* ante litteram. *The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 99–116; Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'Confinement and Exclusion in the Monasteries of Sixth-Century Gaul', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 22:3 (2014), pp. 304–335; Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces et topographie des monastères de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge: réflexions à propos des règles monastiques', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 15–42.

call enclosure and cloister. Comparing their Rules gives us unique access to the emergence of the concept of sacred space and its theological ramifications.

If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was indeed a supplement of an already existing rule, our reading of the text becomes more complicated, but a new wealth of possibilities also opens up. Any analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* needs to take into account that the text itself represents only a part of a larger rule. If every provision of Jonas' Rule is based on a conscious engagement with an already existing monastic norm, the text becomes an even more prolific source on Jonas' specific agenda. We see what he considered missing and what, in his eyes, needed to be modified and adjusted, and we can identify where Jonas replaced or expanded Caesarius' monastic language with his own idiom. Thus, comparing both Rules enables us to see many things that would otherwise remain invisible.[2] Such a comparative approach between a base text and its corrections bears considerably more fruit than an isolated analysis of monastic rules such as that undertaken by Adalbert de Vogüé in his *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*.[3]

Producing a rule in order to supplement and expand an existing rule was by no means unusual in the early medieval monastic world. The *Regula patrum secunda*, for example, formed a supplement and modification of the *Regula quattuor patrum*.[4] The two parts of Columbanus' Rule, the so-called *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, complement each other. It is possible that Columbanus (or someone else) just expanded the *Regula monachorum* by inserting the *Regula coenobialis*.[5] Jonas' decision to interfere with an established monastic rule by adding new provisions could be motivated by pragmatic reasons, such as a change of spatial settings or different constituencies, legal frameworks, and social contexts. It could also be motivated by disagreements about the overall programme, monastic ideals, and fundamental theological questions. A comparison of Caesarius' and Jonas' Rules shows that both pragmatic and programmatic aspects played a role in Jonas' decision to write the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[6]

(2) On the practice of comparing normative texts, see Claussen, Martin A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 114–165; Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994 provides a comparative study of liturgical programmes and practices in early medieval monastic rules for nuns (esp. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*).

(3) For Caesarius' Rule for Nuns: de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 8, Paris: Cerf 2003, pp. 388–419.

(4) Kasper, Clemens, *Theologie und Askese. Die Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Aschendorff 1991, pp. 331–332; de Vogüé, Adalbert, *SC* 297, pp. 209–210.

(5) See Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 239–249; id., 'Columbanian monastic rules: dissent and experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68–85, here pp. 68–71; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 295–304.

(6) With a similar approach I analyzed the rules of Aurelianus and Donatus (which both revised Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines*), and the *Regula cuiusdam patris* (which revised the Rules of Columbanus). See Diem, Albrecht, '*…ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur*. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer and Clemens

First, we need to look at the evidence for the presence and use of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in the early medieval Frankish world and in particular within monasteries in the orbit of Luxeuil.[7] How likely is it that Jonas and the recipients of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had access to this text? Lindsey Rudge provides an overview of traces of the reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns which I shall briefly summarize:[8] The *Vita Caesarii*, which was written shortly after Caesarius' death, refers to his Rule twice. Caesarius rebuilt his monastery for virgins in 512 within the city walls of Arles "according to its original rule (*norma*) and with a *claustrum* to the protection of virginity" after a first foundation outside the city had been destroyed during a siege in 507 or 508.[9] At the end of his life, Caesarius implored his nuns to uphold the Rule (*regula*) which he had given to them many years earlier.[10] We know from the *Vita* of the abbess Rusticula (d. 632) that the *praecepta Caesarii* were still in use in Caesarius' monastery during her tenure, so almost a century later.[11]

There are at least three sixth-century monastic rules – for monks – that make use of parts of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns: Caesarius' own Rule for Monks,[12] the Rule of his successor Aurelianus (which exists in separate versions for monks and for nuns) and the *Regula Tarnatensis*.[13] They show that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was read, used, and processed outside the monastery it was originally written for. Several sources confirm that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was followed in the monastery that Queen Radegund (d. 587) had founded in Poitiers. Gregory of Tours, for instance, used the text as a legal basis for suppressing the uprising in Radegund's monastery that occurred after her death.[14] The *Vita* of Abbess

Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191–224; id., 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1–38; id., 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

(7) Wood, 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', pp. 32–34 provides evidence for the strong impact of Caesarius' work on Columbanus and Jonas.

(8) Rudge, Lindsay, *Texts and contexts: Women's dedicated life from Caesarius to Benedict*, Ph.D. thesis University of St Andrews 2007, pp. 73–127.

(9) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, *SC* 536, p. 194: *Inter ista igitur monasterium praecipue, quod sorori praeparare coeperat, et instar prioris normae et singularitate claustri…* Transl. Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994, p. 2.

(10) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 47, p. 304: *…et ut teneant regulam, quam ipse ante aliquot annos instituerat, monet.*

(11) *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 10, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 344.

(12) Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau, *SC* 398, Paris: Cerf 1994, pp. 204–226. On the text, see Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 193–200. I argue that the *Regula ad monachos* had been written shortly after Caesarius' had produced the first 35 chapters of his *Regula ad uirgines*.

(13) On Aurelianus' Rule: Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 274–275; Diem, '*…ut si professus fuerit*'; Heinzelmann, Martin, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert*, Zürich/Munich: Artemis Verlag 1976, pp. 138–152; Ueding, Leo, *Geschichte der Klostergründungen der frühen Merowingerzeit*, Berlin: Verlag Dr Emil Ebering 1935 (Historische Studien, vol. 261), pp. 75–79. It is possible that the author of the *Regula Ferrioli* knew Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as well. See Holzherr, Georg, *Regula Ferioli. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte und zur Sinndeutung der Benediktinerregel*, Einsiedeln/Zürich/Cologne: Benziger Verlag 1961, pp. 39–41.

(14) Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, p. 393; Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 63–64, *SC* 345, p. 486; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 39–42, *MGH SRM* 1.1, pp. 463–472; X, c. 16, pp. 505–507; X, c. 20, p. 513. See also Weaver, Rebecca Harden, 'The Legacy of Caesarius of Arles in Baudonivia's Biography of Radegund', in: *Studia Patristica* 33

Sadalberga (d. 665) contains several phrases that indicate that its author knew of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which makes it likely that it had been present in Sadalberga's monastery in Laon, founded, like Faremoutiers, with support of Columbanus' successor Eusthasius.[15] The *Vita* of Bertila, abbess of Chelles (d. 692), which contains numerous allusions to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, also shows some traces of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[16] The *Passio* of Bishop Praeiectus (d. 676) mentions that his foundation Chamalières followed a rule (*regula* – the author uses the singular) consisting of Caesarius', Benedict's, and Columbanus' Rules, which may have been the text we know as *Regula Donati*.[17] It is unlikely that Jonas, who was very well-connected and travelled between various monasteries, would not have known of a text that left traces in several convents related to Luxeuil.

By far the most significant evidence for the presence and reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in a prominent monastery founded *ex regula Columbani* is the Rule that Bishop Donatus of Besançon (d. 660) wrote for a monastery founded by his mother.[18] Jonas mentions this foundation in his *Vita Columbani*.[19] The *Regula Donati* is not only the prime witness of the reception of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns; it is also one of the earliest textual witnesses of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Columbani*.[20] Before discussing the relationship between Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, I will give a short overview of Donatus' use of Caesarius' Rule. This allows us to make a comparison between Donatus' and Jonas' techniques of engaging with this text.

Donatus explains in his dedicatory letter why the nuns of his mother's foundation wanted him to write a new rule for them instead of using existing ones. Columbanus' and Benedict's Rules were, in their eyes, unsuitable because they were written for monks. This implies that Donatus and his nuns regarded their monastery as structurally different from

(1997), pp. 475–480; Gillette, Gertrude, 'Radegund's Monastery of Poitiers: the Rule and its Observance', in: *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993), pp. 381–387; Thiellet, Claire, 'La règle de saint Césaire', pp. 23–33; Dailey, 'Confinement and Exclusion', pp. 312–314; Hartmann, Martina, 'Reginae sumus. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1–19, at pp. 12–14.

(15) Compare, for example, *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 12, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 56, l. 13–14 *…assidue uelut e luporum faucibus ereptos ubique greges Christi adunari…* to *CaesRV*, c. 2.3, *SC* 345, p. 180: *…ut spiritalium luporum fauces Deo adiuuante possit euadere*. On the presence of Caesarius' Rule monasteries related to Luxeuil, see also O'Carroll, 'Sainte Fare et les origines', p. 11. On Sadalberga and her monastic foundations, see also Hummer, Hans J., *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe. Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005, pp. 4146.

(16) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 5, *AASS* November, vol. 3, p. 92D contains allusions to *CaesRV*, c. 47, *SC* 345, p. 232.

(17) *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 235. Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, p. 70 lists a number of other monasteries that may have followed the *Regula Donati*.

(18) *Regula Donati*, ed. Michaela Zelzer and Viktoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 1–188. The older edition by Adalbert de Vogüé, 'La règle de Donat pour l'abbesse Gauthstrude', in: *Benedictina* 25 (1978) remains valuable because it presents the text in a synoptic edition along with the segments of the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus that Donatus used.

(19) Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 14, p. 275.

(20) Zelzer, Michaela, 'Die *Regula Donati* als frühestes Zeugnis des "monastischen Gebrauchstexts" der *Regula Benedicti*', in: Maciej Bielawski and Daniël Homergen (eds.), *Il monachesimo tra eredità e aperture*, Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo 2004, pp. 753–764; de Vogüé/Courreau, *SC* 345, pp. 142–144; Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words'.

communities of monks, a viewpoint that was not generally shared. Whether cloistered nuns were simply female monks or were living a distinct form of religious life was a matter of a debate that formed an undercurrent of monastic history as of yet unexplored systematically.[21] Caesarius' Rule was written for a female community but, in the eyes of Donatus' nuns, it was nevertheless not suitable for their community *ob inmutationem loci* (because of the change of the place).[22]

Despite this *immutatio loci*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns became the backbone for the *Regula Donati*.[23] Donatus did not just create a "*Regula mixta*" by compiling provisions from three different rules. He revised *one* Rule, that of Caesarius, by removing some of its provisions and adding new ones from the two other Rules, the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Columbani*. Roughly two thirds of the first 47 chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns made it into the *Regula Donati*. Of the remaining 19 chapters, which largely repeat points Caesarius had made earlier, about a quarter of the content resurfaces in the *Regula Donati*.

If we look at the sections of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns that the *Regula Donati* omits, we can see a clear pattern. Most of the regulations on enclosure disappeared, especially those that prohibited the nuns from leaving the monastic building for the rest of their lives.[24] Donatus also omitted provisions that limited interactions between the nuns and the outside world, such as the prohibitions on cleaning, repairing, or storing the clothing of outsiders, having any form of *familiaritas* with people outside the monastery, speaking with anyone without witnesses, exchanging goods or receiving gifts or letters, having *conuiuia* (festive meals) with outsiders, or welcoming religious women as guests.[25]

This indicates that modifications *ob inmutationem loci* concerned primarily the practice of enclosure. It seems that the recipients of Donatus' Rule simply did not want to be locked up in their monastery for the rest of their lives and wanted to continue being part of the social fabric they came from. The *immutatio loci* does, however, also imply a changed understanding of the meaning of *locus*. For Caesarius, complete enclosure was a precondition

(21) On the question of gender differences in early medieval monasticism, see Réal, Isabelle, 'Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 258–277; Diem, Albrecht, 'The Gender of the Religious: Wo/Men and the Invention of Monasticism', in: Judith Bennett and Ruth Marzo-Karras (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 432–446; id., '*…ut si professus fuerit*'; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Le sexe des anges au Moyen Âge', in: Michèle Riot-Sarcey (ed.), *De la différence des sexes. Le genre en histoire*, Paris: Larousse 2010, pp. 101–130 and pp. 246–251, esp. pp. 114–121; McNamara, Jo Ann, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millenia*, Cambridge, MS/London: Harvard University Press 1996, pp. 142–147.

(22) *Regula Donati*, prologue.4–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139: *…dicentes quod regulae praedictorum patrum uobis minime conuenirent, cum easdem uiris potius et nequaquam feminis edidissent,* [5] *et, licet sanctus Caesarius proprie Christi ut estis uirginibus regulam dedicasset, uobis tamen ob inmutationem loci in nonnullis condicionibus minime conueniret.*

(23) See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 28–31; id., 'Einleitung', in: Donatus of Besançon, *Nonnenregel*, transl. Katharina Hauschild, St Ottilien: EOS Editions 2014, pp. 21–22.

(24) *CaesRV*, c. 2.2–3, *SC* 345, p. 180; c. 50, p. 236; c. 59.1–2, p. 242; c. 73.1–2, p. 272.

(25) *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220–222; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.2–4, pp. 236–238; c. 51.5, p. 238; c. 53–54, p. 240; c. 59.1–2, p. 242.

for his nuns' spiritual well-being and their pursuit of eternal salvation. Neither Donatus nor Jonas fully share this viewpoint, as we will see in Chapter 4.

The *Regula Donati* also omits all of Caesarius' prohibitions against mitigating, neglecting, or changing the Rule, which is logical because this is exactly what Donatus did by rewriting Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and removing most provisions on enclosure.[26] Other omissions alleviate the strictness of Caesarius' Rule. Donatus omitted most of the provisions on manual labour,[27] and watered down the prohibitions on having private property[28] or using embroideries, draperies, and other decorations.[29] He also removed the requirement to wear a uniform habit.[30] For some aspects of monastic life, Donatus used the more extensive provisions of the *Regula Benedicti* instead of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. This pertains to the tasks of the abbess and the *cellararia* (both functions having much to do with the outside world),[31] the care for the sick,[32] and the treatment of those who are excommunicated.[33] All in all, Caesarius would have turned in his grave had he read what Donatus made of his Rule.

Donatus provides his nuns, however, not just with a slimmed-down and moderated version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Instead of merely cutting out the requirement of strict enclosure, he replaces it with some of the central ideas of the Rules of Benedict and Columbanus: *humilitas* and *oboedientia* (from the *Regula Benedicti*) and *confessio* and *paenitentia* (inspired by Columbanus' Rule).[34] As a true florilegist he creates a new and highly innovative rule out of old and authoritative textual material.

Donatus' technique of revising Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is markedly different from the way Jonas of Bobbio composed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. At first glance, there is little evidence that Jonas of Bobbio used Caesarius' Rule at all when writing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. There are but a handful of instances in which Jonas applied Caesarius' monastic idiom. Both rules use the expression *schola/scola* when referring to the dormitory of the nuns.[35] Caesarius and Jonas write *subiacebit* (she will undergo) with regard to punish-

(26) *CaesRV*, c. 48–49, pp. 232–236; c. 58.2, p. 242; c. 62–63, pp. 246–248; c. 64.3–4, p. 250; c. 65, pp. 250–252.

(27) *CaesRV*, c. 15–16, p. 190; c. 28.1, p. 206; c. 29.1, p. 208; c. 57, p. 242.

(28) *CaesRV*, c. 5.5–6, p. 184; c. 17.1, p. 192; c. 20.4–5, p. 194; c. 28.2–4, pp. 206–208; c. 30.4–6, pp. 208–210; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 43.5, p. 226; c. 59.3, p. 242.

(29) *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230.

(30) *CaesRV*, c. 44.1–3, p. 228.

(31) *CaesRV*, c. 27, pp. 204–206; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 42.5, p. 224, c. 42.6–7, p. 224.

(32) *CaesRV*, c. 31–32, pp. 210–212.

(33) *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, p. 214.

(34) *Regula Donati*, c. 19, *CSEL* 98, p. 157; c. 23–35, pp. 159–165; c. 37–39, pp. 166–167. Donatus also adds penitential clauses to various provisions of Caesarius and Benedict throughout the Rule. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 32–36.

(35) *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, *SC* 345, p. 182; *RcuiV*, c. 14. Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CSSL* 148A, p. 181 also uses *scola* for dormitory. The *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.45, *SC* 181, p. 422 uses *schola* only in a metaphorical sense as *schola dominici seruitii* (the school for the service of the Lord). On the introduction of the dormitory, see Vogüé, Adalbert de, '"Comment les moines dormiront". Commentaire d'un chapitre de la Règle de saint Benoît', in: *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 25–62. See also pp. 480–484 of this study.

ments; the *Regula Benedicti* uses *subiaceat* (he should undergo).[36] Caesarius and Jonas quote Act. 4, 32 in different contexts but in a very similar fashion.[37] Caesarius' Rule contains the expression *debita relaxare* (forgiving guilt), which might have inspired Jonas to use of *laxamur a debito* (we are released from guilt) in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[38] Other expressions both rules share are *cotidianis diebus* (at ordinary days),[39] *aeterna praemia* (eternal reward),[40] *uera caritas* (true love),[41] *cum grandi labore* (with great effort),[42] *signum tangere/tacto signo* (ringing the bell),[43] and *sedentes ad mensam* (sitting at the table).[44] It is striking that these parallels in language and terminology hardly ever align with parallels in content; they usually show up in different contexts. None of these parallels in wording, however, appears exclusively in these two Rules, which means that we have no "smoking gun" that decisively proves that Jonas used Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Yet taken as a whole they at least make a case for Caesarius' influence on Jonas.

The lack of overlap between Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not preclude that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* supplemented Caesarius' Rule for Nuns – on the contrary. If we indeed assume that Jonas knew Caesarius' Rule but, in contrast with Donatus, did not quote or paraphrase the text, the most obvious explanation would be that Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* was already in place and that its content did not need to be repeated. Donatus and Jonas had, as I will argue, similar objectives: providing a revision and expansion of Caesarius' Rule that fits within the new monastic ideals associated with Columbanus. They did, however, develop different textual strategies. Donatus excerpted Caesarius and filled in what was missing in order to compose a "complete" and theologically sound rule; Jonas left Caesarius' Rule for Nuns in place, giving more respect to Caesarius' exhortations not to change his text, but then wrote a new set of norms on top of it that discretely amended what he considered problematic or lacking. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be read as a commentary on Caesarius' Rule for Nuns just as much as it is a commentary on Columbanus' Rule (and, as we will see in Chapters 5–6, a com-

(36) *CaesRV*, c. 12.1, *SC* 345, p. 188; *RcuiV*, c. 16.8; c. 17.12; c. 18.5; c. 19.11; c. 20.1.

(37) *CaesRV*, c. 20.4–6, p. 194: *Sit uobis anima una et cor unum in domino,* 5 *sint uobis omnia communia.* 6 *Sic enim legitur in Actibus Apostolorum, quia "erant illis omnia communia"*; *RcuiV*, c. 17.9: *Omnia ergo quae in monasterio habentur, sint omnibus communia, iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus: Et erant, inquit, eis omnia communia.* Both use the Vulgate version (*sed erant illis omnia communia*). Caesarius combines it with *sint uobis omnia communia*; Jonas with *sint omnibus communia*. Caesarius quotes Augustine's *Praeceptum* I.3, ed. Verheijen, p. 418, who may have used a *Vetus Latina* version. Jonas' version might just have been a paraphrase of Caesarius' rendition of Augustinus. In any case, Caesarius and Jonas are unique in their double quotation of Act 4, 32.

(38) *CaesRV*, c. 34.2, p. 214; *RcuiV*, c. 5.25. Both *debita laxare* and *debita relaxare* appear rarely in other texts.

(39) *CaesRV*, c. 71.4, p. 268; *RcuiV*, c. 10.4; c. 12.29. The expression appears rarely in other rules.

(40) *CaesRV*, c. 63.11, p. 248; c. 65.5, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 5.11. The expression appears in no other monastic rule but is common in other theological texts.

(41) *CaesRV*, c. 63.2, p. 246; c. 65.5, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 22.7. The expression appears in no other monastic rule but is common in other theological texts.

(42) *CaesRV*, c. 42.2, p. 224; *RcuiV*, c. 11.3; *De accedendo* 8, also *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11. The expression is common.

(43) *CaesRV*, c. 12.1, p. 188: *signo tacto*; *RcuiV*, c. 10.14: *signum tangere*. See also *VCol* I, c. 17, p. 184: *signo tacto*; *VIoh*, c. 14, p. 337, l. 20: *tactoque signo*.

(44) *CaesRV*, c. 18.2, p. 192; *RcuiV*, c. 10.12. The expression does appear in other monastic rules as well.

mentary on the *Regula Benedicti*), but the way in which Jonas engages with these Rules is entirely different from Donatus' approach.

The 24 chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (or 25 if we consider *De accedendo* a part of it) discuss various aspects of monastic life in great detail and add elaborate theological explanations with a level of sophistication we do not find in any other monastic rule, but by themselves they do not constitute a *regula* suitable for organizing a monastic community. Too much is missing. There are, for example, no provisions on the entry of nuns and on the transfer of property. There are no chapters on obedience, on the appointment of the abbess, on clothing, or on the death and burial of nuns, and there is no systematic treatment of monastic enclosure. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does, however, at numerous places imply that regulations on these topics are already in place and just needed to be expanded and applied in specific contexts.

Theoretically, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could have been written to elaborate upon practices and traditions that had been established enough to not require a textual basis: a written rule on top of an unwritten custom. This is, however, rather unlikely, given the fact that female monastic life before Columbanus' arrival in Francia was by no means widely established and female monastic life *ex regula* was still a very recent phenomenon when the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written.[45] There must have been one (or, possibly, more than one) "base text" that regulated what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* did not need to regulate.

If we keep in mind that the foundation of Faremoutiers was an attempt to create a female version of Columbanus' monastic ideal, using Caesarius of Arles' Rule as a point of departure would have been the obvious choice. After all, Caesarius was himself a pioneer of female monasticism and he faced the same challenge as the founders of Faremoutiers: creating a new form of female monastic life that deviated from already existing male models.[46]

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is a strong candidate as background text of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but more evidence is needed in order to make a fully convincing argument. Providing such evidence is not merely a philological exercise that leads to a tedious accumulation of data. It gives us important insights into the intricacies of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and into Jonas' agenda. There are, however, two important caveats. It is possible

(45) For an overview of sixth-century female monastic communities, see Hartmann, 'Reginae sumus', pp. 8–11.

(46) Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 117–124. There are a few other normative texts for female communities that theoretically could have been available to the community for which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written, such as the *Regula ad uirgines* of Aurelianus of Arles; the Rule of Leander of Seville; Caesarius' Letter *Vereor*; Jerome's *Epistula ad Eustochium*, or Euagrius' *Sententiae ad uirginem*. However, none of them left any traces in Jonas' work (or elsewhere in monastic texts of the seventh-century), which makes it unlikely that any of them formed the "base text" of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. See Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*, *PL* 68, col. 399–406; Euagrius Ponticus, *Sententiae ad uirgines*, ed. André Wilmart, 'Les versions latines des sentences d'Évagre pour les vierges', in: *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911), pp. 143–153; Jerome, *Epistula* 22 *ad Eustochium*, *CSEL* 54, pp. 143–211; Caesarius of Arles, *Epistula Vereor*, *SC* 345, pp. 294–336; *Regula Leandri*, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 21–76.

that there was another "base text" for the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that has not been preserved. Secondly, we do not know to what extent the text that is preserved was really the text Caesarius had written.[47] Its oldest manuscript, the *Codex regularum*, has, after all, been written more than 250 years after the Rule for Nuns had been completed. This means that we have to treat the connection between Caesarius' Rule and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a very strong hypothesis rather than a proven fact.

One important clue connecting Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be found in the passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* where we hear the author's voice. I have already briefly discussed these passages in the previous chapter in the context of the question of whether the Rule was written by a member of the community or by an outsider. There are seven instances in which Jonas addresses his audience directly with expressions such as *decernimus* (we decide), *non negamus* (we do not forbid), and *censemus* (we determine). In five of these seven cases Jonas makes provisions that modify or explicate what we find in Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines*, as if he was to say, "Your Rule says *this*, but I determine *that*". On the other two occasions, his *decernimus* and *censemus* refer to topics that were not at all addressed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Here is a presentation of these different cases:

(1) Jonas determines (*censemus*) that visiting nuns who are bound under the same *regula* may join the sisters for meals.[48] Caesarius' Rule for Nuns provides an extensive list of people who are *not* allowed to join the meals of the nuns: bishops, abbots, clerics, laypeople, secular women, relatives of the abbess and the nuns, but also religious women and the *prouisor* (steward) of the monastery. Rare exceptions may be made for religious women of greatest piety from the same city, if their visit did not harm the monastery's reputation, probably religious women living in a domestic setting.[49] Jonas is, thus, somewhat more lenient by allowing nuns from other monasteries to stay within their monastery. Elsewhere in his Rule he prescribes that, in principle, all guests are to be received and fed in a dwel-

(47) Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag, pp. 151–169, at pp. 157–158 expresses doubts about the overall authenticity of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as it is preserved and suggests that it might be interpolated at a later stage since Courreau's and de Vogüé's edition is a reconstruction of a text that is, as such, not preserved in any of the extant manuscripts. Given the overall coherence of the Rule, the reproduction of large parts of it in the *Regula Donati*, and the fact that its list of subscribers is corroborated by other sources, I do not follow Helvétius' argument, though I acknowledge that a text whose earliest manuscript was produced at least 250 years after it has been written, needs to be read with some caution and with keeping the possibility of later alterations in mind.

(48) *RcuiV*, c. 3.24: *Intus uero tantummodo quae sacram deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.*

(49) *CaesRV*, c. 39, *SC* 345, pp. 220–222: *Conuiuium etiam his personis, hoc est episcopis, abbatibus, monachis, clericis, saecularibus uiris, mulieribus in habitu saeculari, nec abbatissae parentibus, nec alicuius sanctimonialis numquam, nec in monasterio, uel extra monasterium praeparetis.* ₂*Sed nec episcopo huius ciuitatis, nec prouisori quidem ipsius monasterii conuiuium fiat.* ₃*De ciuitate uero nec religiosae feminae, nisi forte sint magnae conuersationis et quae monasterium satis honorent; et hoc rarissime fiat.* See also c. 37, p. 220; c. 40, p. 222; c. 53, p. 240. On religious women outside a monastic setting, see Magnani, 'Female House Ascetics'.

ling outside the *septa* (the inner space) of the monastery.[50] This implies that he agreed with all the other exclusions listed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

Jonas' decision to make an exception for other nuns who followed the same *regula* may have had practical reasons. Faremoutiers was connected to other female monasteries which probably followed its model. Hagiographic texts give evidence of travelling nuns and of recruiting nuns and abbesses from other monasteries.[51] It would have been odd to force visitors from these monasteries to eat together with lay guests and pilgrims and not to allow them to partake in the monastic life that they were supposed to imitate.

(2) Jonas does not forbid (*non negamus*) nuns from having conversations at the table on high feast days – if the abbess gives permission.[52] The common meal is for him the only occasion during which the nuns may have open conversations, albeit under strict surveillance. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is stricter. It states that nuns have to be silent and focus on the readings while at the table.[53]

(3) On another occasion, which again addresses the topic of monastic meals, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is somewhat stricter or at least less ambiguous than Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Jonas decides (*decernimus*) that two dishes of vegetables, legumes, or pastry plus a piece of fruit suffice.[54] Caesarius allows three dishes at the single meal served during fasting periods and two dishes when the nuns eat twice a day.[55]

(4/5) Caesarius of Arles demands that all members of the community sleep in one common room and that each nun sleeps in a separate bed.[56] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* follows Caesarius by requiring a common dormitory (*schola*), which Jonas also calls *schola*. Jonas decides (*decernimus*), however, that two nuns should share one bed unless they are sick or old. He also determines (*censemus*) that two junior nuns may never share a bed.[57]

(6/7) Only on two occasions does Jonas speak directly to his audience on topics not touched upon by Caesarius. He decides (*decernimus*) that no one may give or receive any-

(50) *RcuiV*, c. 3.21. See also *VCol* I, c. 19, p. 190 on Columbanus demanding that King Theuderic II stays in the guest house of the monastery instead of entering its *septa secretiora*.

(51) For example *Miracula Geretrudis*, c. 10–11, *MGH SRM* 2, pp. 469–470; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 13–15, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 57–59; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 4, *AASS* Nov., vol. 3, p. 92A–D.

(52) *RcuiV*, c. 9.16–18: *Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollemnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda,* $_{17}$ *si ex permisso abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus,* $_{18}$ *sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur.*

(53) *CaesRV*, c. 18.2, *SC* 345, p. 192: *Sedentes ad mensam taceant, et animum lectioni intendant.*

(54) *RcuiV*, c. 10.4: *Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus duo fercula, exceptis pomorum donis, de leguminibus uel de holeribus conferta seu farinae qualibet consparsione.*

(55) *CaesRV*, c. 71.2, p. 268: *Cibaria omnibus diebus in ieiunio tria, in prandio bina tantummodo praeparentur.*

(56) *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, p. 182; c. 9.1–2, pp. 186–188.

(57) *CaesRV*, c. 9.1, p. 188: *…sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula*; *RcuiV*, c. 14.5/10: *Proinde ergo decernimus, ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in lectulis dormiant.* (…) $_{10}$ *Iuuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur.* The *Regula cuiusdam* is the only rule allowing two nuns or monks in one bed. Even the *Regula Donati*, c. 65, *CSEL* 98, pp. 179–180 follows here *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22, *SC* 182, pp. 540–542. On sleeping arrangements, see pp. 486–498.

thing from her portion of food without the consent of the abbess,[58] and he determines (*censemus*) that no nun may defend another nun because of kinship.[59]

A comparison of the content of both Rules provides further evidence pointing to Jonas' dependence on Caesarius. In various places Jonas fills in what Caesarius had left unsaid and, conversely, what Jonas prescribes would often make little sense without Caesarius' previous provisions. By analyzing how Jonas interacted with Caesarius we get a glimpse of Jonas' conscious alterations and the developments that must have taken place in the century between the production of Caesarius' and Jonas' Rules. I will focus on seven specific topics: children and novices, property and individual poverty, obedience, interactions with the outside world, anti-social behaviour, liturgical discipline, and clothing.

Children and Novices

Most monastic rules contain regulations on children, who either entered the community along with their parent or were given to the monastery at a young age. The variety of these regulations shows, however, that there was no uniformity with regard to the role of children in the monastery and that their role evolved over time.[60] Caesarius determines at the beginning of his Rule that children should not enter the monastery before the age of six and that no child may be taken in for the sole purpose of being brought up or educated.[61] Whoever enters the monastery as a child has to renounce her property at the point she reaches the legal age.[62] All nuns also have to learn how to read.[63] Novices have to go through a period of probation of about a year before becoming full members of the community. Only after this probation period they are allowed to sleep in the dormitory of the other nuns and receive the vestments that had been used by other members of the community.[64] These are the only provisions about children and novices in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

(58) *RcuiV*, c. 10.17: *Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere ab altera praesumat, praeter abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatissa commissum est*. This regulation could, however, relate to *CaesRV*, c. 42.1–4, p. 224 where Caesarius expresses great concern about nuns who harm themselves through excessive fasting. The special emphasis in Jonas' words (*illud praecipue decernimus*) resonates with Caesarius' nervousness about this topic (*ante omnia…ammoneo et contestor, ut uigilantissime consideretis…*). On the topic of excessive fasting, especially among religious women, see Bell, Rudolph M., *Holy Anorexia*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1985. This provision is discussed in detail on p. 456.

(59) *RcuiV*, c. 23.1: *Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio nullo modo permitti censemus*. See pp. 450–451.

(60) On the practice of child oblation, see De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996, esp. pp. 32–40; on children in late antique and early medieval monasteries, see Hillner, Julia, 'Monks and children: corporal punishment in Late Antiquity', in: *European Review of History* 16:6 (2009), pp. 773–791. For a more extensive discussion of Jonas' provision on children in the monastery, see pp. 554–562.

(61) *CaesRV*, c. 7.3–4, *SC* 345, p. 186. On external schools in monasteries, see Hildebrandt, Madge M., *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1992.

(62) *CaesRV*, c. 6.1–2, pp. 184–186.

(63) *CaesRV*, c. 18.7, p. 192.

(64) *CaesRV*, c. 4, p. 182: on the probation periods; c. 7.3, p. 186: on six or seven years as lowest entry age; c. 43.7, p. 228: on the reuse of vestments; c. 58, p. 242: on professing to follow the *regula* and on the *salutatorium* as transitory space.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not require a minimum age for children, neither does it address external students, probationary periods for novices, rituals of monastic entry, profession, or the transfer of property. Probably, this silence was due to the fact that the regulations of Caesarius on these matters were already in place. Jonas' Rule does, however, contain several references to children, inexperienced nuns, and novices in the monastery, which implies that children were an integral part of the community and required special regulations. For example, punishment needs to be adjusted based on age;[65] those who are new to the monastery may receive larger portions of food;[66] nuns of "younger age" need to serve the others at the table;[67] young nuns (*iuuenculae*) are not allowed to share a bed;[68] they are also not supposed to take too many baths.[69] Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* devotes an entire chapter to the education of children and the responsibility of the entire community for their spiritual progress.[70] Whereas Caesarius states that all nuns must learn to read, Jonas requires them to *use* their literacy for liturgical purposes.[71]

In sum, Jonas added aspects that Caesarius had not addressed but hardly repeats Caesarius' provisions. His greater concern with the education and presence of children in the monastery points to a shift in recruitment patterns. For Caesarius, the entry of children (presumably along with their mothers) may still have been an exception rather than the norm.[72] For Jonas, who was likely once a child oblate himself, it seems to be normal that children were given to the monastery at an early age.[73] The Faremoutiers section of the monastery provides several examples of nuns who entered the community while they were still children.[74]

Private and Communal Property and the Renunciation of the Temporal World

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns regulates in detail how new members of the community have to give up their private possessions and cut all ties with the outside world (he uses the term *impedimenta mundi*, "hinderings of the world") – topics addressed in almost every monastic rule, since they belong to the core of the monastic endeavour. Caesarius' nuns are, as already mentioned, required to draw up charters of donation of their inheritance at the

(65) *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 10.18; c. 16.1–3; c. 20.13.
(66) *RcuiV*, c. 10.5.
(67) *RcuiV*, c. 11.8.
(68) *RcuiV*, c. 14.11–12.
(69) *RcuiV*, c. 15.8.
(70) *RcuiV*, c. 24.
(71) *RcuiV*, c. 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant*. See pp. 559–560.
(72) Rusticula, the later abbess of Caesarius' foundation, did enter the monastery as a child. See *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 341.
(73) On Jonas' biography, see O'Hara, Alexander, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 88–120.
(74) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262 on Ercantrudis entering the monastery as a child; II, c. 15, p. 265 on the young nun Deurechilda; II, c. 16, p. 267 on two girls who see a globe arising from the nun Domna's mouth.

moment they reach a legal age. He recommends that nuns offer their possessions to the monastery rather than to the poor. Moreover, he emphasizes that the requirement to give up all worldly possessions also applies to the abbess.[75]

Jonas does not address the topic of giving up possessions held outside the monastery or any other aspects of entry into the monastery or the transfer of property. He seems to take this side of monastic conversion for granted, which allows him to elaborate on different aspects of the renunciation of the world. Nuns entering the monastery were to give up their own will and control their desire to return to the world or to maintain family ties within the monastery – aspects not mentioned in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[76]

Both rules strictly prohibit nuns from claiming anything that belongs to the monastery as their own, though just as in his other provisions, Jonas elaborates on aspects not addressed in Caesarius' Rule. Caesarius is more concerned about practical matters such as illegally importing private goods, buying wine, receiving gifts, or secretly keeping more than what the nuns need.[77] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is less concerned with details but explains *why* the desire to own is so dangerous and which motivations may be the cause of it. Claiming ownership of something shows that one is still entangled with the world (*mundus*) and, as such, breaks the strict boundaries that separate the *mundus* from the *monasterium*. The term *mundus* appears seven times in his chapter on private property. A nun is supposed to despise (*contemnere*) private property. The desire for property (*desiderium*, *cupiditas*) is a vice (*uitium*).[78]

On a more practical level, Jonas describes how the abbess distributes goods according to everyone's needs. He prohibits the nuns from passing goods they received on to others (as he forbids to share food) and urges them to treat everything belonging to the monastery with utmost care.[79] Jonas' focus on the responsibility for communal property resonates with several other passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that are concerned with *negligentia* towards objects belonging to the monastery.[80] Such *negligentia* may have fatal consequences both for the community and for every individual nun. Whatever belongs to the monastery needs to be treated as if it is consecrated to God – *ac si sacrata deo*. It belongs to God and any damage is, thus, a sacrilege, and all nuns have to handle what is entrusted to them *ac*

(75) *CaesRV*, c. 5–6, *SC* 345, pp. 182–186; c. 21.1–6, pp. 194–196; c. 52, pp. 238–240; c. 59.3, p. 242. See also Hochstetler, 'The Meaning of Monastic Cloister', pp. 34–37.

(76) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1–3: desire for the world; c. 5.9: familial love; c. 17.8: giving up one's own will; c. 23.1–4: family ties. Jonas addresses the aspect of cutting emotional rather than material ties to the world in a similar manner in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*, especially in an episode on a nun jeopardizing her salvation by harbouring memories of the world and wishing to return, and in the episode of the fugitive nuns who refused to reveal their motivations of returning to the world. See *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263; II, c. 19, pp. 273–275.

(77) *CaesRV*, c. 17.1, *SC* 345, p. 192; c. 28.4, pp. 206–208; c. 30.4, p. 208; c. 52, pp. 238–240.

(78) *RcuiV*, c. 17.1–4. For a more extensive discussion of this chapter, see pp. 505–512.

(79) *RcuiV*, c. 17.5–11.

(80) *RcuiV*, c. 3.11: control of every object that leaves and enters the monastery; c. 10.17: No food must be passed on without permission of the abbess; c. 17.7: No objects may be traded or given to outsiders without permission of the abbess.

si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina (as if she is a guardian of someone else's property but not as the mistress of her own property).[81]

If we combine Caesarius' and Jonas' references to the renunciation of wealth, to private and collective property, and to the sacredness of everything belonging to the monastery, we end up with a fairly comprehensive and, mostly thanks to Jonas, theologically sound set of norms on the topics of property, materiality, and the renunciation of the world. Jonas shifts his focus from specific provisions towards motivations, attitudes, and the devastating effects of worldly desires. We can observe this turn towards the internal state at various other places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It forms the key of Jonas' notion of monastic discipline.[82]

Obedience

Oboedientia figures into several chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, even though Caesarius never requires the same unconditional obedience *usque ad mortem* (until death) to one's superior that we find in the Rules of Columbanus and Benedict.[83] Caesarius' precepts are straightforward. The nuns have to fulfil orders without arguing, otherwise they will be excluded from table and prayer.[84] They have to obey the abbess as they would obey God and report to the *praeposita* with love and without murmuring, because the abbess and *praeposita* take care of them.[85] Juniors have to obey seniors.[86] The first version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (before he added his *recapitulatio*) ends with the strong statement that the abbess, the *praeposita*, and all nuns need to obey the *regula sancta* (Holy Rule) in *sancta et deo placita oboedientia* (holy and God-pleasing obedience) in order to achieve salvation.[87]

The question of the nature and meaning of *oboedientia* probably belonged to the topics of dispute among those who claimed Columbanus' legacy. Columbanus begins his *Regula monachorum* with the requirement to follow the orders of a superior unconditionally *usque*

(81) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14–15: care of the *praeposita* for the *res monasterii*; c. 3.22: care of the *portaria* for the vessels and utensils; c. 4.8: care of the *cellararia* for the *res sibi commissis*; c. 12.27: control of the prioress over the kitchen vessels; c. 13: careful distribution of the *utensilia* by a trustworthy nun appointed by the abbess; c. 16: sanctions on spilling, breaking, or losing monastic property; c. 17.6: treating everything *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina*. On the notion of the sacredness of monastic property in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51–67.

(82) I return to this in Chapter 6 where I provide a detailed analysis of each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(83) *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1–3, *SC* 181, p. 412; c. 5, pp. 464–468; c. 7.34–35, pp. 480–482; c. 71, *SC* 182, p. 668; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122–124. On the topic of obedience in seventh-century monastic rules, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283–287; De Bhaldraithe, Eoin, 'Obedience: The Doctrine of Irish Monastic Rules', in: *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983), pp. 63–84.

(84) *CaesRV*, c. 13.2, *SC* 345, p. 190; c. 17.2, p. 192.

(85) *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192; c. 35.4–10, pp. 216–218.

(86) *CaesRV*, c. 33.7, p. 214.

(87) *CaesRV*, c. 47.2, p. 232. On the structure of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and the different steps of its production, see p. 282–283.

ad mortem.[88] The *Regula Donati* follows Columbanus in this regard and turns unconditional obedience into the first step of humility by rearranging Benedict's provisions in chapter 5 (which defines obedience as the first step of humility) and chapter 7 (which defines fear of God as the first step of humility).[89] Moreover, Donatus concludes his Rule by claiming that obedience to the holy rule is a precondition of salvation. He uses Caesarius' words for this purpose.[90] The *Regula cuiusdam patris*, the other anonymous seventh-century monastic rule, which is based on the Rules of Columbanus and Basil and on John Cassian's work, vigorously challenges the requirement of unconditionally executing a superior's order by placing obedience to the *mandata Dei* (God's precepts) above obedience towards a superior.[91]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* takes a different turn, which only makes sense if the straightforward requirements to follow orders, as we find them in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, were already in place. Jonas avoids the term *oboedientia* almost entirely.[92] The only prominent place in which it appears is the title of chapter 5: *De inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo* (That one has to love each other and to obey each other). Notwithstanding its title, this chapter does not address obedience at all but focuses on the salvific effect of mutual love and forgiveness.[93]

This absence of *oboedientia* in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does by no means imply a more lenient monastic discipline. On the contrary, obedience has to be internalized to an extent that there is no longer a need to give orders. For Jonas, it does not matter whether nuns are obedient – which is a precondition according to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. His concern is whether they *want* to be obedient and whether they express this attitude in everything they do or speak. Jonas probably agrees with Caesarius' notion that salvation depends on the *sancta et deo placita oboedientia*, but his concern is how to *turn* this obedience into something that *is* "holy and God-pleasing". His ultimate goal is to make *oboedientia* superfluous because everyone does already, powered by their zeal and fear, the right thing.

Interactions with the Outside World

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains numerous provisions on the interaction between members of the community and those living outside the monastery in the world: visitors, stewards (*prouisores*), the poor, artisans, family members, clerics performing liturgical duties, bishops, and religious women from elsewhere. This includes regulations on receiving per-

(88) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, pp. 122–124.

(89) *Regula Donati*, c. 37.1–19, *CSEL* 98, pp. 166–167; c. 39–40, p. 167.

(90) *Regula Donati*, c. 77.11, p. 188 quoting *CaesRV*, c. 47.2, *SC* 345, p. 232: *Credo tamen de Dei misericordia, quod non pro aliqua neglegentia reatum incurrere, sed pro sancta et Deo placita oboedientia ad aeternam beatitudinem possitis feliciter peruenire. Amen.*

(91) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 19–25, ed. Villegas, pp. 25–29.

(92) Jonas briefly mentions *oboedientia* in two chapters that deal with different issues. *RcuiV*, c. 3.24 refers to nuns from other monasteries who are bound *in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula* (in the unity of obedience under one rule). *RcuiV*, c. 17.1 reproaches those who are stubborn, haughty, disobedient, or murmuring. *Oboedientia* is also almost completely absent in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.

(93) See pp. 400–401.

sonal gifts from outside, the prohibition on rendering services to outsiders, and the admonishment to control one's behaviour when interacting with outsiders.[94] Hardly any of these regulations appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[95] Reversely, most references to interactions with non-members of the community that we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are not addressed by Caesarius: the care of the abbess for pilgrims and the poor; how the *portaria* should interact with strangers at the gate; how gifts should be brought into the community and compensated with prayer;[96] how the monastery should take care of guests and the poor in a special guest house; that nuns working there should receive their meals later; how the nuns communicate with strangers in the evening through a window in the gate; and how the nuns should behave when a *sacerdos* (priest or bishop) visits the monastery.[97] The different kinds of interactions addressed in both rules may reflect the fact that Caesarius founded his monastery within the city of Arles while Faremoutiers and most other seventh-century monastic foundations were situated outside of cities. Yet if we combine what we find on nuns and outsiders in both rules, we get a fairly comprehensive catalogue of norms on interaction between the monastery and the surrounding world.

Anti-social Behaviour

Caesarius addresses straightforwardly how to deal with manifestations of anti-social behaviour that might disrupt the community: anger, violence, shouting, theft, quarrelling, and, especially, expressing discontent (*murmuratio*).[98] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not repeat any of these prohibitions and sanctions, aside from discussing the problem of *murmuratio*. Jonas addresses this issue from a different, again more inward-looking perspective: the question of how to prevent *murmuratio*,[99] how to impact the attitude that might lead to aggression and discontent, and how to meticulously control all expressions of (negative) emotions through one's voice and gestures.[100] He was probably aware that peace and order in the community and the "inner peace" of the individual nun (which are both necessary for the collective and individual pursuit of salvation)[101] could not be maintained by just sup-

(94) *CaesRV*, c. 11, p. 188; c. 23–25, pp. 198–202; c. 27, pp. 204–206; c. 36–39, pp. 218–222; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 41, p. 222; c. 42.6–7, p. 224; c. 43, pp. 226–228; c. 46, p. 232; c. 51, pp. 236–238;. 54, p. 240; c. 64.1, p. 250. See pp. 380–387.

(95) An exception is *RcuiV*, c. 3.9 prohibiting the *portaria* from making eye contact with strangers, which could be read as an exemplification of *CaesRV*, c. 23, pp. 198–200.

(96) *CaesRV*, c. 43, pp. 226–228 addresses the theme of gift-giving to the monastery. Jonas expands on this by requiring that all nuns have to pray for the donor. See *RcuiV*, c. 3.12.

(97) *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 3.8–10; c. 3.20–21; c. 22.22.

(98) *CaesRV*, c. 3, p. 182: swearing and slander; c. 13.1, p. 190: on talking back; c. 17.2, p. 192: *murmuratio*; c. 26, p. 204: insults, theft, violence; c. 28.2–3, p. 206: no *murmuratio* about vestments; c. 31.1–2, p. 210: Sick nuns should take a bath without *murmuratio*; c. 32.4, p. 212: Porters and those who take care of the linen should serve without *murmuratio*; c. 33, pp. 212–214: anger, shouting, slander an violence; c. 34.2–6, pp. 214–216: Nuns who beat each other, need to ask for forgiveness; c. 35.4, p. 216: Nuns have to obey without *murmuratio*.

(99) For example *RcuiV*, c. 4.10–11; c. 4.19–20; c. 4.23–24; c. 12.23.

(100) *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 1.12–15; c. 2.12; c. 2.18–19; c. 8.4; c. 9.16–18.

(101) See pp. 547–554.

pressing and punishing discontent, quarrelling, and anti-social behaviour. His strategy, therefore, focuses more on prevention and shaping the correct state of mind.[102] He approached this topic from three different perspectives: fostering motivation through reward, fear, and meticulous control,[103] creating circumstances that give the nuns little reason for *murmuratio*,[104] and requiring that all interactions are to be determined by the strict regimen of love.[105] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could focus on this aspect of monastic discipline only because a previous rule had already addressed the dark sides of human interaction and imposed punishments for specific forms of aggressive or anti-social behaviour.

Liturgical Discipline

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns ends with a detailed liturgical programme (*ordo psallendi*).[106] This liturgical programme is, as Caesarius states, inspired by the *regula* of Lérins, the monastery where he received his training.[107] Liturgy plays, as we might expect, a preeminent role in Caesarius' foundation.[108] The *Vita Caesarii* addresses abbess Caesaria the Younger *cum choro sodalium monacharum* (along with the choir of the community of nuns), which implies that its authors regarded the community in the first place as a liturgical community.[109] Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains numerous regulations on the improvement of the quality of prayer: on punctuality at prayer, silence during prayer, not sleeping during vigils, permanent prayer and "meditation of the heart", and the necessity to know and understand the content of the prayers.[110] Caesarius also requests twice that the nuns remember him in their prayers as the author of the Rule and founder of their monastery.[111]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain an *ordo psallendi*. Based only on Jonas' Rule, it would be impossible to answer the question of whether his community followed Caesarius' liturgy, the liturgy outlined in Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, the *ordo* of the *Regula Benedicti*, or the perpetual prayer of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.[112]

(102) *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 6.2; c. 6.20–22; c. 7.3; c. 9.4; c. 12.15; c. 14.1–2; c. 16.4; c. 18.5; c. 22.4.

(103) *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; c. 1.12–15; c. 2.12; c. 2.18–19; c. 8.4; c. 9.16–18.

(104) For example *RcuiV*, c. 4.10–11; c. 4.19–20; c. 4.23–24; c. 12.23.

(105) *RcuiV*, c. 5; c. 22.1–7; c. 23.

(106) *CaesRV*, c. 66 and c. 68–70, *SC* 345, pp. 252–268 (c. 67 addresses periods of fasting).

(107) *CaesRV*, c. 66.2, pp. 252–254. On the liturgy in Caesarius' monastery, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 108–115.

(108) *CaesRV*, c. 20.3, p. 194; c. 21.7, p. 196; c. 22, pp. 196–198.

(109) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 1, *SC* 536, p. 146; I, c. 58, pp. 228–230. See also *Vita Segolenae*, c. 11.12, *AASS* July, vol. 5, pp. 632F: *Itaque domos reliquit proprias, progressa cum sodalibus suis Christo duce cum paecedente psallentium choro.*

(110) *CaesRV*, c. 10, p. 188: no chatter or work during the Psalm singing; c. 12, p. 188: not arriving late at prayer; c. 15, p. 190: not sleeping during vigils; c. 21.7, p. 196: on ceaseless prayer; c. 22, p. 196: reflecting on the content of prayers; c. 66.1, p. 252: praying with wisdom.

(111) *CaesRV*, c. 2.4–6, p. 172; c. 72, p. 270.

(112) Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 115–120 provides an overview of all scattered references to liturgical activities in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Instead of developing its own liturgical *ordo*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refers several times to prayers that do not form part of the Hours: prayers that mark the beginning and end of work shifts, before going to sleep, or before taking meals.[113] As I have shown in the previous chapter of this study, the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* is equally prolific in describing prayers outside the formal liturgical context.[114] Jonas is obviously just as concerned with prayer as Caesarius. Yet he seems also to take much of what we read in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns on liturgical discipline for granted. His regulations focus largely on the problem of the correct motivation and vigour for prayer – in analogy to his concern about negligence and lack of motivation in other contexts.[115] Caesarius insists on perpetual prayer and demands that the nuns understand what they sing; Jonas explains that prayers need to be heartfelt.[116]

Both rules address the problem of punctuality at prayer – which was a matter of concern for almost every author of a monastic rule.[117] Caesarius succinctly states that whoever does not proceed to the *opus Dei* after having heard the sign is to be reproached and, if it happens more often, segregated from the community and the communal meal.[118] Jonas devotes a full chapter to punctuality both for daily and nightly Hours, in which he focusses on the correct attitude for prayer. He is concerned whether the nuns' mind is "attentive to the sound of the announcer and inclined to the work of God" (*mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi dei innixa*). He wants to ensure that the nuns proceed to prayer "with all dignity and gentleness" (*cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine*) and not "slowly and sluggishly" (*morose et segniter*).[119] Whereas Caesarius simply states that a nun who is not punctual should receive an *increpatio* (reproach), Jonas explains what such a reproach entails: a nun who arrives late may not take her place but has to stay at a place reserved for latecomers in order to be exposed to shame.[120] Jonas deviates from Caesarius in one regard: instead of excluding a nun who regularly shows up late, Jonas prohibits her from staying outside (*foris*) of the oratory because it is there, he argues, that she is especially prone to the trappings of the devil and that she might be overpowered by sleep.[121] As someone who has transgressed the rule and showed negligence, she needs to be inside (*intus*) in order to receive the reproach but also the protection of the community.

Both Caesarius and Jonas touch upon the topic of intercessory prayer, assuming that it is possible to pray on behalf of someone else. Caesarius refers two times to intercessory prayer for outsiders, especially for himself. His *Vita* tells how the choirs of nuns support the

(113) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12; c. 5; c. 6.14–16; c. 6.26–30; c. 9.8; c. 10.13–15; c. 12.24–28; c. 20.7.
(114) See p. 207.
(115) For example *RcuiV*, c. 2.17–18; c. 6.29–30.
(116) *RcuiV*, c. 1.4–6; c. 2.16–19; c. 5.14–16; c. 6.29–30; c. 8.1–6; c. 8.11–12; c. 12.24–28; c. 20.7.
(117) Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 52, *CCCM* 168A, pp. 444–461 collects 34 passages from monastic rules on the topic of punctuality at prayer.
(118) *CaesRV*, c. 12, *SC* 345, p. 188: *Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus dei uel ad opera uenerit, increpationi, ut dignum est, subiacebit.* ₂ *Quod si secundo aut tertio ammonita emendare noluerit, a communione uel a conuiuio separetur.*
(119) *RcuiV*, c. 8.2–4.
(120) *RcuiV*, c. 8.4–6.
(121) *RcuiV*, c. 8.7.

troops (*caterua*) of priests in their protection of the city.[122] References to intercessory prayer for outsiders can be found twice in the *Vita Columbani*. In his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, however, Jonas mentions this crucial aspect of monastic life only in passing.[123] Instead, he focusses mostly on "internal" intercessory prayer, i.e. praying on behalf of each other and, in particular, for those who have committed a sin or did not show the appropriate attitude. Especially in the chapters on love and on confession (c. 5–6), Jonas stresses that mutual prayer is crucial for attaining salvation.[124]

Clothing

A rather mundane topic that is ubiquitous in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns but largely absent in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is that of monastic vestments, shoes, and other textiles: how they are to be produced, stored, cleaned, distributed, received as gifts, and purchased; the colour of the monastic habit; the ritual of changing vestments at the moment of monastic entry; and the prohibition on decorating the monastery with embroideries and tapestries. No fewer than sixteen chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns discuss vestments, textiles, and fabrics.[125] In contrast, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is largely textile-free, aside from a short reference to repairing and washing clothes, prohibiting nuns from claiming vestments and shoes for themselves, or passing on vestments to someone else – topics not addressed by Caesarius.[126]

Other Topics Addressed in Only One of the Rules

So far, I have given examples of both Rules addressing important aspects of monastic discipline from different perspectives: children, property, renunciation of the world, obedience, interaction with outsiders, anti-social behaviour, liturgy, intercession, and clothing.

(122) *CaesRV*, c. 1.4–6, p. 172; c. 40, p. 222; c. 72, p. 270; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 28, *SC* 536, p. 184. See also Hormisdas, *Letter to Caesarius*, c. 1.7, *SC* 345, p. 354. On the role of sacred virgins as intercessors for their family or for society as a whole: Brown, Peter, *The Body and Society. Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd ed. 2008, pp. 259–284.

(123) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13; *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 174–176; I, c. 22, pp. 204–205.

(124) See pp. 405–406 and pp. 421–422.

(125) *CaesRV*, c. 4, *SC* 345, p. 182: on changing the *habitus*; c. 5, pp. 182–184: describing sacred virgins as *mutatis uestibus* and conversion as *uestimenta religiosa accipere*; c. 16, p. 190: on working with linen; c. 17.1, p. 192: no claim on vestments; c. 22.5, p. 198: Nuns should distinguish themselves through their manners, not their vestments; c. 27.2–3, pp. 204–206: The *praeposita* and the *lanipendia* have to take care of the linen and the vestments; c. 28.1–3, p. 206: The monastery should produce their own vestments; the nuns should not mutter about their vestments; c. 30.1, p. 208: appointment of the person responsible for the linen; c. 32.4–5, p. 212: storage, distribution, and careful treatment of vestments and shoes; c. 43.1, p. 226; c. 51.4, p. 238: not secretly receiving vestments as gifts; c. 43.7, p. 228: Old vestments need to be given to the poor or to novices; c. 44.1–3, p. 228; c. 55, p. 240: simplicity and colour of the habit; c. 45, p. 230; c. 60, p. 244: no embroideries, tapestries, and other luxury items. See also Tilley, Maureen, 'Caesarius's Rule for unruly nuns: permitted and prohibited textiles in the monastery of St John', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 26:1 (2018), pp. 83–89.

(126) See *RcuiV*, c. 12.5; c. 17.5–7.

A common pattern is that Caesarius provides straightforward regulations while Jonas omits most of them, elaborates on some of them, adds new ones, and shifts the focus from outward act to attitude and motivation. In doing so, he often places what Caesarius considers a mere matter of discipline at the crossroads of salvation and damnation.

It is easy to expand the list of omissions and additions by going through both Rules chapter by chapter. The following provisions (listed in the order of appearance, including some I already have discussed) appear only in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, even though we can assume that they were followed in Faremoutiers as well: prohibition of private servants and educating children from outside the monastery;[127] prohibition of private dwellings and of private closets with keys;[128] prohibition of acting as godmothers;[129] requirement of "chastity of the eyes" and appropriate behaviour towards members of the opposite sex;[130] prohibition of the secret storage of goods;[131] provisions on the presence of priests and artisans in the monastery and visits of family members;[132] prohibition of the abbess eating outside of the monastery;[133] prohibition of excessive fasting;[134] provision on care for the poor through the *prouisor*;[135] provision on the colour and simplicity of the habit;[136] prohibition of embroideries, ornaments, etc.;[137] prohibition of laundering, repairing, or storing the vestments of outsiders;[138] provision on how long nuns are allowed to grow their hair;[139] provision on reading the Rule at entry and professing to follow the Rule;[140] provision on the election of the abbess;[141] provisions on burials;[142] prohibition of eating poultry and meat, except in cases of illness.[143]

Conversely, if we go through the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, we see that the text largely addresses topics that Caesarius either touched upon only very generally, sporadically, or not at all. The first four chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, for example, describe in

(127) *CaesRV*, c. 7.1/4, p. 186.
(128) *CaesRV*, c. 9, pp. 186–188; c. 51.1, p. 236. Compare to *RcuiV*, c. 2.16 on controlling regularly whether the nuns hide something close to their beds.
(129) *CaesRV*, c. 11, p. 188.
(130) *CaesRV*, c. 23–25.2, pp. 198–202. The topics of chastity and virginity are almost completely absent in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* aside from some concerns about illicit desire that may arise if two nuns share one bed. See also Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 200–203 and pp. 249–272.
(131) *CaesRV*, c. 30.2–3, p. 208; *RcuiV*, c. 2.16 address how the prioresses control whether a nun has stored something illicitly.
(132) *CaesRV*, c. 36, pp. 218–220; c. 39–40, pp. 220–222; c. 62–64, pp. 246–250. *RcuiV*, c. 22.22–23 prescribes how nuns have to interact with visiting priests – a topic not addressed by Caesarius.
(133) *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222.
(134) *CaesRV*, c. 42.1–5, p. 224.
(135) *CaesRV*, c. 42.6–7, p. 224.
(136) *CaesRV*, c. 44, p. 228; c. 55, p. 240.
(137) *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230.
(138) *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.3, p. 238.
(139) *CaesRV*, c. 56, p. 240. See Leyser, Conrad, 'Long-haired Kings and Short-haired Nuns: Writing on the Body in Caesarius of Arles', in: *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993), pp. 143–150.
(140) *CaesRV*, c. 58, p. 242.
(141) *CaesRV*, c. 61, p. 244.
(142) *CaesRV*, c. 70, pp. 266–268.
(143) *CaesRV*, c. 71.7–8, p. 268.

detail and with various digressions the four main offices in the monastery (abbess, *praeposita*, *cellararia*, and *portaria*), which are mentioned only in passing in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[144] Moreover, Jonas mentions cooks, bakers, and brewers,[145] while Caesarius addresses the *primiceria* (choir mistress), *formaria* (novice mistress), *posticiaria* (doorkeeper), and *lanipendia* (sister in charge of the wool work).[146] Caesarius says very little about love and nothing about confession, which are addressed in chapters 5–7 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[147] Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does have an *ordo conuiuii* on times of eating, but no further regulation on the order of the table and on cooking, topics addressed in chapters 10–11 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both texts address the theme of manual labour, but each describes different activities.[148] Only Jonas identifies *paenitentes* as a separate group.[149] There are no regulations on tools and implements in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, a topic addressed in chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both rules address the theme of care for the sick, but Jonas adds numerous details, such as regulations on bathing. In his chapters on caring for the sick, Caesarius focuses on getting them ready for returning to work, whereas Jonas is more concerned about care and special treatment.[150] The theme of negligence in dealing with the monastery's tools is addressed in chapter 16 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but not by Caesarius. Caesarius' mentions *excommunicatio* once but has no detailed programme of excommunication and punishment, which we find in chapters 18–20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[151] None of the aspects of mutual interaction we find in chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* appears in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and the

(144) *CaesRV*, c. 30.1, p. 208: *Ad cellarium et ad posticium uel lanipendium tales a seniore eligantur, non quae uoluntates aliquarum, sed necessitates omnium cum timore dei considerent*. Jonas vastly expands on this. Caesarius says about the *praeposita* that the nuns have to report to her and that she should undermine her authority by apologizing when she treated someone too harshly: *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192; c. 27, p. 204; c. 29, p. 208; c. 30.1, p. 208, c. 35.1–3, p. 216; c. 47, p. 232; c. 59.3, p. 242.

(145) *RcuiV*, c. 12.18–22.

(146) *CaesRV*, c. 25.6, p. 202; c. 27.2, p. 206; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 35.10, p. 218; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 43.4, p. 226. On the *posticiaria*, see pp. 309–310.

(147) *RcuiV*, c. 5–7. Caesarius addresses mutual love at various places in his Rule, but does not devote a specific chapter to this topic. See *CaesRV*, c. 21.6, p. 196: on living in concord and harmony; c. 24.7, p. 202: on controlling each other *cum dilectione sororum*; c. 27.3, p. 206: on producing cloths with *amor* and *zelum*; c. 32.2, p. 210: on serving the sick *cum pietate*; c. 35.5, p. 216: on following the Rule *cum caritate et uera pietate*.

(148) *RcuiV*, c. 12. *CaesRV*, c. 8, p. 186 establishes that the nuns are not allowed to choose the work they do; c. 14.2, p. 190 states that all kitchen tasks and other domestic tasks need to be performed in turns. *RcuiV*, c. 10–12 expands extensively on that. In *CaesRV* c. 16, p. 190 Caesarius mentions work with linen (which is not mentioned in *RcuiV*). *CaesRV*, c. 19.1–2, pp. 192–194 determines that the nuns read for two hours before the *Secunda* and work afterwards; *RcuiV*, c. 12.2.3 specifies that the nuns should start working at the *Secunda* and that they should have another reading period after the Ninth Hour and that work should not interfere with reading.

(149) *RcuiV*, c. 3.14; c. 3.16; c. 6.24–30; c. 7.4–6; c. 9.20; c. 12.13–15; c. 16.7; c. 19.5–8; c. 19.11; c. 21.2–4.

(150) *CaesRV*, c. 22.3–4, p. 198; *RcuiV*, c. 15.

(151) On excommunication: *RcuiV*, c. 18–20; on escaping nuns: *RcuiV*, c. 21; on *paenitentes*: *RcuiV*, c. 6.24; c. 12.13; c. 20.9; c. 21.4. In Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, *paenitentes* are not mentioned and we find only one regulation to *excommunicatio*: *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, p. 214: *Si qua uero pro quacumque re excommunicata fuerit, remota a congregatione, in loco quo abbatissa iusserit, cum una de spiritalibus sororibus resideat, quousque humiliter paenitendo indulgentiam accipiat.*

same applies to the problem of escaping nuns, kinship relations and mutually defending each other, and the education of children – topics addressed in chapters 21, 23, and 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

In this chapter, I have provided evidence supporting the hypothesis that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* forms an addition to Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* that completes what Caesarius left out, takes changes in circumstances and differences between the communities into account, and adds new theological and spiritual dimensions and a sense of urgency in line with Jonas' own monastic ideal.

I have, so far, deliberately not addressed one specific aspect, the one that probably motivated Donatus to produce a new rule instead of just using Caesarius: space and enclosure or, in the words of Donatus, the *immutatio loci*. The next chapter will be devoted to comparing Caesarius' and Jonas' notion of space and the question of how Jonas modified and expanded Caesarius' concept of enclosure in a way that had a deep impact on future notions of sacred space in medieval monasticism.

CHAPTER 4

ENCLOSURE REOPENED: CAESARIUS, JONAS, AND THE INVENTION OF SACRED SPACE

Hildemar of Corbie, the ninth-century teacher and master of young monks, draws in his commentary to the *Regula Benedicti* a remarkable distinction between a *coenobium* and a *monasterium*:

> The difference between a *coenobium* and a *monasterium* is as follows: *coenobium* refers to the profession, to the discipline and to the place, while *monasterium* only refers to the place. Even though it is incorrect, people use *monasterium* for *coenobium* and, likewise, *coenobium* for *monasterium*. And when he [Benedict] talked about "coenobitical", he implied "monastic" because "monastic" refers to the place where the *coenobium* is located.[1]

For a Carolingian monastic teacher, a *monasterium* is a space. *Monasterialis* (monastic) refers to a spatial setting, rather than to the community.[2] In this chapter I hope to illustrate the crucial role that Caesarius of Arles and Jonas of Bobbio played in inciting such a "spatial turn" of monastic life.[3] Ian Wood has recently emphasized that Jonas' concept of monastic space belongs to the various aspects of Columbanus' alleged monastic ideal that have their traces in Caesarius of Arles' monastic programme rather than in Insular traditions.[4] I argue that Jonas did not just appropriate the concept of total enclosure Caesarius developed in his Rule for Nuns but disagreed with him in a highly productive manner. This productive disagreement may have had a stronger impact on the genesis of a supposedly

(1) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 1, ed. Rupert Mittermüller, Regensburg: Pustet 1880, p. 75: *Inter coenobium et monasterium hoc interest: coenobium attinet ad professionem et disciplinam atque locum, monasterium uero attinet solummodo ad locum. Tamen abusiue pro coenobio ponitur monasterium, et coenobium pro monasterio similiter ponitur. Et cum dixit coenobitarum, subiunxit monasteriale. Per illud monasteriale manifestauit locum, in quo coenobium est.* The text of Hildemar's commentary is available with a facing English translation on www.hildemar.org (last accessed Nov. 22, 2020).

(2) Collins, Samuel W., *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2012, pp. 81–90 provides other references to Hildemar's physical understanding of monastic sacred space. On the role of the spacial setting for the collective identity of monastic communities, see Sennis, Antonio, 'Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries', in: Wendy Davis, Guy Halsall, and Andrew J. Reynolds (eds.), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, Turnhout: Brepols 2007, pp. 275–294.

(3) On the "spatial turn" as a methodological and theoretical framework for research in the humanities and social sciences, see Warf, Barney and Santa Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, New York: Routledge 2014, especially John Corrigan's chapter 'Spatiality and religion', *ibid.*, pp. 157–172.

(4) Wood, Ian N., 'Columbanus, the Columbanian tradition and Caesarius', in: Deborah G. Tor (ed.), *The ʿAbbāsid and Carolingian Empires*, Leiden: Brill 2017, pp. 153–168.

"Benedictine" understanding of the monastic space as a sacred space and of the medieval "cloister" than the *Regula Benedicti* itself.[5]

My exploration of the emergence of the monastic space begins with a brief history of the terms *claustrum* and *clausura* and a description of notions of space in the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*, followed by an analysis of the role of space in Caesarius of Arles' monastic theology. Here I argue that Caesarius developed his concept of total enclosure as an attempt to resolve the challenges of the so-called Semi-Pelagian debate on human agency and the dependence on divine grace. Based on the premise that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was an expansion of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (which I developed in the previous chapter) I will show how Jonas of Bobbio responded to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure and its theological shortcomings with a new concept of monastic space and boundaries consisting of a triple enclosure: of the physical space, the community, and the individual body. Even though the theological framework of Jonas' concept of the monastic space may not have had much of an afterlife, many of its practical and disciplinary implementations became essential aspects of medieval monastic life.

The Rules of Basil, Pachomius, and Augustine, the works of John Cassian, and other sources on fourth- and fifth-century monastic life show little concern for the monastery as a physical space and certainly no coherence in their provisions on monastic boundaries.[6] Rules and narrative texts describe various monastic boundaries; for example natural boundaries that separate monasteries from the civilized world (the desert, the sea, rivers, impenetrable forests, etc.),[7] the space controlled, empowered, or owned by a saint,[8] or

(5) For an overview on the varieties of sacred spaces and of practices shaping and delineating sacred spaces, see Hamilton, Sarah and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in: Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 1–23. On the Caroingian and post-Carolingian development of female enclosure, see Thibaut, Jirki, *Rectamque regulam servare. De ambigue observantie en heterogene identiteit van vrouwengemeenschappen in Saksen, ca. 800–1050*, Ph.D. thesis Gent 2020, pp. 148–157.

(6) On the diversity of early monastic notions of space, see Dailey, Erin Thomas A., 'Introducing monastic space: the early years, 250–750', in: *Bulletin of International Medieval Research* 19 (2014), pp. 5–25; Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces et topographie des monastères de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge: réflexions à propos des règles monastique', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 15–42; on the absence of a concern for space in Augustine's Rule, see Dey, Hendrik W., 'Building worlds apart. Walls and the construction of communal monasticism from Augustine through Benedict', in: *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004), pp. 357–371, at pp. 360–362; Dubreucq, Alain and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, 'De l'ermitage au monastère: aux origines de l'espace monastique en Gaule à partir de deux exemples: Burgondie et l'Auvergne (fin Ve-début VIIIe siècle)', in: *Hortus Artium Mediaevalium* 9 (2003), pp. 279–294.

(7) Brunert, Maria-Elisabeth, *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994; Goehring, James E., 'The dark side of landscape: ideology and power in the Christian myth of the desert', in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 437–451: Kasper, Clemens, *Theologie und Askese. Die Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag 1991, pp. 200–222; Sennis, Antonio, 'Narrating Places' pp. 275–294.

(8) Angenendt, Arnold, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich: C. H. Beck 1994; Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, 'Women's monasteries and sacred space: the promotion of saints' cults and miracles', in: Lisa Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval*

the precincts of a Roman villa or *domus* turned into a monastery.[9] A monastery could be anything from a cell or a cave inhabited by a hermit or a small group of monks,[10] to a veritable city in the desert inhabited by hundreds or perhaps thousands of monks, such as Pachomius' foundation Tabennisi.[11] There are instances where monasteries defined themselves as paradise-like spaces,[12] but in the first few centuries of monastic history, there is little indication that the monastery was recognized as a sacred space or that it could claim a power of asylum analogous to that which churches achieved in the Latin West – at least not before the seventh century.[13] As Kimberly Bowes shows, asceticism did not manifest itself in a specific spatial or material culture.[14] There was no uniform answer to the question as to what extent monks and outsiders could mingle and whether a monastery should contain places accessible only to members of the community.

We can, however, observe a similar development with regard to monastic space as with other important aspects of early monastic life: different concepts merged, diversity retreated, and certain models became prevalent and pushed others aside. There is a historical process – still to be explored systematically – that leads us from Antony's hideouts and Pachomius' Koinonia to Hildemar's distinction between *monasterium* and *coenobium* and the straight lines and the perfect circles and half-circles of the Plan of St Gall.[15] Unlike

Europe: New Perspectives, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008, pp. 68–86 and pp. 117–122 (on the impact of the cult of saints on female monastic spaces).

(9) Alciati, Roberto, 'And the Villa Became a Monastery: Sulpicius Severus' Community of Primuliacum', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 85–98. Dailey, 'Introducing monastic space', pp. 10–13; Dey, 'Building worlds apart'; Brooks Hedstrom, Darlene L. and Hendrik W. Dey, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 73–96; Bully, Sébastien and Eleonora Destefanis, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries in Italy and France (Second Half of the Fourth Century to the Eighth Century)', *ibid.*, pp. 232–257.

(10) Rapp, Claudia, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. Monks, Laymen and Christian Ritual*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016, pp. 88–179.

(11) Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 32.13–15, ed. Adelheid Wellhausen, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 2003, pp. 595–596.

(12) Lauwers, Michel, 'Constructing Monastic Space in the Early and Central Medieval West (Fifth to Twelfth Century)', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 317–339, at pp. 319–321.

(13) On churches as sacred space: Markus, Robert Austin, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990, pp. 139–155; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, esp. pp. 27–41; Esders, Stefan and Steffen Patzold, 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious: inalienability of church property and the sovereignty of a ruler in the ninth century', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 386–408; Iogna-Prat, Dominique, 'Churches in the Landscape', in: Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008, pp. 363–379.

(14) Bowes, Kimberley, 'Inventing Ascetic Space: Houses, Monasteries and the "Archaeology of Monasticism"', in: Dey/Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism*, pp. 315–351.

(15) On Carolingian concepts of space and the Plan of St Gall, see especially Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia, PA/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011, pp. 134–215.

what we might expect, Benedict and Columbanus did not play a crucial role in this process. The development of monastic space is, however, deeply entangled with the challenges posed by Augustine's doctrine of prevenient grace and the question of whether monastic discipline can have any salvific effect. For Caesarius and Jonas, defining monastic space was primarily a theological and only in the second place a practical challenge – as we will see in this chapter.

Clavstrvm and *clavsvra* in the *Regvla Benedicti* and in the *Regvla Magistri*: A Detour

Before delving into Caesarius' and Jonas' spatial turn, we need to look at the origins of the two expressions that historians commonly use to describe monastic boundaries and monastic space: "enclosure" and "cloister" (*Klausur* and *Kloster*; *clôture* and *cloître*). They seem to have a Latin equivalent, *clausura*/*clusura* and *claustrum* (or sometimes *claustra*, turned into singular noun). *Claustrum*, at least, became a key expression in the medieval language describing monastic space (*clausura* to a somewhat lesser extent). If we look for the origins of these terms in a monastic context we end up with the usual suspects: John Cassian's work, the *Regula Benedicti*, and the *Regula Magistri*. Hardly any other monastic rule operates with these terms.[16] If we look how the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* used *claustrum* and *clusura*/*clausura* and which concepts of monastic space they actually deployed, it appears that drawing a direct line between *claustrum* and "cloister" or *clausura* and "enclosure", as it has been done in traditional scholarship, may be misleading.[17]

Let us first look at John Cassian who is probably responsible for making *claustrum* (or rather *claustra*) a monastic household term. Cassian uses *claustra* primarily in reference to an "enclosure of the mouth", inspired by the biblical words of Micha 7, 5: "Do not trust in a friend; do not put your confidence in a companion; guard the doors (*claustra*) of your mouth from her who lies in your bosom".[18] Occasionally Cassian refers to the *claustra*

(16) One exception is the Rule written by Isidore of Seville around the beginning of the seventh century. See *Regula Isidori*, c. 1 ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, p. 91: *Inprimis, fratres karissimi, monasterium uestrum miram conclauis diligentiam habeat ut firmitatem custodiae munimenta claustrorum exhibeant; inimicus enim noster diabolus sicut leo rugiens circuit ore patenti quaerens unumquemque nostrum quem deuoret*. See also c. 9.1, p. 104; c. 21.2, p. 120. The only other monastic rule that uses *clausura* is Caesarius' *Regula ad monachos*, c. 3, *SC* 398, p. 206. Here it refers to a cell or a closet that can be closed. *Claustra* appears in the chapter list of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, p. 142, which may have been a later addition. The chapter itself, c. 8, p. 154, l. 4, punishes monks who roam around *extra uallum, id est extra septam monasterii*.

(17) On the changing meanings of the term *claustrum*, see Meyvaert, Paul, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', in: *Gesta* 12 (1973), pp. 53–59, reprinted in: id., *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others*, London: Variorum Reprints 1977, no. XVI; on *clausura*: Leclercq, Jean, 'La clôture: points de repère historiques', in: *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 43:4 (1981), pp. 366–376.

(18) Micha 7, 5: *Nolite credere amico et nolite confidere in duce ab ea quae dormit in sinu tuo custodi claustra oris tui*. See Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 10.1, *SC* 109, p. 74: loquaciousness in prayer; *Collationes* IX, c. 35.2, *SC* 54, p. 72:

monasterii or *claustra cellulae* but never by explaining these *claustra* within a theological framework. It's simply a place that can and should be closed.[19]

The *Regula Magistri* mentions the *claustrum* twice. In one case it refers to a specific space, not the monastery as a whole but rather the quarters for guests and travelling monks. This space should be closed from both inside and outside in order to avoid theft.[20] In another chapter the Rule claims that the *claustra monasterii* can rightfully "close off" a monk who enters the monastery against his parents' resistance.[21] The term *clusura* (which does not appear in Cassian's work) is more present in the *Regula Magistri*. Like Cassian's *claustrum*, the *clusura* of the *Regula Magistri* evokes primarily the "enclosure" of the individual than that of a physical space. In its chapters on silence, the *Regula Magistri* refers to the "enclosure of the outer wall, that is, of the mouth and teeth" that prevents sins from arising from one's heart to be brought to life through the tongue.[22] Monks are supposed to keep an "enclosure of silence" (*clusura taciturnitatis*) unless they receive permission to speak.[23] Buffoonery, idle talk, and laughter is to be punished with "eternal enclosure" (*aeterna clusura*) of the mouth.[24] Conversely, the text describes the devil as being confined in the individual by a *clusura* that needs to be opened through confession.[25] *Clusura* is thus, according to the *Regula Magistri*, primarily an enclosure that confines sinful thoughts and desires to oneself and prevents them from being spoken or acted out and impacting others.

At one point the *Regula Magistri* uses physical space as a metaphor for the bodily enclosure by describing the *monasterium* as the "workspace of the spiritual art" (*officina diuinae artis*) "in which the tools of the heart are placed in the enclosure of the body (*clusura corporis*) and

on silent prayer; XVII, c. 20.12, p. 270: on the danger of disclosing the truth indiscriminately; XVIII, c. 12, *SC* 64, p. 24: on silence and patience; XXI, c. 26.2, p. 101: opening the *claustra labii* for prayer.

(19) Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 14, p. 84: retreat into the confines of one's *cella*; V, c. 38.2, p. 250: staying within the *claustra monasterii* to avoid contact with one's family; X, c. 3, p. 388: leaving the *claustra cellulae* to visit other monks; X, c. 5, p. 390: leaving the *claustra monasterii* for insufficient reasons; X, c. 7.5, p. 396: discontent with the *claustra cellae*; *Collationes* I, c. 20.5, *SC* 42, p. 103: being lured away from the *claustra spiritalia monasterii*; XVIII, c. 16, *SC* 64, p. 31: not putting trust only into the *claustra cellulae*; XXIV, c. 4–5, pp. 175–176: on different options of living inside and outside the *claustrum*.

(20) *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.18–21, *SC* 106, p. 324: *Cella ipsa habeat clusuram talem ab intus qualem a foris, ut nocte tam ab eis, inclusis secum hospitibus, ab intus missis claustris claues tollatur, quam ubi norunt abscondant, ut cum foris forte uoluerit hospis exire, ipse sibi custodes excitet, cum clauem requiret, quo praesente incipiat ad ignotum refrigerium foras exire.*

(21) *Regula Magistri*, c. 91.3–4, p. 398: *Quod si contrarii exstiterint interim usque ad uim pro eo Domino inferendam, claustro monasterii uindicetur, quem potens est Dominus defendere propter se, quia fortior est dextera eius ad protegendum, quam diaboli iniquitas ad ledendum.*

(22) *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.21–23, *SC* 105, p. 402: *Habet deinde anima nostra constitutam portam oris et seram dentium, quam prauo claudat eloquio, – ut non excuset anima factorem suum muniminum sibi minime custodiam fabricasse, – id est ut, cum promouerit a cordis radice aliquod peccatum et senserit se exterioris muri clusura, id est oris et dentium, sibi exitum denegari, reuertens denuo ad radicem cordis, ibi pereat in auortione sua et ut paruulus adlidatur ad petram, quam nascendo per linguam crescat ad poenam.* In c. 8.24–25, pp. 402–404, the *Regula Magistri* refers to the *clusura catenae* (the shackling in chains) of the heart that prevents sins from being carried out through one's hands and feet.

(23) *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.10, p. 408; c. 9.46, p. 416.

(24) *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.51, p. 416.

(25) *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.1–5, *SC* 106, pp. 62–64.

where the work of divine art can be done by preserving diligent care".[26] On only two occasions does the *Regula Magistri* use *clusura* for something other than the boundaries of the individual: the *clusura* of the guest rooms (*claustrum* appears in the same context),[27] and, in a chapter on the necessary hardships of monastic entry, the "darkness of the *clusura*" that one might escape through the willingness to suffer and to be dead to the world.[28] *Clusura* in the *Regula Magistri* has, thus, hardly anything to do with an "enclosure" constituting a monastic closed space that is separated from the surrounding world. If at all, it is the world that needs to be enclosed, not the monastery. In fact, the spatial concept of the *Regula Magistri* largely revolves around another expression that appears exclusively in this text: *regia*, which might be best translated as "gate" but also as "gated space" or "entrance hall" (of the royal court).[29] Like *clusura*, *regia* applies to the enclosure of the mouth or of the mind,[30] but also to the physical space of the monastery.[31]

Regia is a key term of the last chapter of the *Regula Magistri*, on the gatekeepers (*ostiarii*). The *Regula Magistri* envisions the gatekeepers not as guards of enclosed monastic confines but as two old men whose task is to keep the *regia* of the monastery closed and to open them whenever someone wants to enter or leave. Only during the hours of reading and prayer and at night should the *regia* be closed entirely.[32] In principle all necessary infrastructure – the bakery, mills, and the *refrigerium* (probably the lavatories) – should be inside (*intus*) the *regia* so that the monks can limit their interaction with secular outsiders. The rationale provided is odd: laypeople who mingle with monks might venerate them in an excessive manner or make fun of them.[33] All in all, the *Regula Magistri* does not envision a strictly enclosed monastery. At least some guests take their meals with the monks.[34] The Rule assumes that guests and visitors roam the monastery, requires strict supervision, and is concerned primarily with theft rather than the potential destructive influences of outsiders.[35]

(26) *Regula Magistri*, c. 6, *SC* 105, p. 380: *Officina uero monasterium est, in qua ferramenta cordis in corporis clusura reposita opus diuinae artis diligenti custodia perseuerando operari potest.* On the symbolic meaning of enclosure in the *Regula Magistri*, see also Dey, 'Building worlds apart', pp. 365–366.

(27) *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.18–21, *SC* 106, p. 324.

(28) *Regula Magistri*, c. 90.18–19, pp. 380–382: *Si obscuritas clusurae nos pro Deo obcaecet, ad momentum nos poterit obscurare, sed post hoc illa nos lux in aeterna uita suscipiet, quae non solis candore uel lunae, non stellarum caeli et lucernae, sed ipsius Dei perpetua magestate lucebit.* Transl. Eberle, p. 261: "If for the sake of God the darkness of the *clusura* makes us blind, it can deprive us of sight for the moment, but afterwards we shall be received into eternal light by that other light which shines not with the brightness of the sun or the moon, not of the stars of heaven or of lamps, but with the everlasting majesty of God himself". (Eberle translates *clusura* here with "dungeon").

(29) See Frank, Karl Suso, 'Die Klosteranlage nach der Regula Magistri', in: *Regulae Benedicti Studia* 6/7 (1977/1978, published 1981), pp. 27–46, at pp. 29–31.

(30) *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.2, *SC* 106, p. 62; c. 47.12, p. 214.

(31) *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.51/53, *SC* 105, p. 340; c. 30.27, *SC* 106, p. 166; c. 66.7, pp. 294–296; c. 67.4, p. 294; c. 95, pp. 442–448. On *regia*, see also Dey, 'Building worlds apart', pp. 362–364.

(32) On closing the gates at night: *Regula Magistri*, c. 30.27, p. 166.

(33) *Regula Magistri*, c. 95.19–21, p. 446.

(34) *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.18, pp. 94–96; c. 24.23–25, p. 128; c. 79, pp. 322–328.

(35) See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 79.3–22, pp. 322–326.

The *Regula Benedicti* uses *claustra* twice and *clausura* once. Benedict's chapter on silence (c. 6) imposes, like the *Regula Magistri*, an *aeterna clausura* on the utterance of idle words and laughter.[36] In the chapter on travelling monks (c. 67), the *claustra monasterii* appear indeed in reference to the monastic space. Benedict imposes a punishment on monks who dare to leave the *claustra monasterii*, to roam around, or do anything in general without order of the abbot.[37] The *claustra monasterii* are thus meant to protect the monks from the dangers of the outside world, rather than to protect the monastery from outsiders who might cross its physical boundaries. The most poignant reference to *claustra monasterii* in the *Regula Benedicti* appears in the chapter on the "Instruments of Good Works" (c. 4). Benedict states that the workshop for using these "instruments" consists of the *claustra monasterii* and *stabilitas in congregatione*.[38] Based on its context (moral instruments rather than physical tools) and since it is clearly a variant of the respective passage from the *Regula Magistri* on the "Workspace of the Spiritual Art", we can assume that Benedict understood *claustra monasterii* not primarily as a reference to a physical cloister but rather in a symbolic sense.

Neither the *Regula Magistri* nor the *Regula Benedicti* make the monastic space inaccessible for outsiders. It is striking that the monastery as a physical space with clear boundaries is, aside from the short, symbolic reference to the "*claustra monasterii*" in chapter 4, almost entirely absent from the sections of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* that describe the theological core of monastic life.[39]

If we look for references to monastic space in the *Regula Benedicti*, we are mostly restricted to the brief regulations of its chapter on the gatekeepers (c. 66). Like the gatekeepers in the *Regula Magistri*, Benedict's *ostiarii* are supposed to open the gate rather than close it and to greet visitors rather than send them away.[40] Benedict also echoes the *Regula Magistri* when he recommends that everything the monks need should be placed within the monastery (*intra monasterio*) so that the monks do not need to leave the monastery's grounds, which is, according to Benedict, bad for their soul.[41] The monastery of Benedict was not a "cloister" either.[42]

The fact that the monasteries envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* may have been more open than what we would imagine as a "Benedictine" monastery,

(36) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.8, *SC* 181, p. 472: *Scurrilitates uero uel uerba otiosa et risum mouentia aeterna clusura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aperire os non permittimus.*

(37) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 67.7, *SC* 182, p. 662: *Similiter et qui praesumpserit claustra monasterii egredi uel quocumque ire uel quippiam quamuis paruum sine iussione abbatis facere.*

(38) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.78, *SC* 181, p. 464: *Officina uero ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione.*

(39) The prologue and the first seven chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*; the *"thema"* and the first ten chapters of the *Regula Magistri.*

(40) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1–5, *SC* 182, pp. 658–660.

(41) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.6–7, p. 660: *Monasterium autem, si possit fieri, ita debet constitui ut omnia necessaria, id est aqua, molendinum, hortum, uel artes diuersas intra monasterium exerceantur, ut non sit necessitas monachis uagandi foris, quia omnino non expedit animabus eorum.*

(42) Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Éléments de topographie historique dans les règles monastiques occidentales', in: *Studia Monastica* 37 (1995), pp. 57–77, at p. 60 comes to a similar conclusion. See also Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space', pp. 321–322.

does not mean that space did not have any spiritual meaning in these Rules. Benedict refers in his Rule to the monks' goal to live in God's *tabernaculum* (tent, canopy) which they attain through good works and fulfilling their *officium* (duty).[43] The monastery itself may not be a *tabernaculum* but Benedict calls the monastery a *domus Dei* (house of God) twice, once in the context of the care for guests, and once describing the abbot's responsibility for the *domus Dei*.[44] Benedict's *domus Dei* is thus rather delineated by the monks' acts than by physical boundaries.

The *Regula Magistri* has a little more to say about space. It concludes its chapter on the easy tasks of the gatekeepers and the "open door policy" of the monastery with an unexpectedly emphatic statement on the nature of monastic space. Being in the monastery is like being in heaven:

> Therefore, since all these things are located inside, let the gate (*regia*) of the monastery be always shut so that the brothers enclosed (*clausi*) within with the Lord, may so to speak be already in heaven, separated from the world for the sake of God. This gate of the monastery is to have on the outside an iron ring in a bracket, which when struck by a visitor will indicate to those inside the arrival of anyone who comes unexpectedly.[45]

The monastery envisioned by the *Regula Magistri* may be a special, paradise-like place, which is closed off from the world through clear boundaries, most likely a wall, as Hendrik Dey argues,[46] but it is *not* a secluded space whose thresholds may not be crossed. Inaccessibility does not, for the *Regula Magistri*, define a "sacred" space. Its gate is closed only for as long as one does not need it to be opened. Opening the gate has no impact on the status of the monastery. In other words, both the *Regula Magistri* and the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles operate with the notion of the monastery as a paradise-like space permanently detached from the world; for Caesarius, however, the gates separating the monastery from the *saeculum* have to be not only closed, but firmly locked in order to prevent anyone from crossing the boundaries between monastery and world (as we will see in the next section).

The *clusura* of the *Regula Magistri*, that of the mouth and the body, can be found neither in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, nor in the *Regula Benedicti*, but it resurfaces in our *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. This conceptual proximity between the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula*

(43) *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.22–23, *SC* 297, p. 418: *In cuius regni tabernaculo si uolumus habitare, nisi illuc bonis actibus curritur, minime peruenitur. Sed interrogemus cum propheta Dominum dicentes ei: Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo?* prologue.39, p. 422: *Cum ergo interrogassemus Dominum, fratres, de habitatore tabernaculi eius, audiuimus habitandi praeceptum, sed si conpleamus habitatoris officium.* Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, pp. 82–83 shows how Smaragdus and Hildemar interpreted Benedict's reference to the *tabernaculum* differently. Smaragdus emphasizes the otherworldly character of the *tabernaculum*, while Hildemar emphasizes the role of the monastery itself as sacred space.

(44) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 53.22, *SC* 182, p. 616; c. 64.5, p. 648.

(45) *Regula Magistri*, c. 95.22–24, *SC* 106, pp. 446–448: *Cum ergo haec omnia intus fuerint constituta, clausa sit semper monasterii regia, ut intus clausi cum Domino fratres ueluti a saeculo sint iam causa Dei in caelestibus separati. Quae regia monasterii a foris circellum habeat ferreum in fimella, quo ab adueniente concusso cuiuslibet superuenientis intus indicetur aduentus*; transl. Luke Eberle, *The Rule of the Master*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, p. 284 (slightly revised).

(46) Dey, 'Building walls apart', pp. 363–367. On the spatial organization of the monastery according to the *Regula Magistri*, see also Frank, 'Klosteranlage'.

cuiusdam ad uirgines that circumvents the *Regula Benedicti* adds yet another argument in support of Marilyn Dunn's hypothesis that the *Regula Magistri* was present and may even have been compiled in Columbanus' foundations or Luxeuil's affiliations.[47]

The text of the *Regula Benedicti* says little about space and about what we could understand as "cloister" but this does not mean that it could not be *used* in support of strict spatial and spiritual boundaries. The term cloister (*claustrum*) as we know it today is "epigenetic", emerging from various later interpretations of the text and from a deliberate redefinition of the terms *clausura* and *claustrum*. We see this interpretation of *claustrum* as enclosed space especially in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms. Various Carolingian reform texts, in particular the commentaries to the *Regula Benedicti* by Smaragdus and Hildemar, refer to *claustrum* and *clausura* as physical space.[48] Benedict may have understood the *officina diuinae artis* and the *claustra monasterii* in chapter 4 of his Rule symbolically, but Hildemar of Corbie and likely many after him, had no qualms about reinterpreting Benedict's *officina* as mundane workshops and understanding his *claustra monasterii* as an actual physical cloister.[49]

Moreover, Hildemar uses Benedict's chapter on the gatekeepers (*ostiarii*) for an extensive digression on how to build a monastery at a safe distance from the disturbances of a king's, bishop's, or count's court – all places inhabited by women, clerics, and laypeople.[50] In his commentary on Benedict's chapter on travelling monks (c. 67), Hildemar develops an elaborate ritual for monks who cross the monastic boundaries. Returning to the monastic space is only allowed after an act of confession and purification by prayer. If a monk arrives too late to perform this ritual, he is not allowed to enter the monastic

(47) Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MA: Blackwell 2000, pp. 182–184. It is not unlikely, though hard to prove, that Jonas knew the *Regula Magistri*. He may have shared ideas with the *Regula Magistri* but did not use its words. There are a few instances in which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses expressions that otherwise appear exclusively in the *Regula Magistri*, such as *decrepita aetate|aetate decrepitis* (*Regula Magistri*, c. 95.1, *SC* 106, p. 442; *RcuiV*, c. 15.10) or *una uoce* (*Regula Magistri*, c. 23.35, p. 118; c. 32.10, p. 174; *RcuiV*, c. 9.14). Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Columbanus's monasticism and the sources of his inspiration: from Basil to the Master?', in: Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell (eds.), *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2011, pp. 17–28 argules convincingly that Columbanus himself was influenced by the *Regula Magistri*.

(48) In the sources related to the Carolingian monastic reforms that are edited in vol. 1 of the *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1974, *clausura* and *claustrum* appear several times referring to a secluded space with restricted access. See, for example, *Ordo Casinensis I*, c. 5, *CCM* 1, p. 102; *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 251; *Institutio Sancti Angilberti*, *praefatio*, p. 293; *Capitula qualiter*, c. XI, p. 354; *Constitutiones Corbeienses*, c. 26 <VI, 4>, p. 401. Hildemar's *Expositio Regulae* uses *claustrum* sixty times, exclusively referring to monastic space. *Clausura*, however, remains for Hildemar the enclosure of the mouth (see *Expositio Regulae*, c. 6, p. 206). The same applies to Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti*, c. 4.78, *CCM* 8, p. 147, though Smaragdus uses *claustra* also in a symbolic sense in c. 5.10/11, p. 152, and as *claustra taciturnitatis* in c. 6.3, p. 158. On the later use of *claustrum*: De Jong, Mayke, 'Internal Cloisters: The case of Ekkehard's Casus Sancti Galli', in: Walter Pohl und Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2000, pp. 209–221, at pp. 211–212; Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', pp. 53–54; Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space', esp. pp. 323–325.

(49) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 4, ed. Mittermüller, p. 183: *Et bene dixit, claustra monasterii esse officina, quia sicut in officinis diuersae artes a diuersis magistris, ut diximus, aguntur, ita et in monasterio diuersae operationes in singulis locis fiunt, i.e. cum alii legunt, alii cantant, alii operantur aliquid manibus, alii laborant in coquina, et caetera his similia*. See also Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, pp. 84–86.

(50) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 66, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 606–607.

confines and has to stay in the guest house. Reversely, anyone who leaves the monastery must take his own *claustra* with him, as it were.[51] Hildemar reminds us of the fact that there is a fundamental difference between Benedict's monasticism and "Benedictine" monasticism as it would emerge several centuries after the Rule was written.

It is likely that Caesarius and Jonas of Bobbio had an impact on this "epigenetic" redefinition of *clausura* and *claustrum*. Both Caesarius and Jonas developed their own respective concepts of monastic space out of very specific historical circumstances. Caesarius' new and, as we know from various sources, rather controversial model of a female monastic community, was placed in the midst of Arles, a densely populated late Roman city.[52] Faremoutiers, the monastery most likely addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, was also a new kind of monastery – a female variant of an embattled legacy of Columbanus and an institution set up within a complicated and ever-shifting political surrounding.[53] Both institutions needed protection from external interference – and a clear definition of space and boundaries probably served as protective measure. Yet Caesarius' and Jonas' contributions to the notion of monastic space were by no means motivated solely by safety concerns; they formed part of a theological fortification of their monastic endeavours. Space came to play a crucial role in the monastic pursuit of salvation.

There is, however, one caveat: I address space largely on a conceptual level, aside from discussing references to specific aspects of spatial organization as we find them reflected in monastic rules and narrative texts. It is tempting to connect the evidence of an increasing number of archaeological excavations on the sites of Caesarius' monastery, Luxeuil, Annegray, Hamage, or other early medieval monasteries,[54] with Caesarius' and Jonas' notions of space, but I think we are not there yet. Marc Heijmans was able to tentatively locate Caesarius' monastery in the north of a space identified as the episcopal cathedral.[55] Aurélia

(51) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 67, pp. 609–614.

(52) See, for example, Hormisdas, *Letter to Caesarius*, c. 3, *SC* 345, p. 356, rebuking Caesarius for using ecclesiastical property for his monastery. On the conflicts around Caesarius' foundations, see Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 117–124; id., 'Caesarius's Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition of the 'Vita Caesarii", in: *Revue bénédictine* 100 (1990), pp. 441–481, esp. pp. 456–464. On Caesarius precarious position in Arles, see Leyser, Conrad, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Grea*t, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2000, pp. 86–90; Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Caesarius of Arles, Prevenient Grace, and the Second Council of Orange', in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casiday (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 208–234.

(53) On the conflicts arising after Columbanus' death, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The Regula cuiusdam patris (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259–306. Faremoutiers seems to have been one of the battle grounds. See *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 253.

(54) For an overview on the archaeology of early medieval monasteries, see Brooks Hedstrom, Darlene L. and Hendrik W. Dey, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 73–96; Bully, Sébastien and Eleonora Destefanis, 'The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries in Italy and France (Second Half of the Fourth Century to the Eighth Century)', *ibid.*, pp. 232–257.

(55) Heijmans, Marc, 'L'enclos Saint-Césaire à Arles, un chantier controversé', in: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales* 3 (2010), pp. 2–15; id., 'L'enclos Saint-Césaire d'Arles: une fouille en évolution', in: Martine Vassal

and Sébastien Bully and their collaborators have shown that Jonas' claim that Luxeuil and Annegray were founded in the wilderness had nothing to do with reality and that both monasteries were founded at strategically important places with a long continuity of settlement and pre-existing ecclesiastical structures.[56] Alexander O'Hara argues on the basis of Étienne Louis' studies on the archaeology of Hamage that there are analogies between the archaeological evidence and the spatial organization proposed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[57] This is not impossible but the (excavated) walls of these monasteries are not firm enough to serve as foundations for conclusive arguments.

We may assume that spatial ideals – Caesarius' enclosure; Jonas' *septa monasterii* – determined how monasteries were built and that the spaces mentioned in normative and narrative text existed, but this does not mean that textual evidence suffices to allow us to imagine what their respective monasteries looked like or to provide definitive interpretations of the archaeological evidence. Frederico Marazzi (on the basis of of San-Vincenzo al Volturno) and Hendrick Dey (on the basis of Saint-Riquier and Lorsch) tell cautionary tales about how far spatial organization of monasteries can be removed from expectations developed on the basis of monastic normative texts.[58] Moreover, we always have to ask to what extent the theological foundations of monastic space remained relevant over time. Spaces can be rededicated, doors opened, and rules of access loosened.

The Roaring Lion and the Spiritual Battle in Caesarius' Early Works

Before analyzing the concept of space and enclosure that Caesarius developed in his Rule for Nuns, we need to make one more digression. Caesarius wrote, next to his Rule for Nuns, three other works that engaged with the question of the nature and justification of

(ed.), *Césaire d'Arles et les cinq continents*, vol. 1, Venelles: ASP, Association Aux sources de la Provence 2017, pp. 222–229; id., in: *SC* 536, p. 316.

(56) Bully, Aurélia, Sébastien Bully, Morana Čaušević-Bully, and Laurent Fiocchi, 'Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques', in: Michèle Gaillard (ed.), *L'empreinte chrétienne en Gaule (de la fin du IV^e^ au début du VIII^e^ siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 311–356; Bully, Sébastien and Emmet Marron, 'L'"instant Colomban". Conditions de fondation et premiers éléments de topographie des monastères d'Annegray et de Luxeuil', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 139–164.

(57) Louis, Étienne, 'Espaces monastiques sacrés et profanes à Hamage (Nord), VII^e^-IX^e^ siècles. Monastères et espace social', in: Michel Lauwers (ed.), *Monastères et espace social: Genèse et transformation d'un système de lieux dans l'Occident médiéval*, Turnhout: Brepols 2014, pp. 435–471; id., 'Sorores ac fratres in Hamatico degentes. Naissance, évolution et disparition d'une abbaye au haut Moyen Âge: Hamage (France, Nord)', in: *De la Meuse à l'Ardenne* 29 (1999), pp. 16–47; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 113–116. Id., 'Jonas of Bobbio, Marchiennes-Hamage, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines*', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 287–293.

(58) Dey, Hendrik W., *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015, pp. 221–243; Marazzi, Federico, *San Vincenzo al Volturno: guida alla città monastica benedettina*, Cerro al Volturno: Volturnia edizioni 2014.

monastic life. At least two of them are older than his Rule for Nuns. They witness that Caesarius' ideas about the monastic pursuit of salvation and the role of space and boundaries in this pursuit changed during his career. Comparing Caesarius' earlier monastic works with the Rule for Nuns makes it even more visible what was new and revolutionary about this Rule and how his innovations tie into the theological debates of Caesarius' lifetime. I will discuss an exhortative letter that is usually indicated as the letter *Vereor* (named after its beginning term),[59] a somewhat shorter homily to a community of monks,[60] and his Rule for Monks.[61]

Caesarius' letter *Vereor* addresses his sister Caesaria (also known as Caesaria the Older) and her community of virgins already established by him in a monastery close to the city walls of Arles. As such it could be considered a predecessor of his Rule for Nuns. The text is, however, not only preserved as a letter to a female community; it was, probably already during Caesarius' lifetime, transformed in a letter to monks, which shows that the ideas expressed in *Vereor* were considered applicable to everyone living a monastic life – not just to religious women.[62]

The original version of *Vereor* was written at some point before the winter of 507/508, when Caesarius' first foundation was destroyed during a siege of Arles by a coalition of Frankish and Burgundian warriors.[63] *Vereor* revolves around the following key passage:

> Rejoice therefore and exult in the Lord, venerable daughters, and constantly give him abundant thanks, for he deigned to attract and to call you forth from the shadowy life of this world into the tranquil haven of the religious life. Ponder constantly where you came from and where you deserved to end up. In faith you left the darkness of the world and in happiness you began to see the light of Christ. You despised the fire of passion and came to the cool refuge of chastity. You rejected gluttony and chose abstinence. You rejected avarice and luxury and took hold of charity and mercy. And although your battle will not be over until the end of your life, nevertheless, by the grace of God I am certain of your victory.[64]

(59) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, *SC* 345, pp. 294–336.

(60) Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, *SC* 398, pp. 148–160. Aside from his *Homilia ad monachos*, Caesarius left us five more sermons addressing monastic communities, but they do not contribute to the arguments developed here: Caesarius, *Sermones ad monachos*, *SC* 398, pp. 60–160.

(61) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, *SC* 398, pp. 204–226.

(62) On the transmission of the male and female versions of *Vereor*, see http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Caesarius-Ep-Vereor.html (last accessed Nov. 26, 2020); Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 168–173.

(63) On the date of *Vereor*: Adalbert de Vogüé/Joël Courreau, in: *SC* 345, p. 283; Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters. Translated with notes and introduction*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1994, pp. 127–128; Rudge, Lindsay, *Texts and contexts: Women's dedicated life from Caesarius to Benedict*, Ph.D. thesis University of St Andrews 2007, pp. 55–59. On the siege of Arles: *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 28, *SC* 536, p. 184; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 104–110.

(64) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.1–7, p. 298: *Gaudete ergo et exultate in domino, uenerabiles filiae, et gratias illi iugiter uberes agite, qui uos de tenebrosa saeculi huius conuersatione ad portum quietis et religionis adtrahere et prouocare dignatus est.* 2 *Cogite iugiter unde existis et ubi peruenire meruistis.* 3 *Reliquistis fideliter mundi tenebras, et lucem Christi feliciter uidere coepistis;* 4 *contempsistis libidinis incendium, et ad castitatis refrigerium peruenistis;* 5 *respuistis gulam, et abstinentiam elegistis;* 6 *repudiastis auaritiam atque luxuriam, et caritatem ac misericordiam tenuistis.* 7 *Et quamuis uobis usque ad exitum uitae non deerit pugna, tamen deo donante securi sumus de uestra uictoria*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 130.

Caesarius describes the choice to live a religious life as a triumphant and joyful moment of leaving the darkness of the world and he praises Caesaria and her sisters for engaging in a battle of virtues against vices (*castitas* against *libido*; *abstinentia* against *gula*; *caritas* and *misericordia* against *auaritia* and *luxuria*). Though it is a battle that will last until their final moments, Caesarius is, "by the gift of God" (*deo donante*), confident of their ultimate victory. A key element of the nuns' battle is, as we subsequently read in *Vereor*, the protection of their *uirginitas*, both of the body and of the mind, by avoiding at all costs any exposure to sexual temptation. Contacts with the outside world, especially with members of the opposite sex, are to be reduced to a bare minimum. For Caesarius, this was not only an act of self-defence of his nuns but also a way to protect those who, by interacting with the members of the community, might be led into temptation themselves.[65]

Chastity, modesty (*pudicitia*), the maintenance of purity, and the protection of virginity are addressed especially at the beginning and at the end of the letter.[66] They form a frame for a long list of vices to be fought that shows the influence of John Cassian's eight principal vices.[67] Caesarius elaborates on *gula/ebrietas* (gluttony and drunkenness), *superbia* (pride), *inuidia* (envy), *detractio* (slander), *uerba otiosa* (idle talk), *iracundia* (anger), *pusilanimitas* (lack of courage), *iuramentum/maledictum* (cursing), *uoluptas* (pleasure), *luxuria* (licentiousness), and *uanitas* (vanity). All of these vices are to be fought by good works (*bona opera/bene agere*).[68]

Vereor combines in a somewhat odd way the joy of conversion with a cry for battle. The letter is saturated with military terminology: *inimicus* (enemy); *bellator* (warrior); *arma spiritalia* (spiritual weapons); *pugna* (fight); *uictoria* (victory); *aduersarius* (adversary); *repugnare* (to fight back); *uincere* (to defeat); *uulnus* (wound); *hostis* (enemy); *refugere* (to escape); *perdere* (to lose); *captiuus* (prisoner); *rebellare* (to fight back); *captiuitas* (imprisonment); *fugitiuus* (fugitive); *inuictus* (invincible); *expugnatio* (combat); *praesidium* (protection); *praeda* (loot); *exercitus* (army); *pax* (peace); *certamen* (battle); *militia christiana* (spiritual warfare); *praelium* (battle). All of these terms can (just like the vices the nuns have to fight) be found in Cassian's *Collationes* as well.[69]

Castitas and *uirginitas* are, as Caesarius emphasizes, major assets in the nuns' battle, where the devil is present at any moment, roaming around the community as a roaring lion (*leo rugiens* – an allusion to I Peter 5, 8).[70] Another asset, however, is conspicuously absent: a notion of a protective space. Leaving the *saeculum* behind requires embracing a new *conuersatio* (way of life), but it does not imply entering a space, a *monasterium*. The term

(65) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 3.14–17, pp. 304–306.

(66) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 4.1–2, p. 310; c. 10, pp. 334–336.

(67) Cassian, *Institutiones* V–XII, *SC* 109, pp. 186–500; *Collationes* IV, *SC* 42, pp. 188–217. On Cassian's influence on Caesarius, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 83 and pp. 96–97; Christophe, Paul, *Cassien et Césaire. Prédicateurs de la morale monastique*, Gembloux/Paris: J. Duculot 1969.

(68) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.9, p. 300; c. 8.8, p. 326.

(69) On the use of military terminology in monastic texts, see Smith, Katherine Allen, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2011, pp. 112–155.

(70) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.10–11, p. 300: *Audite apostolum Petrum dicentem: Sobrii estote et uigilate, quia aduersarius uerster diabolus tanquam leo rugiens aliquid deuorare querens circuit.* (1 Pt. 5, 8) $_{11}$ *Quamdiu in hoc corpore uiuimus, die noctuque Christo adiutore uel duce contra diabolum repugnemus.*

monasterium, which would become ubiquitous in the Rule for Nuns, does, in fact, not appear in *Vereor*.

When Caesarius wrote *Vereor*, he seems not yet to be tainted by the theological disputes on grace, free will, and the salvific effect of good works that would later have a deep impact on his work and his position as a bishop.[71] He used Pelagius' *Letter to Demetrius* along with John Cassian's works, Jerome's letters, and Pseudo-Cyprian's *De singularitate clericorum* as sources for his letter *Vereor*.[72] Even though *Vereor* does contain a couple of references to divine support,[73] he makes clear that the nuns' own struggles and their *uirginitas* are pivotal for winning the battle for salvation, which they fight by themselves. Caesarius expresses a triumphant optimism that living a religious life, avoiding temptation, protecting *uirginitas*, and fighting vices will lead the nuns safely towards the eternal fatherland (*aeterna patria*).

It is noteworthy that this programme, which places chastity and virginity at the centre of the pursuit of salvation and which defines monastic life as a lifelong battle against vices, would eventually gain a much wider reception than Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[74] The passage on the joyful renunciation of the world quoted above reappears not only in Caesarius' own Rule for Monks but also in a letter sent by Caesarius' niece Caesaria (also called Caesaria the Younger) to the Merovingian queen Radegund along with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[75] Though undoubtedly written to a female community, the entire letter *Vereor* was disseminated widely in an almost identical version addressed to monks.[76] Extracts also appear in the *Liber Scintillarum* (a widespread late Merovingian theological florilegium), and a long passage (beginning with the passage quoted here) is inserted into the Carolingian *Institutio sanctimonialium*.[77] As problematic as it may have been from a purely theological standpoint, the salvific quality of the combination of virginity, conversion, and the lifelong battle against vices was an easy sell – though, as we will see, not necessarily to someone like Jonas of Bobbio. For him, there is no "*Gaudete ergo et exultate in domino*".

(71) Leyser, Conrad, '*This Sainted Isle*: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism', in: William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (eds.), *The Limits of Ancient Christianity. Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1999, pp. 188–206, at pp. 192–193 offers doubts about the role of Lérins, the place of origin of Caesarius, as a hotbed of "Semi-Pelagianism." On Caesarius' initial disinterest in the Pelagian matters, see *ibid.*, pp. 204–207; Mathisen, 'Caesarius of Arles', pp. 208–234; Weaver, Rebecca Harden, *Divine Grace and Human Agency: A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy*, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press 1996, pp. 181–196.

(72) On the sources of *Vereor*, see de Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, pp. 280–281.

(73) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.7, p. 298: *Deo donante*; c. 2.11, p. 300: *Christo adiutore*; c. 2.18, p. 302: *Christo adiutore*; c. 4.13, p. 312: *Christo adiuuante*; c. 4.15, p. 312: *Deo adiuuante*; c. 10.1, p. 334: *Deo adiuuante*.

(74) Rudge, *Texts and Contexts*, pp. 73–127.

(75) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 26, *SC* 398, pp. 222–226; Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 82–92, *SC* 345, pp. 488–490.

(76) On the manuscript transmission of *Vereor*, see http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Caesarius-Ep-Vereor.html (last accessed Nov. 26, 2020). The version for monks is edited in *PL* 67, col. 1154C–1160D.

(77) See de Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, pp. 287–289. *Liber Scintillarum*, c. 7.54–55, *CCSL* 117, p. 34; c. 13.24–27, p. 67; c. 21.39, p. 99; c. 23.24–25, p. 103; *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, c. 5, *MGH Conc.* 1, pp. 434–437. See also Schilp, Thomas, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht 1998, pp. 61–64.

Caesarius' shorter *Homilia ad monachos* is written in the same spirit as *Vereor*. Caesarius likewise emphasizes chastity but shows no concern at all about monastic space or the *monasterium* as such. He propagates monastic life as a war against vices in even more militaristic terms than in *Vereor*. The *Homilia* begins with this battle cry:

> We have come together at this place, most beloved, not to a quiet and safe place but to fight and engage in combat; we have proceeded to a battle; we have mounted for war against the vices![78]

Like *Vereor*, Caesarius' Homily ends with a warning against the *leo rugiens* who roams around and devours anyone who is not sufficiently vigilant or who shows negligence.[79] The battle against vices is, as we can see by reading *Vereor* and the *Homilia ad monachos* alongside, not determined by gender difference. The roaring lion devours monks just as nuns.

Caesarius' Rule for Monks, our third witness, is a somewhat enigmatic text. It does not appear in any collection of monastic rules but only in two early medieval manuscripts containing canon law texts and acts of episcopal councils.[80] According to its prologue, an unknown person requested the Rule from Caesarius' nephew Teridius after the bishop's death. It is likely that Caesarius had written this text in his function as a bishop in order to have it disseminated among various monasteries in his dioceses.[81] Caesarius' successor Aurelianus of Arles merged both of Caesarius' monastic Rules into one Rule applicable for both genders.[82]

Caesarius' Rule for Monks consists of 24 short and very straightforward regulations many of which appear in different phrasing in the first 35 chapters of his Rule for Nuns. Additionally the Rule contains two extensive theological digressions.[83] The second one, which concludes the Rule, includes the section from *Vereor* on the triumphant battle that is quoted above.[84] Adalbert de Vogüé has shown that the first 35 chapters of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and Caesarius' Rule for Monks both used passages from Augustine's *Praeceptum* and that the Rule for Nuns stands closer to Augustine's text than the Rule for Monks.[85] This implies that the Rule for Monks was written after the first 35 chapters of the Rule for

(78) Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, c. 1, *SC* 398, p. 148: *Ad locum hunc, carissimi, non ad quietem, non ad securitatem, sed ad pugnam certamenque conuenimus; ad agonem huc processimus; ad exercenda cum uitiis bella conscendimus.*

(79) Caesarius, *Homilia ad monachos*, c. 11–12, *SC* 398, pp. 156–158. Military terms in the *Homilia ad monachos* include *pugna*; *certamen*; *agon*; *hostis*; *conflictus*; *proelium*; *castra spiritalia*; *certare*; *gladius*; *militare*; *aduersarius*; *bellum*; *miles*; *impugnare*; *inimicus*; *insidiator.*

(80) Brussels, Royal Library, 8780-93 (2493), fol. 25v–32v; Paris, BnF lat. 1564, fol. 16r–18r.

(81) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, *SC* 398, p. 204.

(82) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237–256, at p. 240. On the text: Diem, '…*ut si professus fuerit*'. See also p. 245 (bibliography).

(83) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, *SC* 398, pp. 214–218; c. 26, pp. 222–226.

(84) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 26.2–8, pp. 222–224.

(85) de Vogüé, Adalbert, 'La règle de Césaire d'Arles pour les moines: un résumé de sa Règle pour les moniales', in: *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 47 (1971), pp. 369–406; Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment. Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, pp. 193–200. See also de Vogüé/Courreau, in *SC* 398, pp. 165–200.

Nuns. However, the two digressions that form the theological core of the Rule for Monks are much closer to *Vereor* and to Caesarius' *Homilia ad monachos*. Monastic life is, here as well, a battle and fiercely competitive:

> But just as you had to fight for your life if you had marched into a battle against one people or another, you should fight even harder in this spiritual battle, so that the adversaries of the soul do not slay you. You have as many adversaries as you have vices. And therefore, fight like soldiers of Christ, so that you may rule with him in the heavens who says: *Whoever takes his cross and follows me* (Matth. 16, 24), *if he leaves his father, mother, wife, children, and richness, he will receive hundredfold reward and will own eternal life*. (Matth. 19, 19) Have this contest among each other: who prevails over the other in humility, in love, who is more gentle, more attentive in the works of God, who has greater patience, who is more reticent, gentle, mild, contrite…[86]

With the exception of prohibiting women from entering the monastery (an analogy to *Vereor*), there are no other references to monastic space.[87] Instead, Caesarius frames his Rule for Monks by the requirement of *perseuerantia*. He begins by stating that conversion requires perseverance *usque ad mortem*; he ends the text with the words of Matth. 10, 22 that not the one who begins but the one who perseveres will be saved.[88] There is, thus, a difference between the Rule for Monks which places the irreversibility of monastic vows in the foreground, and *Vereor* which revolves around the ideal of *uirginitas*. This does, however, not mean that both ideas are tied to a specific gender. *Vereor*, like Caesarius' Rule for Monks, addresses *perseuerantia*, and despite focusing on *uirginitas* it was largely transmitted as a letter addressing a community of monks.[89]

Two other topics are conspicuously absent in Caesarius' Rule for Monks. There is no self-referential mentioning of the *regula* as a disciplinary or salvific tool and neither is there any intention whatsoever to turn the community into a *congregatio sancta* or its members into holy monks. The term *sanctus* appears only once, stating that God and the angels will rejoice over the monks' *sancta conuersatio* (holy way of life).[90] Like *Vereor*, the text shows little sensitivity to the theological disputes on grace, free will, and human agency. It is *perseuerantia* and persistence in battle that does the trick, not divine grace.

(86) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.4–11, *SC* 398, p. 216: *Vos uero sicut certamen habituri eratis, si in pugnam contra gentem aliquam ambulassetis, ut non ibi mortem faceretis, quantum magis in isto spiritale certamine pugnate, ut non uos aduersarii animae percutiant. Quanta uitia habueritis, tantos hebetis aduerarios. Et ideo certate sicut milites Christi, ut cum ipso regnetis in caelis, qui dixit: Si quis tulerit curcem suam et secutus me fuerit* (Matth. 16, 24)*, si quis reliquerit patrem, matrem, uxorem, filios et facultates, centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam possedebit.* (Matth. 19, 19) *Hoc certamen habete inter uos, qui alterum uincat per humilitatem, per caritatem, qui sit micior, qui sit in opera dei uigilancior, qui pacienciam habet maiorem, qui sit tacitus, mitis, blandus, conpunctus.*

(87) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 11.1, p. 210: *Mulieres in monasterio numquam ingrediantur, quia in remoto loco est.* The term *monasterium* appears one other time in the context of donating property either to one's parents or to the *monasterium*. Caesarius, does, however quote Luc. 13, 24: *Contendite intrare per angustam portam* in c. 19.1, p. 214.

(88) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, p. 204: *In primis, si quis ad conuersionem uenerit, ea condicione excipiatur, ut usque mortem suam ibi perseueret.* c. 26.17–18, pp. 224–226: *Vestes enim seculares deponere et religiosas adsumere unius horae momento possumus; mores uero bonos iugiter retinere uel contra male dulces uoluptates seculi huius quamdiu uiuimus, Christo adiutore laborare debemus, quia non qui inceperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit.* (Matth. 10, 22).

(89) Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 2.17–18, *SC* 345, p. 302.

(90) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.12, *SC* 398, p. 216.

Even if it is true that Caesarius wrote his Rule for Monks after he had started writing his Rule for Nuns, as Adalbert de Vogüé has shown, both Rules drift apart in respect of five important questions: whether monastic life has to be understood as a lifelong battle; whether monastic *conuersatio* and good works are a way of attaining sanctity; whether it is possible to pursue salvation on one's own; whether the *regula* itself plays any role in a monastic pursuit of salvation; and, finally, whether space and enclosure have any importance and salvific impact.

Escaping the Jaws of the Spiritual Wolves: Enclosure and the Creation of a *congregatio sancta*

The most prominent feature of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is what modern historians call "total enclosure". Instead of just requiring *perseuerantia*, irreversible monastic vows, or *stabilitas in congregatione* (as the *Regula Benedicti* calls it), Caesarius forces his nuns not to leave the monastic confines for the rest of their lives and reduces any contact between them and the outside world to a minimum. The *Vita Caesarii* reports that his nuns would rather burn to death than leave their enclosure.[91] Already in the early Middle Ages, this lifelong incarceration has been understood to be the main feature of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[92] Modern scholars have developed different interpretations of Caesarius' concept of total enclosure.[93] Maaike van Rossem, for example, sees it as a measure of protection, particularly protection of *uirginitas*, which contributed to reducing the role of women within ecclesiastical structures.[94] Suzanne Wemple considers enclosure an expression of the valorization of female religious life.[95] For Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, enclosure could shape a "spiritual space apart from the distractions of the world", and was in addition a necessary form of protection from physical violence that made it possible for women to live a religious life which they otherwise could not. The Rule, in her eyes, guaranteed autonomy and spiritual independence.[96] Cordula Nolte sees it as a result of the conception of womanhood as the weaker gender, more susceptible to temptations and transgressions, and thus as a

(91) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 26, *SC* 536, p. 282.

(92) For example, Caesaria, *Constitutum*, *SC* 345, pp. 496–498; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 57–58, *SC* 536, pp. 228–230; II, c. 50, p. 308; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 393; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, c. 104, *MGH SRM* 1.2, pp. 365–366. On Caesarius' impact: Dailey, 'Introducing monastic space', pp. 17–18 with a survey of literature in n. 33.

(93) For a comprehensive list of literature on Caesarius' enclosure, see Dailey, 'Confinement and Exclusion', p. 305, n. 2; for an overview of sources on the spatial separation of women from Caesarius' onwards, see Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500–840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 7–19.

(94) Van Rossem, Maaike, 'De poort in de muur. Vrouwenkloosters onder de Regel van Caesarius', in: *Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 4 (1983), pp. 41–91.

(95) Wemple, Suzanne Fonay, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500–900*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1981, pp. 150–158.

(96) Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, 'Strict active enclosure and its effects on the female monastic experience (ca. 500–1100)', in: John A. Nichols und Lillian Thomas Shank (eds.), *Medieval Religious Women*, vol. 1: *Distant Echoes*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1984, pp. 51–86, at pp. 52–53 and p. 78.

profoundly sexist approach to religious life.[97] Marilyn Dunn ties Caesarius' enclosure to the role of the monastery as a place of intercession for the outside world.[98]

All of these interpretations can be supported by good arguments. Enclosure could have been both protective *and* repressive; it was certainly rooted in a concern about female *uirginitas* and based on the premise that women represented the weaker sex. It marginalized women but it also gave them autonomy by strictly limiting male interference into the life they lived within the enclosure. I hope to show, however, that total enclosure, along with the requirement to follow a holy and unchangeable *regula*, was motivated not only by practical considerations and inherent misogyny but was just as much – or even more – grounded in Caesarius' monastic theology. It is this theological framework, more than the practice of enclosure itself, that had an afterlife and a strong impact on medieval concepts of monastic space.

Three years after the destruction of Caesaria's first monastic foundation outside the walls of Arles, Caesarius built a monastery for his sister at a safer place, within the walls of Arles and close to his cathedral. Caesarius' *Vita* gives the following report of its foundation:

> Meanwhile, Caesarius <rebuilt> in particular the monastery that he had begun to prepare for his sister in likeness of the earlier rule (*prioris normae*) and for the sake of solitude of the cloister (*claustrum*). <…> Since that which agrees with a Christian does not hinder the divine plan, he created, like a new Noah of our own time, on account of storms and tempests an arc of a monastery for the companions and sisters at the side of the church.[99]

I suggest reading *prior norma* as a reference to a first version of Caesarius' Rule, the one that still shows similarities to his Rule for Monks. After the refoundation, Caesarius revised and expanded his Rule over a period of twenty-two years until in 534 a finalized, "official" version was confirmed by his own signature and that of six of his fellow bishops.[100] As a Rule that grew and changed over almost an entire generation, the text documents the evolution of Caesarius' monastic experiment.

It is easy to identify the different stages of its production. The first sixteen chapters are largely inspired by the monastic rules Caesarius had encountered before he became a bishop. Most of chapters 17–35 paraphrase the Rule of Augustine (the *Ordo monasterii*

(97) Nolte, Cordula, 'Klosterleben von Frauen in der frühen Merowingerzeit. Überlegungen zur Regula ad virgines des Caesarius von Arles', in: Werner Affeldt and Annette Kuhn (eds.), *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 7, Düsseldorf: Schwann 1986, pp. 257–271, at pp. 265–268.

(98) Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MS: Blackwell 2000, pp. 98–107.

(99) *Vita Caesarii*, c. 35, *SC* 536, p. 194: *Inter ista igitur monasterium praecipue, quod sorori praeparare coeperat, et instar prioris normae et singularitate claustri <…> Ipso uero, siquidem nihil obuiat mysterio quod congruit christiano, quasi recentior temporis nostri Noe propter turbines et procellas sodalibus uel sororibus in latere ecclesiae monasterii fabricat archam.* The text contains a lacuna after *claustri*. I have adjusted the translation of Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 26 based on the suggestions made by Marie-José Delage, in her edition of the *Vita Caesarii*, *SC* 536, p. 194, n. 4–5. The following paragraphs expand upon Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 173–193.

(100) *CaesRV*, c. 73, *SC* 345, p. 272. The list of subscribers appears only in the (lost) manuscript Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 617. All six bishops appear in various other contemporary sources which makes it likely that the list is authentic. See de Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, p. 273 (apparatus).

and the *Praeceptum*). Both parts together might represent what the *Vita Caesarii* calls the *prior norma*, though it is also possible that Caesarius' first Rule for Nuns consisted only of chapters 1–16 and that he added material from Augustine's Rule in a second phase. Chapters 36–47 have, as we will see, a different tone and were most likely written after the community had existed for a while. When Caesarius completed his rule in 534, he added what he calls a *recapitulatio*, which covers chapters 48–65. At the beginning of the *recapitulatio*, Caesarius declares that from this point onwards everything he had written previously (*quascumque scedas prius fecimus*) is invalid and the Rule needs to be followed as it stands.[101] This probably referred to the *norma prior* mentioned in the *Vita Caesarii* but also to *Vereor*. It is exclusively the *regula* itself that the nuns are supposed to follow – without any alterations.

Chapters 66–71 consist of the liturgical programme, a calendar of periods of fasting, instructions on the death and burial of nuns, and the meals of the community (*ordo conuiuii*). These chapters may have been part of the *norma prior* and moved towards the end because of the insertion of new material.[102] Chapters 72–73 contain concluding remarks and the signatures of his fellow bishops. This division needs to be used with some caution since it is possible that Caesarius, when expanding the text, had also made alterations to the existing parts.

If we compare Caesarius' Rule for Nuns with his previous monastic programmes, we need to look at the content as well as the semantic changes.[103] The most striking difference between the three texts I discussed so far and the final version of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is that the battle is over. Hardly any of the military terms that were ubiquitous in his older monastic texts are found in the Rule for Nuns.[104] There is no *leo rugiens* roaming around in the monastery anymore and – even more remarkably – none of the references to an embattled *uirginitas* and *castitas* as primary assets for attaining salvation can be found in the Rule for Nuns. We can assume that *uirginitas* remained central to monastic life, but Caesarius addressed the topic of chastity only in a sideline, in two chapters on the "desire of the eyes" (*concupiscentia oclorum*) that were inspired by Augustine's *Praeceptum*.[105]

(101) *CaesRV*, c. 49.1–2, *SC* 345, p. 234: *Pro qua re quascumque scedas prius fecimus, uacuas esse uolumus; 2 hanc uero, in qua manu mea recapitulationem scripsi, sine ulla diminutione rogo et moneo ut Deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis.*

(102) *CaesRV*, c. 48, pp. 232–234. On the different stages of the composition of the *Regula ad uirgines*, see Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 173–174; de Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, pp. 45–68; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: the Making of a Christian Community*, pp. 118–119. It is noteworthy that the liturgical *ordo* appears in its complete version only in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*. All other manuscripts omit at least parts of it. See de Vogüé/Courreau, in: *SC* 345, p. 153. The Rule as it is presented by de Vogüé and Courreau is a reconstruction based on several incomplete textual witnesses. Helvétius, 'L'organisation des monastères féminins à l'époque mérovingienne', pp. 157–158 casts doubt's on de Vogüé's and Courreau's reconstruction.

(103) McCarthy, Maria Caritas, *The Rule for Nuns of St Caesarius of Arles*, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 1960, pp. 35–48 provides an analysis of Caesarius' monastic language in order to prove the authenticity of his Rule, however without reflecting on the content and the ideas conveyed in his choice of expressions.

(104) Of all the military terms used in *Vereor* and in the *Homilia ad monachos* only the following ones appear in the Rule for Nuns: *certamen* (once); *hostis* (once); *militare* (once, in a biblical quotation); *inimicus* (once); *uulnus* (thrice).

(105) *CaesRV*, c. 23–24, *SC* 345, pp. 198–202. Even here, Caesarius avoids the term *uirginitas*.

The devil, who is overly present in *Vereor*,[106] becomes, according to the Rule for Nuns, a weak and easy target. Two things keep him at bay: the *regula* and enclosure, which forms the centre of the *regula*.[107] Instead of having the nuns engage in a lifelong battle with the *leo rugiens*, Caesarius simply bans the *lupi spiritales* (spiritual wolves, an allusion to John 10, 1–16) from the monastic confines. Caesarius begins his Rule with the following precept:

> These things first befit your holy souls: if a girl, leaving her parents, desires to renounce the world and enter the holy fold to escape the jaws of the spiritual wolves by the help of God, she must never, up to the time of her death, go out of the monastery, nor into the basilica, where there is a door.[108]

He repeats this requirement at the beginning of his *recapitulatio*:

> This is what we especially wish to be observed by you without any relaxation, that no one of you up to the time of her death, be permitted to go out of the monastery or into that basilica in which you have a door, or presume on her own to go out.[109]

The definitive version of this Rule closes with the following words:

> And because for the sake of guarding the monastery, I have closed and forbidden the use of some doors, in the old baptistery, in the *scola* and in the weaving room, and in the tower next to the *pomerium*, let no one ever presume under any pretext of utility whatsoever to open them: but it shall be allowed to the holy congregation to offer resistance, and they are not to permit that to be done, which they know to be against their good reputation or peace.[110]

Based on the idea that the devil could be banished from the monastery's space, Caesarius is now even more optimistic than in *Vereor* and in his Rule for Monks. He and his nuns rejoice, not because they have an opportunity to fight their battle, but because, thanks to Caesarius' own initiative and thanks to the Rule he composed, the nuns have practically won and can comfortably and quietly spend their time praying for the visitation of Jesus Christ:

(106) On the devil in Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*: c. 1.8–10, *SC* 345, pp. 296–298; c. 2.10–11, p. 300 (using the image of the *leo rugiens*); c. 3.24–31, pp. 306–308; c. 4.7–8, p. 310; c. 4.14, p. 312; c. 4.16, p. 312; c. 8.14, p. 326.

(107) There are a number of references to the devil in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, but Caesarius emphasizes that *uigilantia* and adherence to the Rule are sufficient to defeat him. See *CaesRV*, *SC* 345, c. 21.5, p. 196; c. 23.1, p. 198; c. 26.2, p. 204; c. 34.2, p. 214; c. 49.1–6, pp. 234–236; c. 63.6–7, p. 248.

(108) *CaesRV*, c. 2.2–3, p. 180: *Haec sanctis animabus uestris prima conueniunt.* ₃*Si qua relictis parentibus suis saeculo renuntiare et sanctum ouile uoluerit introire, ut spiritalium luporum fauces deo adiuuante possit euadere, usque ad mortem suam de monasterio non egrediatur, nec in basilicam, ubi ostium esse uidetur*; transl. McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns*, p. 171.

(109) *CaesRV*, c. 50, p. 236: *Hoc enim est quod specialiter absque ulla diminutione a uobis uolumus obseruari, ut nulla ex uobis usque ad mortem suam de monasterio egredi, uel in ipsam basilicam, in qua ianuam habetis, aut permittatur, aut per seipsam praesumat exire*; transl. McCarthy, p. 188, slightly adjusted.

(110) *CaesRV*, c. 73.1–2, p. 272: *Et quia propter custodiam monasterii aliqua ostia siue in ueteri baptisterio, siue in scola uel in textrino uel in turre iuxta pomerium clausi atque damnaui, nullus illa umquam sub qualibet utilitatis specie aperire praesumat,* ₂*sed liceat sanctae congregationi resistere, et, quod famae uel quieti suae incongruum esse cognoscunt, fieri non permittant*; transl. McCarthy, p. 204.

> Because the Lord in His mercy has deigned to inspire and aid us to found a monastery for you, we have set down spiritual and holy counsels for you as to how you shall live in the monastery according to the prescriptions of the ancient Fathers. That, with the help of God, you may be able to keep them, as you abide unceasingly in your monastery cell, implore by assiduous prayer the visitation of the Son of God, so that afterwards you can say with confidence: *We have found Him Whom our soul has sought.* (Cant. 3, 4)[111]

Yet if we look at Caesarius' Rule for Nuns as a whole and listen to the story the text tells through its different stages, we can see how Caesarius' optimism has become tainted by an increasing anxiety over how to uphold the two major conditions for keeping the wolves and lions outside the monastery, so to speak. Most of the provisions made in chapters 36–47 explicate how enclosure needs to be implemented and protected. Caesarius restricts the access of outsiders to the monastery and regulates and minimizes contacts between the nuns and the outside world; no man may enter the monastery aside from those fulfilling liturgical tasks and those doing repair work.[112] The same applies to secular and religious women.[113] The abbess meets guests only in the presence of witnesses.[114] Only bishops, abbots, and well-reputed monks may pray in the oratory within the monastery (which seems to be a different place than the *basilica* where the nuns were not allowed to enter).[115] The gates (presumably to the visitors' space and the oratory) should only be open at certain times.[116] The nuns are not supposed to hold *conuiuia* (festive meals) with anyone, not even with the bishop or the *prouisor* (steward) of the monastery. Rare exceptions are made only for religious women living in the city and for female relatives, provided they are living a religious life as well.[117] The abbess is not allowed to eat outside the monastery.[118] The nuns should not give out alms at the gates of the monastery. Care for the poor needs to be exercised through the *prouisor* of the monastery.[119] Nuns are not allowed to receive or give any gifts without the knowledge of the abbess and the gatekeeper (*posticiaria*).[120] It is forbidden to clean, repair, dye, or store the vestments of outsiders.[121] The nuns' vestments should be

(111) *CaesRV*, c. 1.1–3, p. 170: *Sanctis et plurimum in Christo uenerandis sororibus in monasterio, quod deo inspirante et iuuante condidimus, constitutis Caesarius episcopus.* 2 *Quia nobis dominus pro sua misericordia inspirare et adiuuare dignatus est, ut uobis monasterium conderemus, quomodo in ipso monasterio uiuere debeatis, secundum statuta antiquorum patrum monita uobis spiritalia ac sancta condidimus.* 3 *Quae ut deo adiuuante custodire possitis, iugiter in monasterii cellula residentes, uisitationem filii dei assiduis orationibus implorate, ut postea cum fiducia possitis dicere: Inuenimus quem quaesiuit anima nostra.* (Cant. 3, 4); transl. McCarthy, p. 170.

(112) *CaesRV*, c. 36, pp. 218–220: no men *in secreta parte*; c. 37, p. 220: no *matronae saeculares*; c. 51.2–3, pp. 236–238: no *familiaritas* with anyone.

(113) *CaesRV*, c. 37, p. 220.

(114) *CaesRV*, c. 38.1, p. 220.

(115) *CaesRV*, c. 38.2, p. 220.

(116) *CaesRV*, c. 38.3, p. 220; c. 59.1–2, p. 242: gate only open *oportunis horis*.

(117) *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220–222; c. 53, p. 240: no *conuiuia*, not even for *feminae religiosae*; c. 40.1–2, p. 222: exceptions only for religious relatives from other cities.

(118) *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222: The abbess may not eat outside the monastery unless it is absolutely necessary.

(119) *CaesRV*, c. 42.6, p. 224.

(120) *CaesRV*, c. 25, p. 202; c. 43.1–3, p. 226; c. 54, p. 240.

(121) *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.4–5, p. 238.

produced within the monastery and not bought outside.[122] All interactions between the abbess and outsiders and between nuns and their family members require witnesses.[123]

Caesarius expresses the urgency of these measures with a series of emphatic phrases: *ante omnia* (first and foremost); *coram deo et angelis eius obtestor* (I appeal to you in the presence of God and his angels); *coram deo et angelis eius ammoneo et contestor* (I admonish and appeal to you in the presence of God and the angels); *cum grandi affectu caritatis adiuro* (I beg you with great love and charity), etc. No fewer than 18 chapters contain these markers of urgency.[124] Just as *Vereor* is framed by Caesarius' concern for *uirginitas* and his Rule for Monks is framed by the necessity of *perseuerantia*, in the Rule for Nuns, total enclosure and following the *regula* forms the "alpha and omega" for the nuns' pursuit of salvation.[125]

Before Caesarius inserted his *recapitulatio*, his Rule ended in chapter 47 with an admonition that expresses both Caesarius' anxiety and optimism. *If* the nuns follow his Rule (and particularly the rules of enclosure), they are still on the safe side:

> I admonish and I charge you before God and the angels, holy and highly venerated mother of the monastery, and you, the prioress of the holy congregation, let no one's threats or persuasions or flattery ever relax your spirit, and do not yourselves take away anything from the established form of the holy and spiritual rule. I trust, moreover, by the mercy of God, that you will not incur guilt for any negligence, but through your obedience, holy and pleasing to God, you will be able happily to attain eternal beatitude.[126]

(122) *CaesRV*, c. 28.1, p. 206.

(123) *CaesRV*, c. 36.5, pp. 218–220; c. 38, p. 220; c. 40.3, p. 222; c. 51.3, p. 238.

(124) *CaesRV*, c. 30.4, p. 208: *Ante omnia coram deo et angelis eius obtestor*; c. 36.1, p. 218: *Ante omnia propter custodiendam famam*; c. 42.1, p. 224: *Illud ante omnia…ammoneo et contestor, ut uigilantissime consideretis*; c. 43.1–2, p. 226: *Ante omnia obseruandum est…contestor coram deo et angelis eius*; c. 47.1, p. 232: *coram deo et angelis eius ammoneo et contestor*; c. 48.4, p. 234: *Et ideo coram deo et angelis eius contestamur*; c. 49.2, p. 234: *sine ulla diminuitione rogo et moneo ut deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis*; c. 50, p. 236: *specialiter absque ulla diminutione*; c. 55, p. 240: *Moneo specialius*; c. 59.3, p. 242: *deo medio contestor*; c. 62.1, p. 246: *iterum atque iterum rogo, et per omnipotentem deum uos contestor*; c. 63.1, p. 246: *Et hoc ante omnia rogo*; c. 63.2, p. 246: *uos cum grandi affectu et cum uera caritate salubriter ammonemus*; c. 63.8–9, p. 248: *Haec enim ego cum grandi non solum timore sed etiam tremore cogitans, dum pauescit animus meus, ne uobis aliqua uel minuta peccata subripiant, non solum ammoneo, sed etiam supplico partier et contestor, et cum grandi affectu caritatis adiuro*; c. 64.4, p. 250: *Praecipue tamen…contestor*; c. 69.25, p. 266: *Ante omnia*; c. 70.4, p. 268: *Ante omnia studendum est*; c. 72.1, p. 270: *coram domino deo nostro obtestor et deprecor*.

(125) It is not uncommon in monastic rules to place their central idea at the beginning and the end as a means of framing the rest of the rule. Caesarius' own Rule for Monks begins and ends with emphasizing *perseuerantia*: c. 1.1, *SC* 398, p. 204; c. 26.17–19, pp. 224–226. His letter *Vereor* frames its content with a call for *uirginitas* and *castitas*, c. 2, *SC* 345, p. 298; c. 10, pp. 334–336. The monastic rule written by his successor, Bishop Aurelianus of Arles, places the necessity to obey the *regula* at the beginning and the end: Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240; c. 55, p. 256. The *Regula Benedicti* begins with the famous words *Obsculta o fili praecepta magistri* and ends with the recommendation to direct one's monastic life according to the writings of Cassian, Basil, and the *sancti patres*. *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1, *SC* 181, p. 412; c. 73, *SC* 182, pp. 672–674.

(126) *CaesRV*, c. 47, *SC* 345, p. 232: *Te uero sanctam ac uenerabilem monasterii matrem, et te praepositam sanctae congregationis, coram deo et angelis eius ammoneo et contestor, ut nullius umquam uel minae uel oblocutiones uel blandimenta molliant animum uestrum, ut aliquid de sanctae ac spiritalis regulae institutione minuatis.* 2 *Credo tamen de dei misericordia, quod non pro aliqua neglegentia reatum incurrere, sed pro sancta et deo placita oboedientia ad aeternam beatitudinem possitis feliciter peruenire*; transl. McCarthy, p. 187. See also c. 61.2, p. 244; c. 64, p. 250.

These concluding remarks point us to another pivotal innovation that emerged in the process of expanding and revising the text. Caesarius uses the term *sancta* (holy) in this short section no fewer than four times: he calls the abbess a *sancta mater*; the community is a *congregatio sancta*; he refers to the *institutio sanctae ac spiritalis regulae* (institution of the holy and spiritual rule); and makes *oboedientia sancta et Deo placita* (holy and God-pleasing obedience) the basis for reaching salvation. Caesarius' use of *sancta* in these contexts is not accidental. Throughout his Rule he not only addresses the nuns with an increasing frequency as *sanctae uirgines*, *sanctae sorores*, *sanctae filiae,* or simply *sanctae*, but repeatedly calls their community an *ouile sanctum* (holy sheephold) or a *sancta congregatio*.[127] The *sancta congregatio* is ruled by the *sancta abbatissa* or *sancta mater*;[128] it follows the *monita spiritalia ac sancta*, the *sancta regula,* or the *institutio sancta regulae.*[129] The nuns perform *orationes sanctae*, are engaged in *studium sanctum*, act in *sancta oboedientia*, *deuotio sancta*, *affectus sanctus*, *pietas sancta,* or simply *sanctitas*.[130] The expressions *sanctus/sancta/sanctum/sanctitas* appear no fewer than 57 times. The frequency of its use increases in the different stages of the Rule's production. The term appears six times in the prologue, fifteen times in the first thirty-five chapters (less than once every three chapters), ten times in the latter twelve chapters 36–48 (almost once in every chapter) and twenty-five times in the *recapitulatio*.[131]

If we compare Caesarius' use of *sanctus* and *sanctitas* with other rules, we can safely dismiss the assumption that this is simply an expression of a common religious language. In his Rule for Monks, Caesarius speaks once of *conuersatio sancta* (holy way of life) but does not use the term *sanctus* in the context of the abbot, the community, or the Rule.[132] In his *Homilia ad monachos*, the term *sanctus* is completely absent. Caesarius does use the term *sancta* several times in *Vereor*, following epistolary conventions, but never in reference to a *congregatio sancta* or to a *regula sancta.*[133] Benedict, by comparison, uses *sanctus* occasionally for the works the monks should aspire to and refers to a *sancta regula* only in a sideline. Colum-

(127) *CaesRV*, c. 1.1, p. 170; c. 2.2, p. 180; c. 6.2, p. 184; c. 26.1, p. 204; c. 27.2, p. 206; c. 27.3, p. 206; c. 36.6, p. 220; c. 40.2, p. 222; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 49.4, p. 234; c. 59.3, p. 242; c. 62.1, p. 246; c. 63.1, p. 246; c. 65.1, p. 252; c. 72.3, p. 270; c. 73.2, p. 272; c. 73.3, p. 272. See also *Vita Segolenae*, c. 8/9.10, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 632D, the only hagiographic text using Caesarius' expression *ouile sanctum* for a monastic community.

(128) *CaesRV*, c. 30.7, p. 210; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 61.1–2, p. 244; c. 72.1, p. 270.

(129) *CaesRV*, c. 1.2, p. 170; c. 43.4, p. 226; c. 47.1, p. 232; c. 62.2, p. 246; c. 64.5, p. 250.

(130) *CaesRV*, c. 1.4, p. 172; c. 29.2, p. 208; c. 47.2, p. 232; c. 48.2, p. 234; c. 49.7, p. 236; c. 62.2, p. 246; c. 70.4, p. 268.

(131) The *Vita Caesarii* as well describes the monastery as *monasterium sanctum* and the bodies of the nuns as *corpora sacra*. See *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 11, *SC* 536, p. 258; II, c. 50, p. 308.

(132) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19.12, *SC* 398, p. 216.

(133) Caesarius uses *sancta* numerous times when addressing the nuns directly: *Vereor*, title, *SC* 345, p. 294; c. 6.3, p. 316; c. 8.15, p. 326; c. 8.20, p. 328; c. 9.1, p. 328; c. 9.6, p. 330; c. 10.2, p. 334; c. 10.17, p. 336. Furthermore, he refers to the *conuersatio*, *conscientia*, *colloquia*, *uita*, *religio*, *opera*, and *oratio sancta*: c. 1.7, p. 296; c. 1.9, p. 296; c. 3.16, p. 306; c. 6.1, p. 316; c. 6.10, p. 318; c. 7.3, p. 320; c. 7.5, p. 320; c. 9.5, p. 330. On four occasions he refers to the *anima sancta*: c. 3.10, p. 304; c. 4.14, p. 312; c. 9.12, p. 332; c. 10.1, p. 334; twice he calls a chaste nun a *uasa sancta*: c. 5.8/10, p. 314.

banus is even more stingy with the word *sanctus* – and the same applies, as we will see, to Jonas of Bobbio.[134]

Caesarius thus replaces the notion of the community as a spiritual battleground with the idea that total and irreversible enclosure, along with the *regula*, which becomes a *regula sancta* or the *institutio sancta regulae*, could turn a monastic community into a *congregatio sancta*. Sanctity, thus, becomes "organizable" by means of shaping an impenetrable space that is detached from the surrounding sinful world, and by means of submitting its inhabitants to an unchangeable Holy Rule. Breaking the enclosure and abandoning the *regula sancta* would irrevocably destroy the *congregatio sancta*. This was probably the main reason for Caesarius to add a *recapitulatio* of another seventeen chapters which reiterates all aspects of monastic enclosure and repeats numerous times that the *sancta regula* may not be mitigated or changed by any means and by anyone within or outside the community.[135] Even on his deathbed, Caesarius urged his nuns never to deviate from the *regula* that he had imposed on them.[136] Caesarius' *regula sancta* may have gone out of use nevertheless, but the principle of the monastic rule as salvific *regula sancta* re-emerges in the context of the Carolingian monastic reforms. Due to the efforts of the Carolingians reformers the *Regula Benedicti* would become the *regula sancta* per se.

"Organizing Grace": Caesarius and the "Semi-Pelagian" Controversy

What motivated Caesarius to abandon the notion of the monastery as a spiritual battleground and to invent enclosure as a salvific tool? I would argue that Caesarius' decision to submit his nuns to total enclosure is related to the so-called Semi-Pelagian debate on whether human achievements could be based on free will or had to be preceded by divine grace and, more concretely, whether good works and strict asceticism may lead to eternal salvation.[137] At first sight, making such a connection seems odd. After all, Caesarius' triumphant optimism that his nuns have reached a space that ensured their eternal salvation seems to contradict the idea that salvation depends on divine grace and not on human

(134) The *Regula Benedicti* uses the term *sanctus* predominantly to refer to saints and "holy fathers" and to feast days. See *Regula Benedicti*, c. 14.1, *SC* 182, p. 522; c. 15.1, p. 522; c. 18.25, p. 534; c. 49.3, p. 604; c. 58.18–19, p. 630; c. 64.18, p. 652; c. 73.2–5, p. 672. Benedict calls the acts the monks should strive to achieve *sancta*. See c. 2.12, *SC* 181, p. 444: *omnia bona et sancta factis*; c. 5.3, p. 464: *seruitium sanctum*; c. 6.3, p. 470: *bonis et sanctis eloquiis*; c. 21.1, *SC* 182, p. 538: *fratres boni testimonii et sanctae conuersationis*. Only twice, at not very prominent places, Benedict calls the Rule a *sancta regula*: c. 23.1, p. 542 in the context of excommunication; c. 65.18, p. 658 in the context of the prior. Columbanus' Rule uses the term *congregatio sancta* once in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 6, ed. Walker, p. 150, l. 15–19 on the reintegration of excommunicated into the *congregatio sancta*. Likewise, Aurelianus' *Regula ad monachos* addresses the community as *congregatio sancta* once in c. 55, ed. Schmidt, p. 256. He refers, however, several times to the *sanctus abbas*.

(135) *CaesRV*, c. 47–49, *SC* 345, pp. 232–236; c. 62–64, pp. 246–250.

(136) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 47, *SC* 536, p. 304.

(137) On the early history of the "Semi-Pelagian" debate: Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency*; Leyser, Conrad, 'Semi-Pelagianism', in: A. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publ. 1999, cols 761–766.

agency. Caesarius tries it nevertheless and the fact that he stands on somewhat shaky grounds may have contributed to the nervousness expressed in his Rule.

Caesarius played a crucial role in the debate on grace and free will. At the Council of Orange of 529 (only five years before the final touches on his Rule for Nuns), he advocated for a formula that turned the ability to do good works into an effect of divine grace. The acts of the Council of Orange determined that all human achievements and expressions of free will – the ability to pray, the will to be cleansed from one's sins, the beginnings of faith, desire, striving, labour, study, imploring, the right choice that leads to salvation, and avoidance of hypocrisy – are eventually the result of divine grace rather than the cause of it.[138]

Caesarius may have considered his own foundation the ideal experimental space for facing the challenges posed by a doctrine of prevenient grace. It was, after all, his own private endeavour and, as a monastic community for women, less indebted to existing male monastic traditions. He could start from scratch and use, as it were, religious women who were already submitted to his episcopal power and supervision as his guinea pigs. This would explain the shifts in language and emphasis that we saw when comparing the Rule for Nuns to his previous works: Caesarius abandons the battle of virtues and vices and replaces *uirginitas* as a salvific tool by, so to speak, a new type of "*uirginitas*", that of the monastic space (though he never uses *uirginitas* metaphorically as a reference to enclosure).

There are some remarkable connections between the "Semi-Pelagian" debate and the production and promulgation of the Rule for Nuns. Five years after the Council of Orange, Caesarius had the final version of his Rule approved by the signature of six bishops. All of them signed with the words *consensi et signaui* (I have approved and signed), a variation of the phrase *consensi et subscripsi* that we find in the lists of subscribers in the acts of episcopal councils (including the Council of Orange). No other early medieval monastic rule has been approved in this way by a board of bishops.[139] Two of the six bishops who approved Caesarius' Rule also appear on the list of subscribers of the acts of the Council of Orange: Lupercianus of Fréjus and Cyprianus of Toulon.[140]

Cyprianus of Toulon was not only involved in the Council of Orange, but he also staunchly supported Caesarius' teachings on prevenient grace at another council that took place a year earlier in Vaison, where Caesarius' position on grace and free will was under attack. Moreover, Cyprianus was one of the four authors of the *Vita* of Caesarius which was produced shortly after Caesarius' death at the behest of the nuns of his foundation.[141] It was Cyprianus who described Caesarius in the context of founding his monastery as a

(138) Council of Orange (529), c. 3–9, *CCSL* 148A, pp. 56–58; Mathisen, 'Caesarius of Arles', pp. 211–219. See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 60, *SC* 536, pp. 232–234. Caesarius defends the doctrine of prevenient grace in short *Opusculum de gratia*, ed. Germain Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera Omnia*, vol. 2: *Opera Varia*, Abbaye de Maredsous: Maretioli 1942, pp. 159–164.

(139) Adalbert de Vogüé suggests, however, that the *Regula patrum tertia* was promulgated at the Council of Clermont of 535. See de Vogüé, in: *SC* 298, pp. 519–526.

(140) See Council of Orange (529), *CCSL* 148A, pp. 64–65; *CaesRV*, c. 73, *SC* 345, p. 272.

(141) Klingshirn, 'Caesarius's monastery for women', pp. 445–451.

Noah of his own time who fashioned for his nuns "an ark on account of storms and tempests".[142] Ralph Mathisen argues, moreover, that it was only thanks to Cyprianus that the acts of the Council of Orange survived and made it into canonical collections. The bishops' discussion and the decisions made at the Council of Vaison have left no traces in historical records except for their rebuttal found in Caesarius' *Vita*.[143] Cyprian, as a spokesman of prevenient grace, had, thus, no qualms of placing his name under a Rule that promoted itself as salvific tool.

Another author of the *Vita Caesarii* was Firminus, the bishop of Uzès, who also appears on the list of subscribers of the Rule for Nuns. It was probably Firminus who wrote the section of the *Vita Caesarii* that praised Cyprianus' defence of Caesarius' theological viewpoints:

> Blessed Caesarius could not attend the meeting [i.e. the Council of Vaison] as he had planned because of a serious illness. But he sent the most outstanding bishops [in his place], accompanied by priests and deacons, among whom holy Cyprianus, the distinguished bishop of Toulon, stood out prominently. Cyprianus proved everything Caesarius had been saying from the divine scriptures and demonstrated from the most ancient pronouncements of the fathers that no one could make any advance in divine progress on his own unless he had first been called by the intervention of God's grace. But while they were seeking to establish their own justice, they did not observe God's justice. (…)[144] At that point Boniface of blessed memory, bishop of Rome, became aware of this controversy and confirmed by apostolic authority the course of action by which holy Caesarius had settled the dispute among those who were quarreling.[145]

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, a rule that opens up a safe pathway to salvation, was, thus, explicitly approved by three supporters of a theology of prevenient grace. How is it possible to read the Rule for Nuns as a document of a theology of prevenient grace? First, some general observations: permanently withdrawing from the world is, as Caesarius implies, not an ascetic exercise, a battle, or an *opus bonum* (good work). To the contrary, entering the monastic space is supposed to be a joyful moment. Whatever the nuns do, they do it *feliciter* (happily) and *libenter* (gladly) – as Caesarius emphasizes several times in his Rule.[146] Life within the monastery may have been mildly austere – no quilted or embroidered coverings and no wall paintings were permitted – but it was certainly not ascetic in any way comparable to the lives of the desert fathers who were revered and imitated by the monks in Gaul. Caesarius recognizes, for example, that it is a problem if the nuns don't have enough

(142) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, p. 194; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius: Life*, p. 26.

(143) See Mathisen, 'Caesarius of Arles', pp. 210–211 and pp. 223–225 on Cyprianus' role in the preservation of the acts of the Council of Orange.

(144) The author inserts a number of biblical passages supporting this theological viewpoint, which are omitted here.

(145) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 60, *SC* 536, pp. 232–234; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius. Life*, pp. 40–41; see also Klingshirn, 'Caesarius's monastery for women', p. 450.

(146) *CaesRV*, c. 1.5, p. 172; c. 47.2, p. 232; c. 65.5, p. 252: *feliciter*; c. 49.2, p. 234: *fideliter ac feliciter*; c. 49.7, p. 236: *non solum fideliter, sed etiam feliciter*. *CaesRV*, c. 58, p. 242 emphasizes that the nuns have to follow the Rule *prompta et libera uoluntate*; c. 59.1, p. 242 states that the nuns have closed all entries except for the one in the basilica *cum uestra uoluntate aut cum uestro permisso*: the nuns themselves insisted on complete enclosure. See also Van Rossem, 'Poort', p. 57.

wine.[147] The nuns' enclosure may have been irreversible, but it has little to do with the harsh life of male and female recluses in Egypt, Syria, and Francia who locked themselves away in caves, tombs, or behind impenetrable walls.[148] It is also clear that Caesarius did not want to repeat the mistakes that had forced him to leave his home monastery of Lérins where he, as *cellararius*, wanted to impose on his fellow monks his own ascetic standards. The *Vita Caesarii* implies that Caesarius, once he left Lérins, realized that bodily asceticism, fasting, and austerity is not a path to salvation but a bridge to nowhere.[149]

Aside from taking *opera bona*, harsh asceticism, and spiritual battle out of the equation, Caesarius replaces the set of authorities he had used for *Vereor* (Pelagius, Ps.-Cyprian, Cassian) with one main authority: Augustine, the main proponent of a theology of prevenient grace. By paraphrasing Augustine's *Praeceptum* and *Ordo monasterii* in chapters 17–34 of the Rule, Caesarius presents the *norma prior*, the first version of his Rule for Nuns, as an elaboration of Augustine's monastic Rule. He was not the only sixth-century monastic legislator who "Augustinized" his work, though. The *Regula Tarnatensis*, written soon after Caesarius' Rule, incorporates most of Augustine's *Praeceptum* as well, as does the so-called *Regula Eugippi*.[150] Hendrik Dey suggests that the use of Augustine's work in the *Regula Benedicti* could also be understood as a sort of disclaimer in the "Semi-Pelagian" debate.[151]

Of course, simply inserting and reframing Augustine's words and avoiding references to heroic ascetic battles and *opera bona* does not necessarily bring a monastic rule in line with the doctrine of prevenient grace. Caesarius resolved the problem by other means. The mildly comfortable monastery itself, the nuns' conversion, and, most importantly, the *regula* are, as he states at the beginning of his Rule, at the end of its first version, at the beginning of the *recapitulatio*, and at the end of his final version, in themselves a product of divine support and inspiration.[152] This emphasis on divine support runs throughout the entire text. The nuns escape the "spiritual wolves" and are converted to religious life inspired by God (*deo inspirante*).[153] As Caesarius emphasizes at the end of the penultimate version of his Rule, they are able, by the mercy of God (*de dei misericordia*), to achieve eternal beatitude by avoiding *neglegentia* and through holy and God-pleasing obedience.[154] Caesarius created the *regula* "by the graceful God" (*deo propitio*) and revised it "by inspira-

(147) On embroidery: *CaesRV*, c. 45, p. 230. On the standard of living in the monastery, see, for example, c. 30.7, p. 210 on the responsibility of the abbess to provide wine for the monastery. See also the advice against excessive asceticism Caesaria gives in a letter to Queen Radegund 74–81, *SC* 345, pp. 486–488.

(148) Some examples for female ascetic recluses: Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 5, ed. Wellhausen, pp. 501–502; *Historia monachorum*, c. 6.1, ed. Eva Schulz-Flügel, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1990, p. 284; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* II, c. 12, *SC* 510, pp. 268–274; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia religiosa*, c. 15, transl. Richard M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1985, pp. 115–116; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris*, c. 32–33, *SC* 90, pp. 188–190; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 25–26, *SC* 142, pp. 264–268; Gregory of Tours, *Liber uitae patrum* XIX, *MGH SRM* 1.2, pp. 286–291. See also Van Rossem, 'Port', p. 55.

(149) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 7, *SC* 536, pp. 156–158.

(150) *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 14–23, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 33–46; *Regula Eugippi*, c. 1, *CSEL* 87, pp. 3–16.

(151) Dey, 'Building worlds apart', p. 366, following de Vogüé, in: *SC* 181, pp. 33–39 and pp. 63–64.

(152) See *CaesRV*, c. 1.1–2, *SC* 345, p. 170, quoted on p. 285.

(153) *CaesRV*, c. 2.2, p. 180; c. 4.1, p. 182.

(154) *CaesRV*, c. 47.2, p. 232. See p. 286.

tion of God" (*deo inspirante*) so that his nuns can follow it "with the help of God" (*cum dei adiutorio*).[155] At the beginning of his *recapitulatio*, Caesarius refers no fewer than five times to divine support. Following his God-given *regula* is an effective way to ward off the devil:

> For this reason we wish that whatever we wrote previously: this rule, in which I have written the *recapitulatio* with my own hand, I beg and counsel you to fulfill, with the help of God (*deo adiutore*), faithfully and fruitfully without any relaxation, incessantly imploring the help of God (*dei adiutorium inplorantes*), lest the old enemy, who is wont to drag his followers down to himself from the heights of heaven to the depths of hell, ensnare you with his poisonous wiles. Hence, I warn you, holy (*sanctae*) and venerated daughters, to strive zealously to drive away his suggestions with all your strength and with most vigilant attention. And, with the help of God (*cum dei adiutorio*), so run as to obtain (cf. I Cor. 9, 24), because, not he who begins, but "…he that perseveres unto the end, he shall be saved". (Matth. 10, 22) Although I trust that you in your holy piety will always remember those things I have written above, and that with Christ's support (*Christo auxiliante*), you will strive, not only faithfully, but fruitfully to fulfill them, nevertheless in order that those things which we have established may be imprinted in your hearts more firmly, we have wished to make this little recapitulation, which I have written with my own hand. I ask that, with God inspiring you (*deo inspirante*), you receive it gladly, and that you strive constantly with the help of God (*cum dei adiutorio*) to keep it.[156]

Caesarius subsequently urges his nuns to be "inspired by Christ" (*Christo inspirante*) and elect an abbess who will successfully follow the *regula*.[157] He states that "God in his mercy" (*deus pro sua misericordia*) will not allow the abbess to change any part of the *regula* and calls on the nuns to be "inspired by God" (*deo inspirante*) and to resist any such attempt.[158] He concludes his *recapitulatio* with yet another optimistic statement: that the nuns will reach the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia*) if they follow his precepts and reproach the negligent "by the mercy of God" (*de dei misericordia*) and "with the Lord's support" (*praestante domino*).[159] His liturgical section begins with the request to sing Psalms incessantly "with the help of God" (*cum dei adiutorio*).[160] In his testament, which he wrote "inspired by God" (*deo inspirante*), Caesarius addresses his nuns as an "entire congregation that the Lord has placed in the monastery through His grace" (*uniuersae congregationi, quam ibi dominus sua gratia collocauerit*).[161]

(155) *CaesRV*, c. 48.1/3, pp. 232–234.

(156) *CaesRV*, c. 49, pp. 234–236: *Pro qua re quascumque scedas prius fecimus, uacuas esse uolumus;* $_2$ *hanc uero, in qua manu mea recapitulationem scripsi, sine ulla diminutione rogo et moneo ut Deo adiutore fideliter ac feliciter inpleatis,* $_3$ *incessanter Dei adiutorium inplorantes, ne uos uenenoso consilio suo antiquus hostis inpediat, qui de ipso caeli fastigio sibi consentientes ad inferni profunda consueuit abstrahere.* $_4$ *Vnde, sanctae ac uenerabiles filiae, moneo ut omni uirtute et uigilantissima sollicitudine suggestiones illius repellere studeatis.* $_5$ *Et sic cum Dei adiutorio currite, ut adprehendere ualeatis* (cf. I Cor. 9, 24), $_6$ *quia non qui coeperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic saluus erit.* (Matth. 10, 22) $_7$ *Et licet credam quod ea quae superius scripta sunt sancta pietas uestra et semper memoriter teneat, et Christo auxiliante non solum fideliter, sed etiam feliciter inplere contendat,* $_8$ *tamen, ut ea quae constituimus sancto cordi uestro tenacius ualeant inhaerere, istam paruulam recapitulationem, quam manu mea scripsi, fieri uoluimus.* $_9$ *Quam rogo ut Deo inspirante et libenter accipere, et iugiter studeatis cum Dei adiutorio custodire*; transl. McCarthy, pp. 187–188.

(157) *CaesRV*, c. 61.2, p. 244.

(158) *CaesRV*, c. 64.1–2, p. 250.

(159) *CaesRV*, c. 65.5–6, p. 252.

(160) *CaesRV*, c. 66.1, p. 252.

(161) Caesarius, *Testament* 2, *SC* 345, p. 380.

Another recurring motif of Caesarius' Rule is the emphasis that everything, including the manifestations of divine support, happens *within* the monastic space (*in monasterio*; *in cellula monasterii*). The expression *monasterium* appears 55 times; in *Vereor* and in the *Homilia ad monachos*, as already said, not a single time; in his Rule for Monks just twice.[162] The *monasterium* or *cella monasterii* takes on a crucial role in the nuns' pursuit of salvation.

Since God's grace manifests itself *in monasterio*, it is unthinkable to Caesarius that any nun would ever want to return to the world. His nuns are "dead to the world" and the transition from this preliminary death to being truly dead becomes a mere formality. Their dormitory is, as his niece Caesaria states, modelled after their future dormitory, their final resting place in a basilica dedicated to Saint Mary (which was inaccessible to the nuns while they were still alive).[163] Caesarius' hagiographers describe the nuns' reward as follows:

> Great numbers of virgins arrived there in throngs. By renouncing their property and parents they spurned the frail and deceptive blossoms of mortal existence and sought the lap of Caesarius, their father, and Caesaria [the elder], their mother. They did this so that – torches aflame – they might await with him entry into the kingdom of heaven, and having entered properly might deserve to cling to the perpetual embraces of Christ. They are so strictly cloistered that until they die, none of the women are permitted to go outside the doors of the monastery.[164]

Yet the construction of a divinely inspired and effectively salvific space and discipline places Caesarius himself in a rather awkward position. He is, as he freely admits, a sinner and not at all superior to his nuns, but he is nevertheless a procurer of the divine grace that causes the nuns' joyful state of safety.[165] He built his monastery with divine support; with that same divine support he gave the *regula* to the nuns, who entered the monastery with divine support and who will fulfil the *regula* with divine support.

The *Vita Caesarii*, which was written in part by Cyprianus and Firminus for the nuns and with an audience in mind that had known Caesarius, makes a vigorous attempt to

(162) *CaesRV*, c. 1.1, p. 170: *in monasterio*; c. 1.2, p. 170: *in ipso monasterio uiuere*; c. 1.3, p. 170: *in cellula monasterii*; c. 2.3, p. 180: *de monasterio non egrediatur*; c. 5.1, p. 182: *ad monasterium ueniunt*; c. 7.3, p. 186: *in monasterio*; c. 21.2, p. 194: *quando ingrediuntur monasterium*; c. 28.1, p. 206: *in monasterio*; c. 30.7, p. 210: *cella monasterii*; c. 34.5, p. 216: *in monasterio*; c. 36.1, p. 218: *in monasterio*; c. 39.1, p. 222: *in monasterio*; c. 43.2, p. 226; c. 44.2, p. 228: *de monasterio*; c. 44.3, p. 228: *in monasterio*; c. 45.4, p. 230: *in monasterio*; c. 50.1, p. 236: *de monasterio egredi*; c. 59.1, p. 242: *ianua monasterii*; c. 60.1, p. 244: *in monasterio*. Compare to Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1.4, *SC* 398, p. 206 on giving posessions either to the parents or to the *monasterium*; c. 11.1, p. 210 on prohibiting women entry to the *monasterium*.

(163) *CaesRV*, c. 1.3, *SC* 345, p. 170. See p. 285. *Constitutum Caesariae*, pp. 496–498. On the burial of the nuns, see also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 58, *SC* 536, pp. 228–230. This *Basilica Sanctae Mariae* was probably situated outside the walls of Arles. See Heijmans 'L'enclos Saint-Césaire d'Arles: une fouille en évolution', p. 229.

(164) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 35, *SC* 536, p. 196: *Conueniunt inibi uirginum multitudines cateruatim: facultatibus quoque et parentibus renuntiantes, respuunt mortalium flores fallaces partier et caducas. Caesarii patris, Caesariae matris expetunt gremium, quatinus cum eodem accensis lampadibus caelestis regni ianuam preastolentur, et competenter ingressae Christi perpetuis mereantur amplexibus inhaerere; ita retrusae, ut usque diem transitus earum nulla liceat foris ianua egredi de monasterio*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 26.

(165) *CaesRV*, c. 72, *SC* 345, p. 270. A similar idea is expressed in Teridius, *Epistula ad Caesariam*, c. 1, pp. 418–422.

resolve this conundrum. Differently from Caesarius himself, who carefully avoided using the term *gratia* in his Rule for Nuns, the authors of his *Vita* had no qualms in emphasizing numerous times that Caesarius was indeed a procurer of divine *gratia*. Caesarius began his career, as his hagiographers tell, after having been tonsured by bishop Silvester of Chalon-sur-Saône because he was "set aflame by the promptings of divine grace".[166] Divine grace endowed him, as we read later, with a "wonderfully retentive memory", but also protected him from the harmful "inventions of human learning".[167] Caesarius tried to avoid being appointed as a bishop but "he could not be hidden, for it was divine grace and not his faults that revealed him".[168] In one of his many miracles, he extinguished a fire through his prayers "so that God's grace might not remain hidden in him".[169] He is "worthy to possess more gifts of divine grace than many of the servants of God have had together", and his hagiographers praise him as a "preacher of grace".[170] Divine grace has granted him the ability to pray for the sick.[171] The first book of Caesarius' *Vita* concludes with this statement that explicitly ties his achievements for his monastery to divine grace:

> In short, because of the progress of his listeners, the obedience of his pupils, and the consecration of virgins, he had so many gifts bestowed on him by divine grace that he has not been crowned for only one merit, but because of his shimmering merits, he is now encircled by so many crowns that he is completely transformed into a crown of glory.[172]

Caesarius' "had it" and he "gave it" to his nuns, as the authors of the *Vita Caesarii* sought to make clear to Caesaria the Younger and everyone else. Cyprianus, Firminus, and the other two authors of the *Vita Caesarii* are, however, ambivalent about the question of whether divine grace was tied only to Caesarius as a *uir Dei* (a term appearing more than twenty times in the text) or also to his status as an ordained bishop. The text contains two miracle stories that convey conflicting messages. In one of them, Caesarius orders his fellow bishop Eucherius to raise up a paralyzed woman. After Eucherius reluctantly followed Caesarius' order, the woman was miraculously healed. Other bishops "have it" as well, as the *Vita* implies, but only because they followed Caesarius' instructions.[173] In another story, Caesarius asks a fellow bishop to make the sign of the cross over the crippled hands of a woman. After the bishop's intercession shows no effect, Caesarius makes the sign of the cross himself and the woman is healed.[174] Other bishops, as the *Vita* implies here, *should*, in their position, be able to do what Caesarius does – and act as a procurer of grace – but in reality, they often do not.

(166) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 4, *SC* 536, p. 152: *diuinae gratiae instigatione succensus*; transl. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: Life*, p. 11.

(167) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 9, p. 158: *quatinus tanta Dei gratia sanctus Caesarius refertus, tantaque memoria dono Christi uideretur esse fulcitus…*; transl. Klingshirn, pp. 13–14.

(168) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 14, p. 166; transl. Klingshirn, p. 16.

(169) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 22, p. 178; transl. Klingshirn, p. 20.

(170) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 45, p. 210; transl. Klingshirn, p. 32.

(171) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 3, p. 244.

(172) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 59, p. 230; transl. Klingshirn, p. 39.

(173) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 47, pp. 212–214.

(174) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 16, p. 266.

If we read the *Vita Caesarii* closely, we can, however, also find some discrete traces of unease with tying the success of Caesarius' experiment to his role of procurer of divine grace. It is as if the authors knew that resolving a theological conundrum by creating a saint as a sort of *deus ex machina*, is a bit shaky. Too much emphasis on prevenient grace might have caused some discomfort among Caesarius' nuns, as one of the most puzzling episodes of the *Vita Caesarii* implies. It describes Caesarius' training after he had left the monastery of Lérins. The African rhetor Pomerius, who familiarized Caesarius with Augustine's theology, appears in this episode in a rather negative light.[175] He is described as merely a teacher of grammar who spoiled Caesarius' "monastic simplicity" (*simplicitas monasterialis*, which might refer to his life in Lérins) with "worldly knowledge" (*scientia saecularis*). It is – of all things – divine grace that averts Caesarius from this dangerous path and immunized him against "the fictions of human learning" (*figmenta humanae eruditionis*). Caesarius has a remarkable nightmare:

> So it happened one day that when he had grown weary from a vigil, he placed on his bed under his shoulder the book that his teacher had given him to read. When he had fallen asleep on it, he was soon struck with a terrible vision of divine inspiration. During his brief nap, he saw the shoulder on which he was lying and the arm with which he had been resting on the book being gnawed by a serpent winding itself around him. Terrified by what he had seen, he was shaken out of his sleep and he began to blame himself more severely for wanting to join the light of the rule of salvation to the foolish wisdom of the world (*stulta sapientia mundi*). And so he at once condemned these preoccupations, for he knew that those endowed with spiritual understanding (*intellectus spiritalis*) possessed the adornment of perfect eloquence.[176]

Does the snake indicate the danger of Pomerius' teaching or of Augustine's theology? Augustine himself appears in two places in the *Vita Caesarii*. Caesarius, in no false modesty, places himself as a preacher on the same level as Augustine and Ambrose by recommending his fellow bishops read and deliver the sermons of Augustine, Ambrose, his humble self, and any of the church fathers.[177] At the end of his life, Caesarius hopes to die and be buried on the same day as his beloved Augustine, which would have been a sign of divine approval of his achievements:

> When he learned that his feast day was near, he said, "I believe that the Lord will not separate my death much from his. For as you yourselves know, I have loved his most catholic way of thinking by as much as I differ from him in merit. Nevertheless, I do not think that the day of my burial will be very much separated from the time of his death".[178]

Caesarius missed the reward of dying on Augustine's death day by being just one day early. Moreover, he died just one day after the anniversary of the foundation of his monastery, which would have been another privileged moment. Caesarius' hagiographers found this

(175) On Pomerius and his influence on Caesarius, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 65–100; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 72–82.

(176) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 9, p. 160; transl. Klingshirn, p. 14.

(177) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 54, p. 224. Many of the sermons ascribed to Augustine were, in fact, written by Caesarius.

(178) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 46, pp. 302–304; transl. Klingshirn, p. 64.

coincidence noteworthy enough to mention.[179] It could be read in two ways. Either Caesarius' death symbolically linked the foundation of his monastery with Augustine's teaching, or it shows that Caesarius *almost*, but not entirely, succeeded in reconciling his monastic experiment with Augustine's theology. He would have been caught in the middle.

Caesarius' experiment had a lasting impact, despite the theological unease that it may have created. Some of its elements – the replacement of strict individual asceticism with a life of moderate comfort, the disciplining repertoire, the legal protection, the *regula sancta,* and the idea of the monastery as an otherworldly, protective, and protected space – found their way into a broader (female *and* male) monastic discourse. The "toolkit" Caesarius developed for his foundation survived, albeit largely deprived from their theological framing, from the objective of reconciling prevenient grace with the monastic pursuit of salvation, and, in most cases, without the imperative of lifelong confinement to a space with impenetrable boundaries.

A case in point for the impact of Caesarius' model is the Rule for Monks and Nuns that Caesarius' successor Aurelianus of Arles (d. 551) wrote within a generation after Caesarius' death. Aurelianus considered neither Caesarius' Rule for Monks nor his Rule for Nuns adequate for his foundations in the same city, but he used material from both works to create his own Rule.[180] While Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was framed by the demand of total enclosure, Aurelianus placed the simple requirement to obey the *regula* at the beginning and the end of his Rule.[181] For him, monastic entry amounted to complete submission to the *regula*. His monks and nuns had to follow the *regula* "as a remedy for *our* soul and for the salvation of your souls" (*pro remedio animae nostrae et pro animarium uestram salute*). Discipline and the *regula* allow his monks and nuns to proceed on the way to perfection and to arrive happily at the kingdom of heaven.[182] Though Aurelianus follows Caesarius by requiring enclosure, this enclosure almost becomes an afterthought in comparison to the importance of following the *regula*.[183]

Most of the theological core of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, however, did not make it into Aurelianus' Rule – or if it did, only in a distorted way. Caesarius' opening statement that he founded his monastery *deo inspirante et iuuante* (inspired and supported by God) is in Aurelianus' Rule almost cynically reversed. He founded the monastery *deo miserante ac*

(179) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 48, p. 306.

(180) On Aurelianus' Rules, see http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/texts/Regula-Aureliani-ad-monachos.html (last accessed Nov. 29, 2020) with a bibliography; for a detailed comparison of Caesarius' and Aurelianus' Rules, see Diem, '*…ut si professus fuerit*'.

(181) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240: *Hoc iubente deo inprimis statuimus tenendum, ut si quis ad conuersionem uenerit, regula ei in salutatorio legatur; et si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur*; c. 55, p. 256: *Et uos, sancta congregatio, per profectum uestrum et per deum omnipotentem coniuro, ut omnia quae in hac regula pro remedio animae nostrae et pro animarum uestrarum salute statuimus, integra et inlibata custodiatis.*

(182) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.8, p. 240: *Et ideo regulam uobis ac disciplinam instituimus, quae uos ad uiam perfectionis recte facerent gradi et ad regna caelorum feliciter peruenire.*

(183) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 2, p. 240: *Exceptus uero usque ad mortem suam nee praesumat nec permittatur monasterio egredi.*

iubente rege Hildeberto (by God's mercy and by order of King Childebert).[184] The idea that monastic discipline could shape something like collective sanctity is also gone. Aurelianus addresses the abbot ten times as *sanctus abbas* and his monks and nuns once as "you, holy community" (*uos, sancta congregatio*), but otherwise uses the expression *sanctus* rarely.

Caesarius' depiction of monastic entry as a joyful moment has disappeared as well. Aurelianus describes monastic conversion as a painful process of abandoning the joys of the world: asceticism has returned, as has the striving for *uirginitas* and *castitas*.[185] Only in one chapter does Aurelianus unleash Caesarius' rhetoric of urgency and emphasis on divine support, but only in reference, rather anticlimactically, to the simple responsibility of the abbot to provide clothing and nourishment for his monks.[186]

For Queen Radegund who about a generation after its completion imported Caesarius' Rule for Nuns to her new foundation, enclosure served as a practical instrument of protecting herself and her community from very worldly threats;[187] for Gregory of Tours, Caesarius' Rule became a legal text that proved useful in persecuting a group of revolting nuns who had left Radegund's monastery.[188] About two generations later, Donatus of Besançon and Jonas of Bobbio developed their own response to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. They, as well, were happy to apply Caesarius' disciplining toolkit, but shared reservations about his theological framework and his optimism that spatial separation by enclosure and the *sancta regula* would suffice in the pursuit of salvation. Their unease led to highly creative responses and, in the case of Jonas, to a revolutionary new concept of monastic space – as we will see in the following section.

The Devil Returns: Jonas of Bobbio's Unsafe Space

Donatus of Besançon, who wrote the other revision of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, omitted most of its provisions on enclosure and on separating the monastery from the outside world – along with much of its theological framework. Donatus also skipped over Caesarius' reference to the banned spiritual wolves. Furthermore, he largely replaced Caesarius' triangle of *regula* – divine favour – enclosure with a new triangle based on Benedict's

(184) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.1, p. 239.

(185) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue.2–4, p. 239: *…ut repudiatis saeculi uoluptatibus ac, temporalibus gaudiis contemptis simul uel spretis, elegeritis sanctissimae uitae nitorem, et, uirginitatis ac castitatis gratiam complectentes, amorem dei tota uiscerum et cordis auiditate sectantes configere timore dominico carnes uestras et dicere illud…*

(186) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 54, ed. Schmidt, p. 255: *Et quia deo propitio digna et sufficiens uobis facultas conlata est, quae sufficere monasterio uestro possit, coram deo et angelis eius te, sancte frater abba, et te, uenerabilis quicumque fueris praepositus, ammoneo et contestor, ut sanctae congregationi, quae deo inspirante et iubente secundum instituta quam fecimus regulariter uiuant, omnia quae eis sunt necessaria in uestitu et in uictu cum sufficientia tribuatis.*

(187) Caesaria, *Letter to Richildis and Radegund*, 63–64, *SC* 345, p. 486; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 40, *MGH SRM* 1.1, pp. 464–465; c. 42, p. 470. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'Merovingian Monasticism: Dissent and Experiment', in: Isabel Moreira and Bonnie Effros (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2020, pp. 329–330.

(188) Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum* X, c. 16, *MGH SRM* 1.1, pp. 505–509.

humilitas and *oboedientia* and Columbanus' *paenitentia*. He, as it were, ripped the heart out of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and replaced it with a new one consisting of Benedict's and Columbanus' ideas.

Jonas' strategy is different and much more sophisticated. Instead of assuming that enclosure and the *regula* could keep the spiritual wolves at bay, he concedes that the devil does roam around within the monastic confines, despite all disciplinary efforts. The monastery again becomes a battlefield, but Jonas uses expressions different from those appearing in *Vereor* and Caesarius' *Homilia ad monachos*. He develops different strategies against a different kind of devil. It is no longer a battle for *uirginitas* or a battle against a catalogue of specific vices as laid out in *Vereor*.

Eight chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refer to the *inimicus*, *hostis*, or *diabolus*, and it is remarkable that most of them envision the devil as a spatial intruder – of the monastic space but also of one's own inner space: it is the task of an abbess to build, through her example and teaching, a protective wall (*praesidium*) to overcome this enemy.[189] Retaining love in one's heart is necessary to extinguish the old enemy's poison that leads to (eternal) death.[190] During prayer, no nun may stay outside the oratory, to prevent that sleep gives the evil enemy a chance to enter her.[191] Nuns who share a bed must not sleep face to face, "lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation".[192] Confession should prevent a nun from hiding the devil within herself.[193] Nuns should be punished if they, incited by the devil, become insolent or haughty.[194] If excommunication and punishment have no effect, love and prayer should help a nun who is entangled in the trap of the devil.[195] A protective circle of virtues (*ambitus uirtutum*) should surround the community in order to overcome the devil.[196] To sum up: the devil enters, casts sinful thoughts

(189) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* 19 *ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.*

(190) *RcuiV*, c. 5.12–13: *Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum,* 13 *sicut scriptum est: Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24).

(191) *RcuiV*, c. 9.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio.*

(192) *RcuiV*, c. 14.7–8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat,* 8 *ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

(193) *RcuiV*, c. 16.9–10: *Si uero ex maioribus culpis quod ad animae maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet abbatissae,* 10 *ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat.*

(194) *RcuiV*, c. 18.1–2: *Si qua uero soror instigante diabolo contumax uel superba seu inoboediens uel murmurans apparuerit, uel etiam in quocumque casu lapsa, seniorum precepta uel sanctae regulae normam uiolare temptauerit,* 2 *haec secundum praeceptum domini secreto a senioribus semel uel bis corripiatur.*

(195) *RcuiV*, c. 20.7–8: *Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis dominus orationum officio deprecetur,* 8 *ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.*

(196) *RcuiV*, c. 22.3: *Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

and desires inside, is hidden inside but also waits outside, and should be banned from the space and the community by the circle of virtues or the protective walls upheld by the abbess and the nuns. The shift of focus towards one's inner space does not at all mean that the physical space no longer mattered – quite to the contrary, as we will see.

Jonas' acknowledgement that the monastery is *not* a safe space forces him to redefine the nature of the monastic community – and he does this both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in his *Vita Columbani*. The community is not at all a *congregatio sancta* anymore (as it was for Caesarius) and the *regula* is no *regula sancta* and salvific instrument. Jonas is, in fact, very reluctant to use the term *sanctus* at all. In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it appears almost exclusively in the context of the Holy Scripture, the Holy Spirit, holy fathers, saints, and holy feast days. The same hesitancy manifests itself in Jonas' hagiographic works.[197] None of the nuns described in the Faremoutiers section is *sancta*; all of them have, as we saw, some flaw or stain that needs to be removed through the remedy of confession and penance, through acts of preparation for their death, and through prayer – particularly the prayer of the community. The community is not perfect or *sancta* either, but nevertheless remains an important agent in the pursuit of each nun's eternal salvation.[198] The Faremoutiers miracles as well as almost the entire second part of the *Vita Columbani* constitute a hagiography without saints. Organizing sanctity – what Caesarius hoped to achieve – is no longer an option for Jonas.

Moreover, Jonas does not describe Columbanus or Burgundofara (as abbess) or himself (in his role as author of the Rule) as "procurer of grace" in the way that Caesarius was stylized (and styled himself). Jonas refers to *gratia* (in the sense of divine grace) exactly once in his *Vita Columbani*, in the context of Columbanus' miraculous knowledge of the negligence of two of his monks;[199] in his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* the divine *gratia* is just as absent as phrases such as *deo adiuuante* or *dei adiutorio*. What does Jonas do to keep a community of imperfect nuns under control who have to share their place with an ever-present devil? How does he protect the nuns from the persistently looming danger of slipping into eternal damnation? I address this question in-depth in Chapter 6 which analyzes each chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. At this point I will focus on one particular aspect: Jonas' concept of space and boundaries.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains various references to space and boundaries that make sense only if we assume that Caesarius' practical regulations on enclosure are still in place. Indeed, space continues to play a central role for Jonas despite the fact that he does not share Caesarius' optimism that impenetrable walls might keep the wolves out of

(197) Jonas uses the term *sanctus* four times in his *Vita Columbani*, referring to Columbanus' *doctrina sancta* (*VCol* II, c. 9; p. 248, l. 24) and *sancta regula* (II, c. 9, p. 249, l. 1; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 8), and to one of his nuns' life as *uita sancta* (II, c. 18, p. 270, l. 27). Aside from that Jonas calls Columbanus *sanctus* at four occasions: I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 21; I, c. 18, p. 186, l. 7; I, c. 20, p. 196, l. 23; I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 7. Eusthasius is called *sanctus* only once (II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 3). Jonas does not conceal that Eusthasius had his flaws and that even he did not experience a smooth *felix exitus*. See *VCol* II, c. 10, pp. 256–257.

(198) On this aspect, see pp. 315–318 and p. 392.

(199) *VCol* I, c. 11, p. 171, l. 17.

the monastery. Since enclosure and *regula* are no longer sufficient to guarantee the path to salvation, the control of the monastic space needs to be expanded by a sophisticated apparatus of discipline and surveillance. Even this improved apparatus does not guarantee full safety, as we know from the Faremoutiers episodes. As Jonas tells us, some nuns escape damnation only narrowly, others not at all.[200]

Caesarius' and Jonas' programmes strongly differ on the question of what it means to leave the world. For Caesarius, it is a physical status, for Jonas a mental attitude. For Caesarius, it seems to have been unthinkable that any of the nuns who joyfully and with the help of God have left the world would be willing to leave the monastery and throw themselves in front of the wolves. The *Vita Caesarii* recounts that when the monastery nearly burned down, the nuns risked their lives by taking shelter in its cistern (along with their books and possessions) instead of leaving the monastic confines.[201] Jonas picks up on this idea of the impossibility of returning to the world in a series of rhetorical questions, all of which centre on "why should a nun who has left the world, want to return?" For him, however, returning to the world was less a matter of leaving the monastic confines but of harbouring worldly desires and emotions. In the same way, leaving the world for good meant much more than entering the monastic space; it was primarily a conversion of the mind. Why would a nun want to return to the world after having left behind the desire for worldly *faleramenta* (idleness) and *perfunctoria* (carelessness) and after having directed her desire only to God? Why would she do so, after having learned not to claim any *res mundi* (objects pertaining to the world) for herself? Why would she do so, after having transferred her will (*uoluntas*) to the abbess and given up any *familiaritas*, i.e. attachment to kin?[202] Jonas sees, as we know from the Faremoutiers episodes, the greatest danger to salvation in his nuns' mental escape. This even applies to the nuns who actually ran away from the monastery. Whether they are saved or doomed is not determined by their physical escape but by their willingness to reveal what motivated them to do so.[203] Jonas is aware that the nuns can escape into the world while their bodies stay in the monastery but also move legitimately around outside the monastery while their mind remains fully enclosed. The chapter on the gatekeepers shows how this can work.

Jonas is, however, realistic enough to concede that mental and physical escape would inevitably happen and therefore need to be addressed in his Rule. Chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* determines how to deal with nuns who crossed the monastic boundaries and want to return to the monastery. It is a thoroughly revised version of the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* in which Benedict allowed monks who left the monastery (or who were expelled) to return three times before being banned irrevocably.[204] Jonas writes:

(200) See pp. 215–217 and pp. 223–229.

(201) *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 26, *SC* 536, p. 282. See also Klingshirn, 'Caesarius's monastery for women', pp. 455–456.

(202) *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; c. 9.6; c. 17.2–4; c. 17.8; c. 23.2–5.

(203) *VCol* II, c. 13, pp. 263–264; II, c. 19, pp. 273–275. See pp. 226–227.

(204) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29, *SC* 182, p. 554.

> If at any time – what should be far removed from Christian piety – a sister leaves the confines of the monastery (*septa monasterii*) and, after fleeing to the outside (*foras*), returns, after having remembered her former piety and daunted by the fear of eternal judgement, she should first promise to improve her entire character. 2 After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within the confines of the monastery (*septa monasterii*). 3 And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love, 4 but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place (*in extremo loco*) among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable. 5 But if after the third readmission she is defiled (*maculata*) by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.[205]

Jonas' revision of Benedict's Rule points to a number of important changes, many of which can be related back to Caesarius' Rule, filling gaps that Caesarius, in his optimism, left open. Jonas defines – in line with Caesarius – both escape and return as an act of breaking physical boundaries, the *septa monasterii*, as he calls them. He defines escape as an act that has fatal effects on the nun's salvation – to an extent that he even assumes that a nun would, out of fear for her soul, voluntarily return to the monastery. Jonas also emphasizes that a return to the monastery entails a change of one's inner attitude (*emendatio morum*). Therefore, he allows nuns to return only after a strict examination of their motivations. Finally – and again fitting with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns – he demands that a nun who has escaped more than once to be spatially separated *in extremo loco*, confined to the most remote space within the *septa* of the monastery. Caesarius had banished recalcitrant nuns to the *salutatorium*, the liminal place where the monastic space and the outside world overlapped.[206]

Physical space, as we see here, matters for Jonas if it is combined with a social space established by the community and a mental space of the individual. In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, as will be illustrated in the following pages, Jonas does not abandon Caesarius' enclosure; instead he triples Caesarius' effort. He creates three intertwined spaces with three different enclosures, three different insides and outsides (using the expressions *intus* and *foris*), and three disciplinary apparatuses to uphold these enclosures: the *septa monasterii*, the *ambitus uirtutum* (circle of virtues) or *praesidium*, and the *area pectoris* (space of one's heart). These conceptual and physical spaces are the core of Jonas' monastic ideal and will have a lasting impact on the future development of monastic life in the West. They are implied, for example, in legal constructions of monastic space as we find them in foundation char-

(205) *RcuiV*, c. 21: *Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.* 2 *Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur.* 3 *Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur,* 4 *sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.* 5 *Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, sciat omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum denegandum*. See pp. 531–538 for a detailed analysis of this chapter.

(206) *CaesRV*, c. 65.1–2, p. 252: *…a sanctae congregationis uestrae conuentu eam accensae zelo sancti spiritus remouete;* 2 *et tamdiu in cella salutatorii sit remota, quamdiu dignam paenitentiam agens humiliter ueniam petat*. On spatial separation as punishment, see Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149–166.

ters, privileges and immunities of monasteries, and in the medieval cloister as it is read into the *Regula Benedicti* by its commentators from the ninth century onwards.

The expressions *septa monasterii*, *septa coenubii*, and *septa secreta* play a prominent role in Jonas' work; they appear five times in his Rule and fifteen times in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis*. Jonas did not invent the expression *septa monasterii*; it can be found several times in the acts of episcopal councils,[207] once in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, twice in Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum*, and once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*.[208] It is, however, through Jonas and the impact of his *Vita Columbani* that the *septa monasterii* found their way into various hagiographic texts.[209] They also appear as *septa aut secreta* in episcopal privileges granted to monasteries following the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* that prohibit bishops and their entourage from entering the monastic space without permission.[210] The expression did not disappear after the seventh century, but it did not become part of common monastic language either.[211] This, however, does not mean that the idea of protected boundaries faded away along with the expression. Rather, the term *claustrum* replaced the term *septa monasterii* and became ubiquitous in medieval texts from the ninth century onwards.

In Jonas' work, the *septa* usually appear in the context of illicit transgressions of physical boundaries. Unlike previous sources that use the expression, Jonas' *Vita Columbani* puts a strong emphasis on crossing the monastic *septa* in *both* directions.[212] I will first address

(207) Council of Vannes (461–491), c. 7, *CCSL* 148, p. 153; Council of Agde (506), c. 38, p. 209: Hermits are allowed to have their cells *intra monasterii septa*; Council of Tours (567), c. 16, *CCSL* 148A, p. 182: A monk who does not return *ad septa monasterii* has to do penance; c. 17, p. 182: Women are not allowed to enter the *septa monasterii*; Council of Mâcon (581–583), c. 20, p. 228: on a nun who escaped *de septa monasterii*; Council of Paris (614), c. 14, p. 279: Fugitive monks or nuns who do not voluntarily return *ad septa monasterii* are to be excommunicated; Council at an Unknown Place (614), c. 6, p. 287: no baptisms and burials *intra septa monasterii*.

(208) Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* I, c. 32.1, ed. R. A. B. Minors, *Fontes Christiani*, vol. 39, Freiburg: Herder 2003, p. 276; Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* VIII, c. 19, *MGH SRM* 1.1, p. 468, l. 11; IX, c. 41, p. 507, l. 24: two letters related to the uprising at Radegund's monastery in Poitiers; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 4: penance for a monk who roams around *extra uallum*, *id est extra sepem monasterii*. See also Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie historique', p. 59, n. 12; Wood, Ian N., 'Columbanus, the Columbanian tradition and Caesarius', in: Deborah G. Tor (ed.), *The 'Abbāsid and Carolingian Empires*, Leiden: Brill 2017, pp. 153–168, at pp. 155–157.

(209) For example: *Vita Amati*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 216; Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Galli*, c. 13, p. 322; *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 3, p. 341; c. 5, p. 342; *Vita Desiderii*, c. 31, p. 588; *Vita Sigiramni*, c. 5, p. 609; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 35; *Vita Frodoberti*, prologus l. 15, p. 73; *Vita Odilae*, c. 11, *MGH SRM* 6, p. 43; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, p. 102; *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 47, p. 242; *Vita Rigoberti*, c. 3, *MGH SRM* 7, p. 64.

(210) Marculfus, *Formulae*, no. 1, ed. Alf Uddholm, Uppsala: Eranos' Förlag 1962, pp. 18–22: …*nulli nostrum liceat monasterii adire secreta aut finium ingredi septa*. See also Privilege for the monastery of Rebais, *PL* 87, col. 1136A; Privilege for the monastery of Soissons, *PL* 88, col. 1185A. For more episcopal charters using the term *septa monasterii*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Maximilian Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63–89, at p. 78, n. 105.

(211) A search on *septa monasterii* in the *Patrologia Latina Database* provides just sixty-six hits in texts written after the Merovingian period.

(212) *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 4; I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 8; p. 191, l. 11; p. 191, l. 11; c. 20, p. 194, l. 2: three references in the context of the conflict with Theuderic II; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 6: building activities of Athala, abbot of Bobbio; II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 26: wolves break into the *septa monasterii* and infect Agrestius' supporters

how Jonas defines monastic space from an outside perspective and how non-members of the monastic community are supposed to act in regard to monastic boundaries. Then I will show how Jonas, particularly in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, describes monastic space from an inside perspective. Both perspectives show that Jonas redefined existing notions of monastic space. He envisions a "double structure" with internal boundaries that define a space entirely inaccessible to outsiders, and outer boundaries that surround an intermediate space in which monks, guests, pilgrims, workmen, and family members could interact with each other. Aside from storage rooms, stables, and other buildings essential for the functioning of the monastery as an economic unit, the guesthouse (*domus hospitalis*) was an essential part of the monastic outer space.[213] Differing from previous uses, the term *septa monasterii* for Jonas refers particularly to the inaccessible inner space of the monastery, which may have been inspired by the monastic enclosure as developed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Expanding on Caesarius, Jonas "empowers" the *septa monasterii* as a space privileged for the pursuit of salvation and for performing intercessory prayer for the outside world. We will see how theology meets its practical implementation.

The *septa monasterii*, the Outside Perspective

Especially in the first book of the *Vita Columbani*, which describes the life of the saint himself and his monastic foundations, the monastic boundaries play a central role, to an extent that we could read the text as a manifesto for a new concept of monastic space. The dramatic climax of the first book of the *Vita Columbani* is the confrontation between Columbanus and two members of the Merovingian royal dynasty, Brunhild (d. 613) and her grandson Theuderic II (d. 613). Both of them initially belonged to the supporters of Columbanus and his followers and sponsored his main monastic foundation, Luxeuil. Like other Merovingian rulers they expected to profit from supporting the holy man and his community, which consisted of both of Irish *peregrini* and members of the local aristocracy.[214]

with rabies; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 25: Burgundofara educates Ercantrudis *intra septa coenubii* so that she does not know the difference between man and woman; II, c. 17, p. 268, p. 13: Willesuinda has a vision in the garden *intra monasterii septa*; c. 19, p. 271, l. 28: two fugitive nuns violate the *septa monasterii*; p. 272, l. 4: they try to climb over the *septa monasterii*; l. 12–13: noise withholds them when they try to leave the *septa monasterii*; they try to return into the *septa*; p. 273, l. 9: two other nuns escape *extra septa monasterii*. See also *VIoh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 25: John feels trapped *infra monasteriorum septa*; p. 331, l. 22–23: he is sent away from the *coenubii septa* of Lérins; c. 17, p. 340, l. 5: a sick person receives water from a well *inter septa caenubii*.

(213) Maillé, Geneviève Aliette de Rohan-Chabot Marquise de, *Les cryptes de Jouarre*, Paris: A. & J. Picard 1971, pp. 22–29 provides a detailed outline of the organization of monastic space in female communities founded in the aftermath of Columbanus, based on references in hagiographic texts and monastic rules. Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 542–560, shows how high medieval monasteries developed very similar forms of spatial organization.

(214) On Brunhild's and Theuderic's involvement with Columbanus' foundations, see especially Wood, Ian N., 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in: Alexander

If we believe Jonas, the relationship between the royals and Columbanus turned sour when the saint attacked Theuderic II for taking concubines in lieu of entering a lawful marriage. Columbanus refused to bless Theuderic II's bastard children and predicted that they would never become rulers. Knowing that assaulting a holy man might have devastating effects, Brunhild and Theuderic tried to exile him while forcing all monks of Frankish origin to stay in Luxeuil. Their attempt to get the dangerous holy man out of the country while continuing to profit from their joint foundation failed. Columbanus first relocated to the territory of Theuderic's brother Theuderbert II and later moved to the realm of Chlothar II who, as an avid supporter of Columbanus and a king who willingly followed the saint's political and moral guidance, eventually took control over all Frankish kingdoms and exterminated what was left of Brunhild's branch of the Merovingian family.[215]

Next to the altercations about sexual morals and politics, Jonas developed another line of conflict – around the respect of the monastic *septa* and the *regula* that establishes them. Theuderic's downfall, an event known to Jonas' audience and perhaps even vividly remembered by some of them, was not caused by his moral depravity or even by his attempts to exile the saint but, explicitly, by demanding access to the monastery he had sponsored and by forcing himself into its refectory:

> Therefore, the king, under compulsion, came to the man of God at Luxeuil. He confronted Columbanus about why he did not comply with the customs of the region (*ab conprouincialibus moribus discisceret*) and did not allow all Christians access to the inner confines (*septa secretiora*) of the monastery. Blessed Columbanus, who was courageous and strong in mind, replies in this way to the king's criticism: it is not his custom to allow the laity, strangers to the religious way of life, access to the living quarters of the servants of God. Appropriate and suitable places have been prepared by him specifically for this purpose, which can accommodate all the guests who arrived. The king replies to this, "if you wish to have the gifts of our generosity and the support of our assistance, everyone must be allowed free access everywhere". "If you try to violate what has up till now been strictly forbidden under the discipline of the Rule (*nunc usque sub regularis disciplinae abenis*)", Columbanus replies, "I no longer want to be sustained by any of your gifts or support, and if you have come here for this reason, so that you might destroy the communities of the servants of God and dishonour the regular discipline (*ut seruorum Dei caenubia distruas et regularem disciplinam macules*), your kingdom will soon be completely destroyed and all the royal offspring annihilated". Later events proved the truth of this prophecy. The king had already rashly entered the refectory, but terrified at hearing these words he quickly came back outside.[216]

Theuderic retreated, but the damage was irreversible. He later sent a group of soldiers into the monastic confines to arrest Columbanus. In this context, Jonas tells a story that exemplifies the power of the monastic space: the leader of the group of soldiers remains outside and sees through a window that, within the *septa monasterii*, Columbanus makes himself

Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome's Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press 1998, pp. 99–120.

(215) *VCol* I, c. 18–23, pp. 186–206.

(216) *VCol* I, c. 19, pp. 190–191; transl. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé*, and *Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017, pp. 136–138.

invisible to his persecutors, like Alberich the dwarf (no relative of mine). His soldiers search for the saint who quietly sits in front of the oratory and reads a book. Realizing that something miraculous is going on, the leader calls them to retreat immediately.[217] Two counts sent by Theuderic to arrest Columbanus implore the saint to leave the monastery voluntarily. When the saint refuses, they back off and delegate the task of entering the monastery to a group of common soldiers. Torn between following their superiors' orders and offending a holy man, they beg the saint to leave the monastery without being forced. Columbanus gives in and retreats from Luxeuil but, instead of returning to Ireland, he only leaves the boundaries of Theuderic's kingdom and extends his support to Theuderic's adversaries.[218]

Jonas teaches in the first book of the *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus' foundations and those of his followers involve not only the monks and nuns living in the monastery, but everyone who interacts with the monastery and expects the spiritual support of its inhabitants: kings, aristocrats, bishops, and even ordinary people. Monasteries indeed became an essential part of the social fabric of Merovingian society,[219] but under the condition that everyone respected their *regula* and, in particular, their physical boundaries and material possessions. Columbanus, or rather his followers and the narrator of his Life, did not invent this notion of space and social integration – there have been traces in earlier texts – but they did make it a generally accepted model that would be reinforced in various later hagiographic narratives,[220] and manifested itself in episcopal privileges and royal immunities.

It is noteworthy that Jonas embeds the dramatic lesson about the inviolability of the monastic *septa* into a wide range of other references to space, boundaries and their transgression outside the monastic sphere. Columbanus refuses to enter the boundaries of the royal court; Theuderic tries to incarcerate Luxeuil's monks and Columbanus within the boundaries of their monasteries; Columbanus allows prisoners to cross the boundaries of their prison. The saint's power, as Jonas emphasizes time and again, is the power to define and cross spatial limits and to restrict access to space.

Because Jonas' notion of space was new and contested and not in accordance with the *mores comprouinciales* (the local customs) he explains it to his audience by using an unusual literary device, a series of animal miracles. In other saints' lives, such miracles mostly remind the reader that animals naturally grasp the saint's power where humans fail to do so.[221] In Jonas' work they play a more specific role. They explain how monastic space

(217) *VCol* I, c. 20, pp. 193–194.

(218) *VCol* I, c. 20, pp. 194–195; Columbanus, *Epistula* 4, ed. Walker, pp. 26–36.

(219) See Kreiner, Jamie, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

(220) For example *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 11–13, *MGH SRM* 6, pp. 71–72; *Miracula Austrigisili*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 203; *Vita Carilefi*, c. 33–35, *AASS*, July, vol. 1, p. 98B–E; *Vita Pardulfi*, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 7, pp. 33–34.

(221) See, for example, Alexander, Dominic, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2008; Leyerle, Blake, 'Monks and Other Animals', in: Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller (eds.), *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 2005, pp. 150–171.

functions and how claims of inviolability of space grow out of the unconditional respect towards the saint himself.[222]

Columbanus meets a pack of twelve wolves and, while reflecting whether it would be better to surround himself with real beasts or with beastly humans, he realizes that the wolves snap at his clothes but shy away from attacking him. The saint's body is, as we learn, off-limits.[223] Perhaps Columbanus had protected himself through hygienic asceticism, boasting such a formidable odour of sainthood that even wolves avoided him.

Soon afterwards, Columbanus finds a cave he wants to use as an eremitic hideout. A bear who was living in the cave willingly gives up what the saint has claimed for himself.[224] The fable affirms that regardless of who else lives there, whatever space the saint claims is his.

In a third story, a raven steals a glove that Columbanus had left on a stone in front of the refectory (thus inside the monastery). Columbanus, realizing that only the mischievous bird could have committed such a theft, warns the animal that he would not be able to feed his young if he does not return the glove. The raven comes back remorseful and delivers the stolen object.[225] We learn not only that the monastic space itself is sacrosanct, but so too is everything within this space that belongs to the monastery, even if it is an object as mundane as a glove. The raven story can be read as a prefiguration of the conflict between Columbanus and Theuderic that happened soon afterwards. We find a similar concern for monastic objects – from an inside perspective – in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which devotes two entire chapters to the care for objects (c. 13 and 16).

In the next episode, Columbanus encounters another bear who is just about to eat from the carcass of a deer that had been killed by wolves. The saint decides that the deer's skin could be used to make shoes for his monks and sends the bear away. The saint returns to the monastery and orders his monks to rescue the carcass. They find the deer surrounded by a swarm of birds who were attracted by its smell but remain at a fearful distance, knowing that the saint had declared the deer forbidden food and that it would be lethal to eat from it.[226] This fourth lesson has several layers. It shows that the order which Columbanus had given to the bear, also applies to all other animals and that it is binding, regardless of whether the saint is present or not. Even in the saint's absence the deer is untouched, and it is not Columbanus who rescues it, but his monks who partake in the saint's authority. Moreover, the birds surrounding the deer at a safe distance could be understood as marking something like a forbidden zone established by the saint's order.

(222) The following paragraphs build on previously published work, particularly Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521–559, esp. pp. 531–543; id., 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51–67.

(223) *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 166.

(224) *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 167.

(225) *VCol* I, c. 15, pp. 178–179.

(226) *VCol* I, c. 17, p. 181.

Shortly thereafter, Theuderic violates the forbidden zone of Columbanus' monastery – and he is bitterly punished for it. As we learn from the birds, the saint's power does not cease with his absence.

A last animal miracle, which happens after the showdown between Theuderic and Columbanus, adds yet another dimension to Jonas' notion of monastic space, Columbanus and his disciple Chagnoald realize that a bear has eaten the fruit from the monastery's orchard. Columbanus orders Chagnoald to make an agreement with the bear, dividing the orchard into two parts, one for the bear and one for the monastic community – a deal the bear willingly accepts.[227] It is again not the saint who gets involved, but his assistant, who would after Columbanus' death become an important administrator in Luxeuil.

Jonas explains in this last lesson how monks could peacefully negotiate their claim on land they needed to support themselves; he provides a model for how the outside world, for mutual benefit, should give into the monastery's claims. This could be read as a prefiguration of Jonas' fruitful collaboration with King Chlothar II who, after having wrested control over all the Frankish kingdoms, became a protector and ardent supporter of Columbanus and his monastic foundations.[228] Jonas thus extended, step by step, Columbanus' spatial claims from the saint's own body, to the space, property, and boundaries of the monastery and to the monastery's control over its estates, which are just as much protected by the power of the saint as his own body.[229]

The clash between Columbanus and Theuderic and the differentiation of monastic space in Jonas' animal stories hint towards a "double structure" of an inaccessible and empowered inner space, the *septa monasterii* or *septa secretiora*, and an outer area with various levels of accessibility – the orchard in the last animal episode. This double structure became, in many variations, a self-evident feature of medieval monasteries – so self-evident that historians eventually saw little need to question its origins.[230] However, we should by no means take for granted that it was always there and that we can assume its existence even if it is not mentioned in our sources.

Most of our early sources that address the question of monastic space either imply that there were no places in the monastery that categorically exclude outsiders (this would be, for example, the case for the Jura monasteries)[231] or imply that outsiders were in principle excluded from the monastic space. Caesarius' foundation for his nuns, Aurelianus' monasteries, or the community that the Jura Father Romanus founded for his sister, are examples

(227) *VCol* I, c. 27, p. 217.

(228) *VCol* I, c. 24, pp. 206–208; c. 30, pp. 221–223.

(229) On the development towards sacralization of monastic estates, see Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space'; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 1–23.

(230) Studies on the "double structure" of monasteries include Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie monastique'; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 156–183 (on Cluny); Cochelin, Isabelle, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 542–560; Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space', pp. 325–338; Uggé, 'Lieux, espaces'.

(231) See, for example, *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 15, *SC* 142, p. 256; c. 172, p. 172.

of monasteries that give no access to outsiders.[232] How impenetrable boundaries would become was partly, though not exclusively, determined by gender and the question of whether the monastery was situated within a city, in a civilized and accessible countryside, or truly *in eremo* (in the wilderness).

Of course, monasteries before Columbanus operated with various forms of internal boundaries, but outside the realm of Caesarius' experiment there is little indication that monastic conversion, monastic identity, or the power of the monastery was "spatialized" in the sense that monastic conversion entailed access to a privileged space. Instead of creating places of *quies* by exclusion (to use a term that would appear in episcopal privileges), monastic rules before Columbanus were primarily concerned with organizing *how* monks and outsiders are supposed to interact,[233] how they are to be welcomed, housed, and set to work,[234] how they ate in the refectory,[235] or, especially in the case of the *Regula Magistri*, how to prevent outsiders from stealing monastic property.[236] Some early monastic rules explicitly forbid women from entering the monastic space, which implies that men had access.[237] The *Regula Magistri*, however, hints at internal boundaries; monks, for example, have to ask for prayer when crossing the "outside threshold of the last portal" (*limen forense ultimae regiae monasterii*), but this stipulation is not paired with any restrictions of access to inner spaces.[238] In addition, there are no clear signs of a double structure in the *Regula Benedicti*.

Jonas of Bobbio indicates that his notion of exclusive *septa* within a larger monastic space is a novelty that deviates from the *mores conprouinciales*, but he also strongly emphasizes that it was an essential part of the *regula* and a precondition of the monastery's functioning. The monks can live and pray on others' behalf only if their undisturbed life is guaranteed and the inner boundaries of their monastery are respected. Whoever breaks them will face dire consequences, which does not only apply to Theuderic. Later hagiographic text provide several examples of monastic intruders who face divine punishment.[239]

(232) *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 25–26, pp. 264–268.

(233) For example, *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.36–42, *SC* 297, p. 192.

(234) For example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 53, *SC* 182, pp. 610–616; *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.13–92, *SC* 105, pp. 332–350; c. 78–79, *SC* 106, pp. 316–328; c. 87.60–65, pp. 364–366.

(235) For example, *Regula Magistri*, c. 24.20–21, pp. 126–128.

(236) For example, *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.87, p. 62; c. 79.3–4, p. 322; c. 87.52–61, pp. 364–366; c. 88.7–14, pp. 368–370.

(237) *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 4, *SC* 298, pp. 534–536; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 4, ed. Vincent Desprez, 'La Regula Ferrioli. Texte critique', in: *Revue Mabillon* 60 (1982), pp. 117–148, at p. 128; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 20, ed. Villegas, p. 43. The *Regula Tarnatensis* restricts women to a special *domus hospitalis*. See also Council of Tours (567), c. 17, *CCSL* 148A, p. 182; Council of Auxerre (591–605), c. 26, p. 268. See also Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie historique', pp. 59–61.

(238) *Regula Magistri*, c. 66.7 and c. 67.4, *SC* 106, pp. 294–296; transl. Eberle, pp. 232–233; see also Uggé, 'Lieux, espaces', p. 22.

(239) See, for example, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 17, p. 269; *Vita Anstrudis*, c. 11–13, *MGH SRM* 6, pp. 71–72; *Miracula Austrigisili*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 203; *Vita Carilefi*, c. 33–35, *AASS* July, vol. 1, p. 98B–E; *Vita Pardulfi*, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 7, pp. 33–34.

Monasteries founded in the aftermath of Columbanus did indeed operate in a social surrounding that respected their physical boundaries. Otherwise it would have been impossible for Luxeuil and other monasteries to become safe havens and places for voluntary retreat or imprisonment for political and dynastic adversaries who were indeed protected from violence for as long as they stayed within the monastic boundaries.[240] The fact that many monasteries founded in the seventh century developed an institutional continuity reaching far beyond the medieval period underlines the spiritual and legal power of the *septa monasterii*.

JONAS' *SEPTA MONASTERII*: THE INSIDE PERSPECTIVE

Having looked at the *septa monasterii* from outside, I will now describe what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* reveal about the inside perspective: the organization and the spiritual and disciplinary implications of monastic space, and how Jonas' monastic space relates to Caesarius of Arles' enclosure. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* indicates, just like the *Vita Columbani*, that the monastery consists of an inner space, the *septa*, and an outer zone that is shared with the surrounding non-monastic world. Jonas does not explicitly address and explain the model itself, which implies that it was already a given when he wrote his Rule. He does, however, provide a large number of detailed regulations on the organization of monastic space which show that the double structure was not yet established to the point that it would disappear into the realm of the self-evident and thus become largely invisible to us. This places us in a fortunate position for understanding the rationale for this spatial organization, especially since Jonas in his Rule tends to connect practical aspects with spiritual and theological reflections.

Most of Jonas' references to monastic boundaries, to the organization of the physical space of the monastery, and to its spiritual dimension can be found in the third chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which is titled *De monasterii portaria* ("On the Porter of the Monastery" – a detailed analysis of this particularly complicated chapter appears in Chapter 6). Though the chapter title only refers to a *portaria*, the chapter itself describes two monastic functions: *portaria uel ostiaria*, each of which can be held by more than one person. As we will see, the expression *uel* does not indicate here that *portaria* and *ostiarii* are just synonyms but that they refer to two different kinds of accesses to the monastery, the *porta*, the gate, and the *ostia*, the doors.

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does not mention a *portaria* or *ostiaria* and, given his emphasis on all aspects of enclosure and the number of different offices in the monastery Caesarius *does* mention, we can assume that the *portariae* or *ostiariae* would have appeared in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns if these offices had then existed. Caesarius does, however, refer several times to the office of the *posticiaria,* who was responsible for accepting gifts, donations, and

(240) De Jong, Mayke, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in: ead., Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 291–328.

other goods and channelling them into the monastery. He seems to have invented this term, which otherwise appears only once in Baudonivia's *Vita Radegundis* and three times in the *Regula Donati* in the sections quoted from Caesarius. Afterwards the *posticiaria* disappears from our sources.[241]

Jonas' chapter on the *portaria* is, as far as we know, phrased without a textual model, containing only vague allusions to a number of chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*.[242] What Jonas says about the *portariae* and *ostiariae* and their tasks is largely new and unprecedented in earlier monastic rules. He knew Benedict's chapter about the *ostiarius* but chose not to use it. His *portariae* and *ostiariae* may have fulfilled some of the functions of Caesarius' *posticiaria* and Benedict's *ostiarius*, but the spatial setting in which they operated was different and their responsibilities therefore were much broader. Jonas describes the task of the *portariae* and *ostiariae* in general terms in two passages:

> A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought to be of the sort who raise the reward (*merces*) for all the nuns together (*omnes simul*).[243]
>
> And inside (*intus*) let them acquire the profits of reward (*lucrae mercedis*) from their fellow sisters (*consodales*) while they take in their turn care of all outside (*foris*).[244]

Since there is no indication that the *portariae* and *ostiariae* work outside the monastic gate, we can assume that *intus* and *foris* refer in this chapter to the enclosed part of the monastery (*intus*) and the space between the *septa monasterii* and the gate (*foris*). Jonas confirms this notion of *intus* and *foris* when he prohibits anyone except for nuns following the same *regula* to eat within the *septa monasterii*:

> Within the confines and doors of the monastery (*intra septa monasterii uel ostia*) they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] in the guesthouse outside (*foris in hospitali*), just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. $_{24}$But we determine that only those may eat and drink inside (*intus*) who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.[245]

It is the task of the *portariae* to oversee this intermediate space outside of the *ostia* (doors) but inside the *porta* (gate). This space existed neither in Caesarius' monastery nor is it envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti*. Just like other officeholders in the monastery (the abbess,

(241) *CaesRV*, c. 25.5–6, *SC* 345, p. 202; c. 30.5, p. 208; c. 43.3–4, p. 226. Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 383. Baudonivia's use of this term indicates that Radegund's foundation in Poitiers was indeed organized along the lines of Caesarius' Rule.

(242) Allusions to *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1, *SC* 182, p. 658; c. 53.15, p. 614; c. 54.1–2, p. 616; c. 67.5–6, p. 662; c. 38.10–11, p. 576; and c. 31.10, p. 558 are documented in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(243) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent.*

(244) *RcuiV*, c. 3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*

(245) *RcuiV*, c. 3.23–24: *Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per abbatissae ordinationem ministrent.* $_{24}$*Intus uero tantummodo quae sacram deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.*

praeposita, *cellararia*, cooks, and cellarer), the *portariae* are supposed to earn reward and profit both for themselves and for the community by taking care of this space.

The assignment of *portariae* and *ostiariae* requires special qualifications. They must have internalized the enclosure by "being crucified to the world", as it were, and desire nothing of the present pomp and vanities with their minds dedicated entirely to Christ.[246] Only whose mind and body is fully enclosed is allowed to work outside of the physical enclosure of the monastery. Nothing that happens outside should enter the eyes or ears of the *portariae* or enter the monastery through their eyes and ears.[247] A second qualification consists of representing the community to the outside world in a favourable manner through exemplary behaviour, humility, and friendly speech.[248]

Jonas implies that working outside (*foris*) is an onerous and perilous task performed on behalf of those who remain inside (*intus*) and are therefore in a better and safer position. It is not a privilege but rather a necessary service to the rest of the community. The office of *portaria* was probably not permanently assigned to certain nuns but, like the kitchen service, rotated among those who were qualified on the basis of seniority, steadfastness, and moral qualities. The practical tasks of the *portariae* include greeting those who arrive at the gate (*porta*), taking care of guests, pilgrims and the poor, serving food to guests, receiving and giving out goods and gifts (under strict supervision of the abbess), and keeping a very close eye on the monastery's possessions, which are to be treated *ac si sacrata deo* (as if they were consecrated to God).

The chapter on the *portariae* and a number of other references to spaces scattered over the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani* provide us with an abundance of details on the organization of the monastery, though we have to keep in mind that Jonas does not outline a complete plan of the monastery but leaves out whatever does not require regulation.[249] The outer precincts of the monastery were closed by a *porta*, a gate, which was closed between Vespers and the Second Hour and contained a window to be used for after-hour negotiations.[250] The *septa monasterii* contained several *ostia* which were also closed with locks and keys at night and thus presumably open during the day.

(246) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1–5.

(247) *RcuiV*, c. 3.8–9: *Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur.* 9*Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.* c. 3.13: *Fabulis quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant.*

(248) *RcuiV*, c. 3.5: *Tale semper superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur*; c. 3.7: *Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis pacientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant.*

(249) Uggé, 'Lieux, espaces', pp. 18–42 provides a systematic overview of spaces within the monastery mentioned in Latin monastic rules. See also Meyvaert, 'The Medieval Monastic Claustrum', pp. 54–56; Frank, 'Klosteranlage', pp. 32–46; Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Éléments de topographie', pp. 57–77; Jäggi, Carola and Uwe Lobbedey, 'Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages', in: Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (eds.), *Crown and Veil. Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, New York: Columbia University Press 2008, pp. 109–131, esp. pp. 110–114 on archaeological evidence from various early medieval communities.

(250) *RcuiV*, c. 3.22.

The *Vita Columbani* uses the plural, *ostia*, as well and calls the *septa monasterii* a *domus*, which implies that we should not imagine it as a sort of monastery within a monastery but rather as a compact building, albeit with a garden (*hortus*) as part of it.[251]

As far as we know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *septa monasterii* consisted of the refectory (*refectorium*), kitchen (*coquina*), dormitory (*dormitorium*), at least two churches (*oratorium*/*ecclesia* and *alia ecclesia*), a special *cella* for the infirm, a place where the nuns take their baths and wash their hair, and a special place for the penitents, possibly a sort of prison.[252] There was also a room where the nuns gathered and where all nuns were seated according to their rank.[253] Jonas uses the term *scola* in reference to the dormitory as well as to the space where the nuns make confession. Either *scola* refers generically to any common room or the nuns made their first confession in their dormitory. The *scola* may also have been the only room of the monastery that was heated.[254]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* also mentions a brewery (*bracisiatorium*), a mill (where the *pistrices* work), and a storage room (*cellarium*), but it is not clear whether they were inside or outside the *septa monasterii*.[255] The guest house, however, was certainly outside (*foris*).[256] There were, of course, other spaces in the monastery that are not mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* such as lavatories and, presumably, a *scriptorium* and a library.[257]

The most vivid discussion of monastic space and how it functions occurs in the *Vita Columbani*, in the dramatic episode where nuns flee the monastery.[258] As they move in and out of the different spaces, the consequences for doing so become clear:

> When, in the dark shadows and the silence of the pitch-black night, they [the escaping nuns] had already sought to put their foolish plan into practice, and were trying to leap over the *septa monasterii* with the use of a ladder, suddenly a fiery mass like a cylinder came from the middle of the *dormitorium*, and filled and lit up the whole building (*domus*). It then separated into three spheres and went through the passages of the doors (*per ostiarium*) with a great noise of thunder. The building (*domus*) had a number of doors (*ostia*), through which the fire bore its globes. The noise of thunder wakened the sleepers, and brought correction to those who were leaving the monastic inner space (*egredientes monasterii septa*). When already the feet of some of them had crossed the perimeter (*uallum*), terrified by such noise they wished to move back into the *septa*, but, as though they had been weighed down with lead, they were powerless to go back. For the Devil, with what skill he could, tried to harm those whom divine punishment would by

(251) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 268 on the *hortus* within the *septa monasterii*.

(252) The *RcuiV* mentions the following spaces within the *septa*: *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; c. 12.13; c. 14: *scola*; c. 16.2: *dormitorium*; c. 16.2: *quoquina*; c. 16.2; c. 24.7: *refectorium*; c. 21.4: *extremus locus inter paenitentes*; c. 3.12: *oratorium*; c. 6.24–25; c. 8.9; c. 11.2: *ecclesia*; c. 6.24; c. 19.7: *alia ecclesia*. See also c. 12.14; c. 15.8 on baths and washing hair.

(253) *RcuiV*, c. 22.15, referring to a *consessus sororum*.

(254) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: *scola* as place of confession; c. 12.13: penitents are in charge of heating the *scola*; c. 14: *scola* as dormitory.

(255) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12: *cellarium*; c. 3.18 and c. 12.18: *pistrices*; c. 12.21: *bracisiatorium*. On the place of the *cellarium* in different rules, see Bonnerue, 'Éléments de topographie monastique', pp. 64–66.

(256) *RcuiV*, c. 3.23.

(257) See also Uggé, Sofia, 'Lieux, espaces'.

(258) See pp. 223–229.

> no means allow to perish. Thus confounded, they acknowledged their sins and, having turned back, they revealed them to the mother in confession.[259]

The fugitive nuns had to cross two different borders, the *septa* and the *uallum*, which probably refers to the enclosure reserved for the nuns and the outer boundary of the monastery.[260] Their return into the *septa* was prevented by a punishing miracle. In line with Jonas' chapter on confession (c. 6) and on nuns leaving the monastery (c. 21), they were allowed to return into the *septa monasterii* only after having revealed their guilt and confessed to the abbess. The *septa monasterii* enclose a space not only forbidden to outsiders, but even to nuns who have stained themselves through an attempt to escape.

Reading the *Vita Columbani* along with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* reveals some more details about the spatial structure of the monastery. As we already saw, Jonas illustrates the special power of the *septa monasterii* with a miraculous event that happened in Luxeuil: Columbanus is invisible to the soldiers who want to arrest him within the *septa monasterii*, even though he is sitting in the *atrium* of the monastery's church. He is, however, visible to their leader, who waits outside and sees the scene through a window.[261] There is a specific regulation in Jonas' chapter on the *portaria* that aligns with this miracle story:

> And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside (*foris*), they should by no means (*nullatenus*) bring to the storeroom (*cellarium*) before it is carried before the oratory (*ante oratorium*) and the entire congregation prays together (*omnis simul*) for the one who presented it.[262]

Few texts related to Columbanus or his foundations express the connection between gift-giving and intercessory prayer, and none of them is as explicit and detailed.[263] Jonas implies that there was a need of physical proximity between gift and prayer: you don't pray for something that was already hidden away in the storeroom. It would therefore have made more sense to carry gifts *into* the church rather than place them outside, *ante oratorium*. The best explanation would be that the place *ante oratorium* was indeed visible to outsiders who were not allowed to enter the *oratorium* but could *hear* the nuns singing on their behalf while *seeing* their gifts within the monastery. The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* contains several references to hearing the community singing from a distance.[264] Donors seeing their gifts piled up *ante oratorium* and the leader of the soldiers seeing the invisible Columbanus may have been looking through the same type of window.

These few details that Jonas reveals in his Rule and in his stories point to three central aspects of his spatial concept. First, the monastery consisted of an inner space, the *septa*

(259) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 219 (slightly revised).

(260) On the inner and outer boundaries, see also the commentary on chapter 3, pp. 374–393.

(261) *VCol* I, c. 20, pp. 193–194.

(262) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12: *Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.*

(263) *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 175–176; I, c. 22, p. 204; *Bobbio Missal*, no. 438/440, ed. Elias Avery Lowe, London: Harrison 1920, p. 130; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130.

(264) See, for example, *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 12; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8–14; II, c. 13, p. 264, l. 4–5; II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 25–268, l. 5: hearing angelic choirs; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 20–24; II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 24–26: hearing singing from a distance.

secretiora, and an outer space. Second, Jonas gives up the idea of total enclosure: the *portariae* were supposed to operate outside the *septa monasterii* as long as they keep their own bodily and mental enclosure; fugitive nuns were allowed to return into the *septa* under certain conditions and the doors of the *septa monasterii* were closed only during night-time. Third, the *septa monasterii* created a space of special power. Whoever crosses them illicitly in any direction faces divine punishment. Those inside enjoy special protection and, last but not least, it is in this space that intercessory prayer for insiders and outsiders unfolds its effect. Giving up Caesarius' total enclosure, establishing spaces with different layers of accessibility, and giving up the idea that physical boundaries alone could keep the devil at bay and ensure salvation, forced Jonas to develop a second (and eventually a third) set of protective boundaries, not a physical space but a space determined by the community and protected by its behaviour, the *ambitus uirtutum*.

The *ambitvs virtvtvm*

Chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* bears the long and convoluted title "How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts".[265] It is, like the chapter on the *portaria*, largely original, aside from a few allusions to Benedict's chapters on the internal hierarchy (c. 63) and on mutual obedience (c. 71). Benedict has a lot to say about hierarchy but remains rather vague on the question of *how* members of the community should interact. Jonas fills this void with a number of new provisions and a unique framework – a new kind of enclosure. The chapter begins with the following statement:

> The institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how much affection (*affectus*) and service of love (*ministerium caritatis*) the souls placed in the monastery should love (*diligere*). 2 But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favours it must be shown. 3 In the end the crowd [of nuns] (*copia*) has a very wide circle of virtues (*latissimus ambitus uirtutum*), because being surrounded (*circumsepta*) [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy (*hostis*) who is turned against them.[266]

There are several puzzling elements in this passage. Jonas uses the term *copia* which could refer either to a multitude of objects or a multitude of people, the latter usually in a military sense: the "troops" of nuns, which would be a return to the military language of Caesarius' earlier monastic texts.[267] No other monastic rule uses *copia* referring to the com-

(265) *RcuiV*, c. 22.title: *Qualiter inuicem se humilient uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint seruanda praecepta.*

(266) *RcuiV*, c. 22.1–3: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt.* 2 *Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officiis demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est.* 3 *Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

(267) Jonas uses *copia* again in *RcuiV*, c. 22.9: *Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur.* Here it could be translated either as "abundance of love" or as "army of love." Maybe Jonas deliberately played with this ambiguity.

munity. In his *Vita Columbani*, Jonas regularly deploys another military term, *cohors*, which up to that point had not been part of monastic language either.[268]

The expression *latissimus ambitus uirtutum* is also unique. It is a key term for understanding the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' monastic ideal as a whole. The *ambitus uirtutum* creates a space by surrounding (*circumsepta*) the "troops" of nuns that are, as it were, under siege by the devil, which is reminiscent of the *lupi spiritales* (spiritual wolves) that roam around Caesarius' monastic confines. It delineates, however, not a physical space but a social space upheld by the community itself, or rather by the virtues that all members of the community display together. A similar idea is expressed in two other chapters of Jonas' Rule. The chapter on the abbess ends with the words:

> [The abbess] should perform the care of all so that she receives the profits of her reward from the progress of all [sisters], $_{19}$so that she, as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, receive as much profit for her toils as many protective measures she has provided as reinforcements (*praesidia*) to overcome the enemy.[269]

The term *praesidium*, which also has a military connotation, appears again in the context of providing protection through mutual prayer as part of the ritual of confession that involves, as Jonas emphasizes, the *entire* community:

> The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, *presidium* is obtained.[270]

It is likely that Jonas envisioned a connection between the *septa monasterii* and the *ambitus uirtutum*. The *septa monasterii* are empowered not only by the fact that they are detached from the sinful surrounding world and inaccessible to outsiders, but also by the *uirtus* of those living inside the monastery. Columbanus' own foundations and those related to Luxeuil are, as I have discussed elsewhere, not empowered by the *uirtus* of a saint who is present through his or her relics. There is, to speak in the words of Mircea Eliade, no stable *axis mundi*, or, in Peter Brown's words, no place "where heaven and earth meet". The nuns have to produce *uirtus* themselves – and they have to do it all together.[271]

The term *ambitus* has a second implication. It is not a static circle, a *uallum*, that, once built, stays in its place. Whereas Caesarius' monastic ideal envisions a status quo that needs to be upheld, Jonas envisions a process that is to be kept in permanent motion to prevent its own collapse. The term *ambitus* derives from *ambire* (to walk around). The nuns are continuously on patrol. It is a border that needs to be re-established continuously and, as we know, will never keep the devil completely at bay. The nuns, thus, must always

(268) *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 166; I, c. 10, p. 170; I, c. 20, p. 195; I, c. 21, p. 199; I. c. 29, p. 223; II, c. 1, p. 230; II, c. 11, p. 257; II, c. 16, p. 267.

(269) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* $_{19}$*ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.*

(270) *RcuiV*, c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.*

(271) Diem, 'Monks, Kings', pp. 558–559; id., 'The stolen glove'; Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York: Harcourt 1959, pp. 20–65; Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints*, Chicago: Chicago University Press 1981, pp. 1–22.

be on watch and in a state of permanent alertness, which explains why Jonas is particularly concerned with preventing *neglegentia*, *tepor* (lukewarmness), and *tepiditas* (tepidity), and with inciting *uigor*, *feruor*, *sollicitudo* (anxiety), *intentio*, *uigilitas* (watchfulness), *studium*, and *zelus* (zeal).[272] This idea of a constant movement is also implied by the term *coetus sororum*, which contains the verb *ire*. *Coetus* also belongs to Jonas' specific semantic repertoire. Though extremely rare in other monastic rules, it appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and six times in Jonas' hagiography.[273]

If we look at the broader context of the *ambitus uirtutum* and the *praesidium* against the devil, we realize that Jonas develops something that is fundamentally different from the monastic programmes he builds upon: the nuns as a community (*caterua*, *coetus*, *cohors*, *congregatio*, *copia*) become a major agent in the individual's pursuit of salvation. This dramatically increases the pressure on each individual nun and forces Jonas to enhance his disciplinary apparatus, because a nun is now not only responsible for her own salvation but also for that of the other members of the community. Both *lucrum* (reward) and *damnum* (harm) is shared by the entire *copia* or *cohors* of the nuns. If one nun fails, all of them might lose the battle.

The idea of the community as agent with its members sharing mutual responsibility of each other's salvation can be found only at a very rudimentary level in previous monastic rules. Caesarius' nuns act as praying community, though mostly for outsiders; Benedict makes (aside from *humilitas* and *oboedientia*, which can be acted out by the individual *towards* the group) the *stabilitas in congregatione* the touchstone of monastic conversion and emphasizes at some points that the monks should not harm each other.[274] Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* focuses primarily on transgressions within the community and disturbance of communal rituals. However, all three rules hardly ever extend the individual's responsibility beyond his or her own salvation or allow the community to play a major role in the individual's salvation.[275] Monks or nuns can harm themselves by acting in a dysfunctional way within the community and by not submitting themselves to the communal rule, but they cannot jeopardize the salvation of others and they cannot expect the community to

(272) *Feruor*/*feruens*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.18; c. 12.6; c. 19.2; c. 22.4. It appears six times in *VCol. Intentio*/*intentus*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 3.9; c. 8.2; c. 9.11; c. 12.2; c. 14.2; *De accedendo* 1; 6; 22; 23; 26; 19 times in *VCol. Neglegentia*/*neglegens*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 4.16; c. 8.5; c. 12.29; c. 13.5; c. 13.6; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.2; c. 16.12; c. 16.4; 13 times in *VCol. Sollicitudo*/*sollicitus*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 8.11; c. 13.2; c. 13.4; c. 14.4; *De accedendo* 21; three times in *VCol. Studium*/*studere*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.15; c. 3.18; c. 3.25; c. 4.3; c. 4.21; c. 6.18; c. 6.23; c. 9.6; c. 9.9; c. 9.20; c. 13.4; c. 15.8; c. 19.3; c. 22.13; c. 22.21; c. 23.7; c. 23.9; twelve times in *VCol. Tepiditas*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.18 and *VCol* II, c. 7. *Tepor*: *RcuiV*, c. 16.1 and three times in *VCol. (Per)uigil*/*uigilitas*: *RcuiV*, c. 2.3; c. 10.14; c. 14.2; c. 14.3; four times in *VCol. Vigor*: *RcuiV*, c. 14.2; nine times in *VCol. Zelus*: *RcuiV*, c. 3.25; once in *VCol.*

(273) *RcuiV*, c. 8.6; c. 12.24; *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160; I, c. 11, p. 170; I, c. 22, p. 204; II, c. 17, p. 270; II, c. 25, p. 291; *VIoh*, c. 12, p. 336. *Coetus* appears otherwise one the *Liber Orsiesii*, once in Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, five times in the *Regula Isidori*, and once in the *Regula Fructuosi*.

(274) See especially *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.78, *SC* 181, p. 464; c. 58.17, *SC* 182, p. 630; c. 71, p. 668.

(275) On this aspect of Columbanus' Rule: Diem, Albrecht, 'Columbanian monastic rules: dissent and experiment', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 68–85, at p. 71.

defend their own. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* vastly expands the individual's responsibility and completely redefines the nature of coenobitic monasticism.

The idea of making the community such an agent and a "third party" in the pursuit of salvation and upholding the barrier against the devil manifests itself throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well as the *Vita Columbani* on various levels and, in particular, in the language Jonas deploys. The purpose of any task and role within the community is to produce, as Jonas emphasizes time and again, reward and surplus (*lucrum*, *merces*, *fructus*, *praemium*), not primarily for individual benefit but for the benefit of the entire community. Reward never comes with a possessive pronoun. The abbess, for example, has to act exemplary both in deeds and in words because if her deeds contradict her words, the profit of the words (*fructum uocis*) will have no effect (on the community).[276] She takes care of everyone in the community so that she can receive the profits of the reward (*lucra mercedis*) through the progress of everyone.[277] The prioress receives profit of her toil (*fructus laboris*) by taking most diligent care of all objects belonging to the monastery.[278] The same expectations extend to assigned roles below the level of abbess as well, such as how the *portaria* builds up merit (*merces aedificare*) for the entire community.[279] They prepare the profits of reward (*lucra mercedis*) by acting on behalf of the entire community.[280] They must guard vessels as if they are consecrated to God to prevent squandering merit (*merces*) by not preserving God's property.[281] In sum, they have to follow the Rule zealously so that they receive an uncorrupted reward (*merces incorrupta*).[282]

In this context, it is clear that this *merces incorrupta* that the portaria accrues is meant to be *merces* for all, not just for the *portaria*. The *cellararia* as well needs to fulfil her work with humility and love so that it creates *merces*.[283] Even the great abundance of profit (*magna copia fructuum*) resulting from acquiring salvation through confession seems to pertain to the community as a whole rather than to the individual, as Jonas indicates by using an impersonal passive phrasing: "For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences".[284] Conversations at table need to be of a sort that creates profit (*fructus*) rather than damage (*damnum*) for the soul.[285] The nuns must not neglect the profit

(276) *RcuiV*, c. 1.4–5: *Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere,* 5 *ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.*

(277) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra.*

(278) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14–15: *Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata,* 15 *ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.*

(279) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent.*

(280) *RcuiV*, c. 3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.*

(281) *RcuiV*, c. 3.22: *Uasa uel reliqua utensilia quae ad opus hospitum baiulant, ac si sacrata deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant cuius res deripiendo non reseruant.*

(282) *RcuiV*, c. 3.25: *Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.*

(283) *RcuiV*, c. 4.21: *Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si omnia cum humilitate ac pietate studuerit agere.*

(284) *RcuiV*, c. 6.17: *Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus adquiritur.*

(285) *RcuiV*, c. 9.20: *Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio scripturarum, quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum.*

of the readings (*fructus lectionis*) while working.[286] The work for the cooks should be divided in a way that prevents causing discontent where they should gain *merces*.[287] Those tasked with the care of the tools of the monastery should guard them with zeal so that they receive the *merces* for the tasks they were assigned.[288]

Just as much as Jonas collectivizes *merces*, *fructus*, *lucrum*, and *praemium*, he emphasizes that transgressions, in particular *neglegentia*, cause harm to the whole community and therefore lead to damnation. This applies, for example, to the responsibilities of the *cellararia*;[289] to those who harm their sisters through idle talk;[290] to those taking care of tools; to the abbess' responsibility to prevent harm from coming to the nuns during their sleep.[291]

Thus far Jonas presents a markedly different vision of monastic space than Caesarius, but they both share one major concern: the system must be watertight in order to prevent any loopholes through which the devil might enter. Caesarius' nervous and repetitive *ante omnia* (first and foremost) resonates in Jonas' own language of urgency: the *ambitus uirtutum* is only upheld if each and every individual nun fully participates in the process. We can see this in Jonas' obsessive use of the term *omnis*, which appears 96 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (and 43 times in the Faremoutiers section). The term *nullus*/*nulla* appears 27 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Other expressions that Jonas uses regularly are *nullatenus* (by no means, 13 times) and *omnino* (absolutely, four times).[292] Half of the 96 references to *omnis* and of the 27 references to *nullus*/*nulla* refer to the community. Here are some (of the many) examples reflecting the importance of individual behaviour for communal benefit:[293] the abbess needs to correct the vices of *all* according to the character of *everyone*, and take care for the improvement of *all* nuns.[294] The prioresses need to control the beds of *all nuns*, to assess *everyone's* motivation for prayer.[295] The *entire* community (*omnis simul congregatio*) has

(286) *RcuiV*, c. 12.2: *Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est ut lectionis fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps lectioni diuinae uacetur.*

(287) *RcuiV*, c. 12.22–23: *Cocae uero per ebdomadas cocinent, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad coquinandum deputentur,* 23 *ne inpositus sine discretione labor, unde mercedem mercari debuit, inde murmurii fructum reportet.*

(288) *RcuiV*, c. 13.4–6: *Et sic ipsa utensilia, seu quaecumque eis ab abbatissa commissa fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent,* 5 *ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant,* 6 *anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus dei neglegenter.*

(289) *RcuiV*, c. 4.16: *Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat.*

(290) *RcuiV*, c. 9.4–5: *Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat,* 5 *quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de otioso iuxta Domini praeceptum rationem sumus reddituri.*

(291) *RcuiV*, c. 14.4: *…tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.*

(292) *Nullatenus* appears 13 times in the *RcuiV* and 14 times in *VCol*; *omnino* four times in *RcuiV* and ten times in *VCol*.

(293) See also *RcuiV*, c. 1.6–7; c. 2.12; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 4.5–8; c. 4.16; c. 6.20; c. 7.1; c. 8.4; c. 8.8–9; c. 9.10–11; c. 9.3–6; c. 9.8; c. 9.10; c. 10.12–17; c. 11.6; c. 14.10–13; c. 17.t; c. 17.9–10; c. 20.7–11; c. 22.21–23; c. 24.10–11.

(294) *RcuiV*, c. 1.16–19.

(295) *RcuiV*, c. 2.16–17.

to pray together for those giving gifts to the monastery.[296] The *cellararia*, who is picked out of the *entire* community, needs to serve the *entire* community (*tota congregatio*).[297] All nuns should serve equally so that in *all of them* "the tinder of piety is strong".[298] *All the nuns* have to ask for blessing of the food *una uoce* (in unison).[299] Those doing the kitchen service have to ask the *entire* community of sisters (*omnis coetus sororum*) for their prayer and wash the feet of *all sisters* (*omnes sorores*).[300] The vice of avarice has to be wiped out *of each and every nun* (*ab omni monacha*).[301] A recalcitrant nun is reproached by *the entire* community together (*simul ab omni congregatione*).[302] Love should be enshrined in the hearts of *every nun* (*in omnibus*).[303] Jonas' *ambitus uirtutum* needs to be just as impenetrable as Caesarius' enclosure.

Robert Markus suggested in his famous essay "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy" that Christianity initially operated on the basis of the idea that there are no spaces that are holy in and of themselves, but that space is sanctified only by the acts performed in it. Markus argued that this notion had been gradually replaced by a concept of a physical sacred space that is, for example, constituted by the presence of a martyr.[304] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* seems to return to this "pre-physical" notion of sacred space.

The *Area pectoris*

Caesarius believed that enclosure and obedience towards the *regula* shaped a system that was stable for as long as no one interfered with it. Jonas is aware that both physical enclosure and the *ambitus uirtutum* are inevitably prone to failure due to the inherent imperfection of any member of the community. He introduces therefore another set of disciplinary measures that emerge, again, around a notion of space and boundaries: the "inner space" of the individual nun, which is enclosed by her body but connected to the physical and social space around her through three main orifices, the mouth, ears, and eyes, but also through the moving body itself.[305] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* tries to extend its disciplining power *into* this "inner space" of every nun. Many of the alterations to the *Regula Benedicti* that I will discuss in Chapter 6 can be explained by this objective of disciplining the mind rather than just the outward behaviour.

(296) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12.
(297) *RcuiV*, c. 4.1–3.
(298) *RcuiV*, c. 9.1–2.
(299) *RcuiV*, c. 9.14.
(300) *RcuiV*, c. 12.24–26.
(301) *RcuiV*, c. 17.5.
(302) *RcuiV*, c. 18.3.
(303) *RcuiV*, c. 23.7.
(304) Markus, Robert Austin, 'How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), pp. 257–271, at pp. 264–268. See also Yasin, Ann Marie, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009, 14–45; Czock, *Gottes Haus*.
(305) On the mouth as dangerous orifice, see also Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, pp. 89–97.

In the *Vita Columbani* Jonas uses the phrase *area pectoris*: the space of one's chest. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expresses a spatial notion of the individual, for example, by contrasting the hand, which acts outside (*foris*) versus the mind (*mens*), which is confined to the inside (*interius*).[306] Jonas speaks of the face of the devil hidden (*interius*) inside of a nun,[307] or about the love enclosed by one's heart (*corde clausus*).[308] *De accedendo ad deum* speaks of the "stubborn mind" (*mens obstinata*) that may not give access to the Lord, and of God knocking at the "enclosed space of the mind" (*septa mentis*).[309]

Whatever happens within this last enclosure is decisive. It determines whether the individual nun attains salvation or incurs damnation. Jonas distinguishes himself in this regard from Benedict and Caesarius and, to a large extent, from Columbanus, all of whom are primarily interested in acts rather than attitudes. We can observe this shift on a semantic level if we look at the use of the term *mens* (mind) in Jonas' work and in previous monastic rules. *Mens* appears nineteen times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, five times in *De accedendo ad deum*, and thirty-eight times in the *Vita Columbani*. As an object of discipline the *mens* is virtually absent in Caesarius', Benedict's, and Columbanus' rules.[310]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* tries to cross the boundaries between a nun's outwardly visible actions and the feelings, motivations, thoughts, and dreams that accumulate in the nun herself: her *status mentis* (state of the mind),[311] the *tenacitas mentis* (stubbornness of the mind),[312] the *nitor mentis* (splendour of the mind),[313] the *ignauia mentis* (idleness of the mind),[314] the *mens obstinata* (the obstinate mind),[315] the *mens intenta* (the focused mind),[316] the *mens prompta* (the read mind),[317] the *contritio cordis* (contrition of the heart),[318] the *affectus cordis* (affection of the heart),[319] or the *motus animi* (motion of the mind).[320] The ultimate goal of this discipline is laid out in *De accedendo ad deum*: getting access to God, but also giving access to God in one's mind. Jonas writes:

(306) *RcuiV*, c. 12.10–11.
(307) *RcuiV*, c. 16.1.
(308) *RcuiV*, c. 23.7.
(309) *De accedendo* 12–15.
(310) The term *mens* appears five times in the Rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus: *CaesRV*, c. 15.1, *SC* 345, p. 190 on the mind that should not be distracted by manual work; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.5, *SC* 181, p. 442: on the role of the abbot in infusing the teaching of divine justice into the *mens* of his monks; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 126, l. 1: on a diet that does not burden the stomach or confuse the *mens*; c. 7, p. 132, l. 5/12: about the *capacitas mentis* of a monk singing the liturgy and the prayer in heart and mind; *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, p. 166, l. 24 about the *ardor mentis* exciting too much devotion.
(311) *RcuiV*, c. 3.4; c. 6.2; c. 22.6.
(312) *RcuiV*, c. 18.5.
(313) *RcuiV*, c. 7.3.
(314) *RcuiV*, c. 9.4.
(315) *De accedendo* 12.
(316) *De accedendo* 22.
(317) *De accedendo* 26.
(318) *RcuiV*, c. 6.26; c. 19.8.
(319) *RcuiV*, c. 3.2.
(320) *RcuiV*, c. 22.4.

> 11 Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart* (*parare cor*) *and the Lord's task to give counsel.* (Prou. 16, 19) 12 Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if access to the stubborn mind is not denied [*si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur*]. 13 In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate* (*ad ostium*) *and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I shall eat with him and He with me.* (Apoc. 3, 19–20) 14 Whenever we stand [in front of the gate] we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind (*corpore quam animo parati esse debemus*) for the work of the service of divine mercy, 15 in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosed space of the mind [*intra mentis septa recipiamus*] and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – [the mercy] which comes to the meal and leads us to his meal. 16 When someone comes to this [meal], *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* 17 *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* 18 *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.* (Cf. Ps. 35/36, 9–11) 19 Therefore let the tongue always bring forth these things in order that it pleases the Creator along with serving work…[321]

Ideally, the *mens* of the nuns is alert (*paratus*, *fortis*, *uigil*, *inpiger*, *sollicitus*, etc.) and directed towards God; in reality, it is permanently threatened by distraction or slipping into negligence, sluggishness, lukewarmness, etc. (*negligentia*, *tepiditas*, *tepor*, etc.).[322] Moreover, the inner self is a space that permanently pollutes itself and has the potential of polluting its surroundings and of being polluted by its surroundings. All of this can only be prevented through a highly sophisticated system of controlling, closing, and opening the gates that connect the *mens* with the outside: one could call it a hydraulic discipline.

In both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas uses a broad semantic repertoire of pollution and purification that is largely absent in Caesarius', Benedict's, and Columbanus' Rules. It has little to do with ritual pollution in line with Old Testament laws,[323] with pollution through blood and sex that disqualifies a priest to fulfil

(321) *De accedendo* 11–20: *Sic Salomon testatur dicens: Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* (Prou. 16, 19) 12 *Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur.* 13 *Sic per apocalipsin dicitur: Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* (Apoc. 3, 19–20) 14 *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus,* 15 *ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet.* 16 *In qua quis cum uenerit, inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* 17 *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* 18 *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.* (cf. Ps. 35/36, 9–11) 19 *Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat, iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: Seruite, inquit, Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore.* (Ps. 2, 11) 20 *Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur…*

(322) On motivation, see pp. 372–374.

(323) On the role of "ritual purity" and pollution in monastic discourse, see, for example, De Jong, Mayke, '*Imitatio morum*. The cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in: Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, New York/London: Garland Publishing 1998, pp. 49–80; De Nie, Giselle, '*Contagium* and Images of Self in Late Sixth-Century Gaul', in: Marcel J. H. M. Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (eds.), *Purity and Holiness. The Heritage of Leviticus*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 1999, pp. 247–261; Meens, Rob, "A Relic of superstition'. Bodily impurity and the Church from Gregory the Great to the twelfth century Decretists', *ibid.*, pp. 281–293.

his duties,[324] with the purity of virginity, or with Mary Douglas' concept that everything ambiguous or liminal is considered impure.[325]

The death of the nun Willesuinda summarizes much of Jonas' ideas on pollution of the monastic space and the individual. Willesuinda exposes a nun who has secretly carried the dirt of the world into the monastery, concealed in her *area pectoris*:

> "Don't you see with how much filth (*sordes*) she has filled her mind, and how she has not attempted in any way to purge (*purgare*) by means of confession the filthy area of her heart (*caenosa area pectoris*), which she polluted with all kinds of dirt (*omni spurcitia maculauit*) while still in the world, before she was enclosed (*clauderetur*) here?"[326]

Willesuinda's reaction to this transgression is drastic – and spatial: "Throw her out! Out the door! Throw out the rubbish!"[327]

Before examining in detail how the system of discipline in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* aims at purifying the nuns from *sordes*, *spurcitia*, *macula*, *caenum*, etc. (which I am going to do in Chapter 6 where I address each chapter of the Rule individually) I will use somewhat broader strokes to describe Jonas' hydraulic discipline. The most dangerous gate connecting the inside of the nun with her surroundings is the mouth – *os*. As Jonas explains, for example, in his chapter on sleep (c. 14), the devil harms the souls of the nuns through the mouth by exciting lethal desires through their conversation.[328] Expanding on Caesarius' proscriptions on silence, Jonas develops a regime of the spoken word that is stricter and more comprehensive than anything we find in the rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. In principle, Jonas bans any kind of conversation that is not absolutely necessary.[329] Moreover, he organizes the entire monastic life and, in particular, the nuns' work, around the requirement that not a single word may be exchanged without a third person as a witness – a requirement of total enclosure of the mouth that is not found anywhere else.[330] Open conversation can take place only at the moment of festive meals

(324) See Angenendt, Arnold, 'Mit reinen Händen. Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese', in: Georg Jenal and Stephanie Haarländer (eds.), *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Hirsemann 1993, pp. 297–316.

(325) Douglas, Mary, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1966, pp. 2–6.

(326) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269: *"Non aspicitis, quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcitia maculauit?"*

(327) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269: *"Eice", inquit, "foras eice, iacta quisquilias."*

(328) *RcuiV*, c. 14.7–8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat,* 8 *ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.*

(329) *RcuiV*, c. 9.7: *Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad conpletam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae commeatum loquendum est.*

(330) *RcuiV*, c. 3.8: *Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur.* c. 9.21: *Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae, necessaria conloquantur.* c. 12.18–19: *Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem.* 19 *Et si necesse fuerit ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat.*

and is strictly limited to edifying topics that benefit the nuns' souls.[331] Jonas does, however, not only restrict the spoken word, but with equal concern, the sound of the word, the *uox* of those who are allowed to speak. He uses different expressions, but his ideas are largely congruent with the *clusura* of the mouth and body as we find it in the *Regula Magistri*.

The sound of the spoken word, just as much as the content, reveals what happens inside of a nun. Therefore the Rule must ensure that through the use of their voices the nuns reveal the best and conceal the worst of their inner state: it is the *uox* of the abbess, not just the spoken words, that should be in accordance with her deeds to have an effect on the nuns.[332] The *portariae* should "show the favours of all patience in their friendly conversation".[333] The *cellararia* should respond to requests "with gentle words without any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response".[334] At the table, the nuns must converse "in such a way, that they speak with a lowered voice and not with an unrestrained one, lest that for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged".[335] Nuns must speak with visiting priests "with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found *in omnibus* (in all of them)".[336] It is, as Jonas emphasizes in chapter 22 of his Rule, "the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a rigid or amicable or certainly loving mind".[337]

The other dangerous orifice of the bodily enclosure is, of course, the ear. Jonas is concerned about the effects that the unrestrained voice may have on a fellow nun, just as much as he wants to ensure that the nuns do not hear any harmful words, be it from outsiders, from gossiping *portariae* (who have access to information from the outside world),[338] from the fellow nun with whom she shares her bed,[339] or from the nuns who are separated from the community in a state of excommunication and penance.[340]

There are also some references to the control of the eyes. *Portariae* have to cast down their eyes to avoid looking at strangers;[341] all sisters have to cast down their eyes during

(331) *RcuiV*, c. 9.16–19.

(332) *RcuiV*, c. 1.4–6.

(333) *RcuiV*, c. 3.7: *Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis pacientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant.*

(334) *RcuiV*, c. 4.19: *…leni sine ulla asperitate in responsione procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat.*

(335) *RcuiV*, c. 9.18: *…sic tamen, ut praessa non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur.*

(336) *RcuiV*, c. 22.23: *Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa, ut cum his aliqua sororum loquatur, cum omni humilitate et modestia ac sobriaetate loquendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.*

(337) *RcuiV*, c. 22.5: *…ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordae aut certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum.*

(338) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13: *Fabulis quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant.*

(339) *RcuiV*, c. 14.8.

(340) *RcuiV*, c. 19.9.

(341) *RcuiV*, c. 3.9: *Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.*

meals and are by no means allowed to gaze at each other's plates.[342] Nuns sharing a bed have to lie in spoon position so that they can't look into each other's eyes.[343] It is not by accident that the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* is full of references to sensory impressions: hearing, seeing, but also smelling.[344]

A fourth boundary between the inside and the outside is the body itself. Jonas is, more so than Caesarius, Benedict, or Columbanus, concerned with bodily movements and what they might express and reveal about one's inner state of mind. The *praeposita* needs to control the nuns' beds at night in order to ensure that they wake up for prayer "so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters]. This is to be done likewise at all night-time services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity".[345] Nuns who confessed grave sins need to express their contrition by prostrating themselves to the ground.[346] The person hearing confession needs to react *cum grauitate et moderatione* (in dignity and moderation).[347] Nuns reveal, as Jonas explicitly states, their *motus animi* (the movements of the mind) in the ways in which they move. What they do may be less relevant than *how* they do it:

> Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be trifle in the act, yet are clearly well observed or overlooked, because of the motion of the mind which is either lukewarm or heated, for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a rigid or amicable or certainly loving mind.[348]

We may extrapolate from these regulations the impression that Jonas aimed at imposing on his nuns a carefully choreographed life in which discipline ensured, literally, that all nuns were kept in line. This also includes children who were not supposed to roam around the monastery without oversight.[349] It is possible that Jonas operated under the assumption that restraint of the body and of the voice were not only means of preventing damage but also had an impact on what was going on inside of the nuns. This would conform to the theories that the sociologist Arlie Hochschild developed in the 1980s on "emotional labor", suggesting that the control of movements and facial expressions imposed on flight attendants was not only meant to create happiness among passengers but also to induce an artificially cheerful mood among those who were forced to smile.[350]

(342) *RcuiV*, c. 10.12: *Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur.*

(343) *RcuiV*, c. 14.7: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat.*

(344) See p. 198 on the role of sensory expressions in the Faremoutiers episodes of the *Vita Columbani* and in Book Four of the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great.

(345) *RcuiV*, c. 2.17–18: *Itemque post conpletam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant.* 18 *Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt.* See p. 372–374.

(346) *RcuiV*, c. 6.26–27.

(347) *RcuiV*, c. 7.3.

(348) *RcuiV*, c. 22.4: *Sunt etenim nonnulla quae in actu uidentur exigua et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur,* 5 *ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordae aut, certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum.*

(349) *RcuiV*, c. 24.2: *Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare.*

(350) Diem, Albrecht, 'Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules', in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwi-*

Jonas is, however, fully aware that even this rigorous regime of closing the mouth, averting the eyes, protecting the ears, and restraining the body's movements does not create or guarantee purity and sinlessness, neither outside nor inside of the enclosure of the mind. The mind is inevitably penetrated and damaged through dreams, desires, thoughts, sights, and sounds. In chapter 6 (on confession), we read:

> [20] Whatever the mind or flesh (*mens uel caro*) commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. [21] But whatever it has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought (*actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu*) during the daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed (*ut purgetur*). [22] But whatever stain the mind contracts later (*mens maculae adtraxerit*), after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.[351]

Purity, thus, can only be restored through an ongoing and ceaseless process of repair, restoration, and purification – again not a state to be attained but an endless movement. The floodgates of the internal enclosure must be strictly closed at any time, except at the moment of confession, when they need to be opened as widely as possible. Purification can be reached, as Jonas emphasizes several times, only through a *uera et pura confessio*, and this purification needs to carried out on a strictly regular basis no fewer than three times a day and involving every single nun.[352] These topics are addressed extensively in the chapters on love and confession (c. 5–7) and in *De accedendo ad deum*. These chapters, which form the core of Jonas' Rule, will be discussed more in detail in the following sections of this study.

As I have already stated, Jonas' discipline of the mind cannot be found in the rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. It does, however, strongly resonate with the *Regula Magistri*. In this Rule the *mens* is clearly a matter of concern, albeit not as intensely as for Jonas. The *Regula Magistri* reminds us that monks should keep their *mens* focused on the teachings of the master, the teachings of the abbot, God, the brothers who are absent from the oratory, the lecture, prayer, and heavenly thoughts.[353] The *Regula Magistri* also operates with a similar notion of the *mens* as enclosure: God should have a dwelling in our mind; if an evil thought takes hold of one's mind it needs to be kept inside; the ear should not

schen Kloster und Hof, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17–39; Hochschild, Arlie Russel, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, Berkeley/London: University of California Press 2012 (orig. 1983); ead., 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology* 85:3 (1979), pp. 551–575. The same idea – that outward acting shapes the inner disposition – is already expressed in Augustine, *De cura pro mortibus gerenda*, c. 7, *CSEL* 41, p. 632.

(351) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20–22: *Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari.* [21] *Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu ut purgetur censendum est.* [22] *Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante completam confitendum est.*

(352) For a detailed analysis of Jonas' concept of confession and its theological basis, see pp. 406–431.

(353) *Regula Magistri*, prologue.8, *SC* 105, p. 290: *et auditus tuus per considerationem mentis ambulando in triuium cordis tui perueniant*; c. 2.5, p. 352: *ut iussio eius [abbatis] uel monitio siue doctrina fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur*; c. 9.22, p. 410: *ut numquam desit menti nostrae memoria Dei*; c. 20.t, *SC* 106, p. 98: *Quomodo debent haberi in oratorio absentes in mente*; c. 24.37, p. 130: *mentem suam alibi non faciat aberrare, sed in hoc intendat quod legitur*; c. 48.14, p. 220: *Orare ergo debemus cum omni mente*; c. 82.11, p. 338: *mentem nostram in hac uita de supernis semper cogitationibus occupemus.*

hear anything that would disturb the mind; we should cry out and expose what is going on within our mind through confession.[354]

The *Regula Magistri*, like Jonas' Rule, contrasts outward acting with the internal state of the mind. It does so in the context of manual work and addressing the *cellararius*; it emphasizes that prayer should happen both through *uox* (voice) and *mens*, and that the body should show through the garment that a monk is owned by God *in mente*.[355] It is also striking that the *Regula Magistri* shares with Jonas' work various terms related to purity that do not show up in the *Regula Benedicti*, such as *maculare*, *medicina*, *polluere*, *soluere*, *sanies*, *sorditas*, *spurcidus*, and *spurcitia*.[356] The fact that Jonas shares many phrases with the *Regula Benedicti*, but words and ideas with the *Regula Magistri,* is puzzling, and may incite us to reopen the *Regula Magistri – Regula Benedicti* debate by focusing on the content and ideas of these rules rather than on philological intricacies. But this needs to be done in a different study.

A final thought: it is important to notice that neither Caesarius' enclosure nor Jonas' *septa secreta* can be described as *sacred* spaces. Superimposing this anthropological category would grossly oversimplify the complexity of both spatial concepts and would make many of the differences between Jonas' and Caesarius' (and subsequent) theologies of the monastic space invisible.[357] Neither Caesarius nor Jonas call their monastery a *locus sanctus*, even though the term would eventually slip into the language of charters granting rights to monasteries.[358] For Caesarius, this is more remarkable, given his ubiquitous use of *sanctus*. The space itself does for him not contribute to turning the community into a *congregatio sancta*; it is the *regula sancta* and particularly its provisions on enclosure, which create impenetrable boundaries. These boundaries are rather *ex*-clusive than *in*-clusive, in the sense of closing the sinful outside world off and creating a "non-space" (οὐ-τόπος) in which, as it were, the mechanism of sinfulness do not apply. Caesarius' enclosure is more concerned about the wolves outside than about the space it encloses, so maybe it would be more appropriate to call it an "exclosure" rather than "enclosure".

(354) *Regula Magistri*, thp.17, *SC* 105, p. 304: *ut pater et Dominus in mentibus nostris tabernaculum suum et inhabitatorem faciat Spiritum Sanctum*; c. 8.27, p. 404: *ut mox captiuauerit mentem mala cogitatio*; c. 10.105, pp. 440–442: *et nihil omnino quod conturbet mentem auribus datur*; c. 15.9–11, *SC* 106, p. 64: *Quid taces, anima, et non erumpis in uoce et mentis tuae exponis ardorem, et eiecto de intus ipso feruore malitiae, praestis fatigatae refrigerium passioni?*

(355) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.96, p. 26: *et quod minus laborat minibus, plus manibus operatur*; c. 16.48, p. 80 (on the *cellararius*): *dicente abbate pro eo fratribus ut habeatur in mente*; c. 47.18–19, p. 216: *Qui sonat in uoce, ipse sit et in mente psallentis. Psallamus ergo uoce et mente communiter*; c. 90.76, p. 392: *ut merito iam ab omnibus hoc uidearis in corpore, quod a Deo possideris in mente*.

(356) *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.11, *SC* 106, p. 330: *cogitatio turpis maculat*; c. 15.29, p. 66: *et aduersus necessitatem uulneris eius similis diuina medicina legatur*; c. 80.t, p. 328: *polluti per somnum*; c. 90.86: *polluatur in saeculo*; c. 14.17, p. 50: *solue intercessione tua*; c. 15.64: *et de eo fuerit sanies eiecta*. The *Regula Magistri* also uses the expressions *sordidus*, *sorditas*, *spurcidus*, and *spurcitia* which appear in the *Vita Columbani* but not in the *Regula Benedicti*.

(357) The amount of literature on sacred space is boundless. The most comprehensive introduction to sacred space in an early medieval context is Czock, Miriam, *Gottes Haus: Untersuchungen zur Kirche als heiligem Raum von der Spätantike bis ins Frühmittelalter*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2012, pp. 1–16.

(358) The first authentic Merovingian charters for a monastery using the expression *locus sanctus* were issued in 654 (King Clovis II for Saint-Denis, *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger* 1, no. 85, pp. 217–219), 658/659 (Chlothar III for Montier-la-Celle, no. 92, pp. 238–239) and in 693 (Clovis III for Saint-Calais, no. 140, pp. 352–354).

The monastery would become a *locus sanctus* much later, predominantly in legal texts that protected the monastic space from outside interference. It is the interaction with the outside world and the necessity to give the monastery a protective legal framework that turns the monastic space from a "sanctifying space" (at least in the eyes of Caesarius) into a sacred space.[359]

To Jonas is – as we saw – hardly anything holy. It is therefore only consistent that he does not call his monastery a holy space. Caesarius and Jonas share the idea that their monastic space is defined by its boundaries and by keeping the world (*saeculum*) outside, rather than by proximity and distance to a centre, such as the presence of a saint. Both spatial concepts function without relics, which distinguishes them from churches, religious communities serving the shrine of a martyr, or many later monastic foundations that were either established on the grave of a saint or imported martyrs and other saints from elsewhere or turned their own founder into an object of veneration.[360] Luxeuil flourishes without Columbanus' relics; Bobbio develops a cult of Columbanus only centuries later;[361] Burgundofara's foundation, the monastery for which Jonas most likely wrote his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, eventually becomes Faremoutiers (*monasterium Farae*), but there is no indication of an meaningful cult of Burgundofara. Yet Jonas' space has many more layers of meaning than Caesarius'. It is not a safe space but a battleground that needs to be constantly guarded; it is a space that needs to be kept clean from pollution both from the outside (the monastery) and from the inside (of each nun), but it is also a powerful space in which intercessory prayer may unfold its power, in which the nuns hear the angels singing, in which Columbanus could become invisible, and nuns meet the Apostle. Keeping the world outside makes it, at least, a powerful space.

The monastic battlefield and the always present devil disqualifies Jonas' monastic space as sacred space, but this also the case for the *area pectoris*, the inner space of a nun. Paul's dictum in I Cor. 6, 19 of the body as temple of the Holy Spirit does not apply to Jonas' nuns whose inner space needs to be ceaselessly cleansed in a never-ending rhythm of confession and mutual intercessory prayer.[362] The following chapters of this study will examine this in greater detail.

(359) See Esders and Patzold, 'From Justinian to Louis the Pious'. Miriam Czock pointed me to this important aspect which certainly deserves further elaboration in a future study.

(360) On the rise and diversity of monastic saints' cults, see Mattingly, Todd Matthew, *Living Reliquaries: Monasticism and the Cult of the Saints in the age of Louis the Pious*, Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 2019.

(361) O'Hara, Alexander and Faye Taylor, 'Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy: the Case of Bobbio and the Miracula Sancti Columbani', in: *Viator* 44 (2013), pp. 43–61.

(362) I Cor. 6, 19: *An nescitis quoniam corpus uestrum templum est Spiritus Sancti, qui in uobis est, quem habetis a Deo, et non estis uestri?*

PART III

DISCIPLINE

CHAPTER 5

THE *REGVLA BENEDICTI* IN SEVENTH-CENTURY FRANCIA

Our knowledge of the early history of the *Regula Benedicti* – the Rule that would become the binding norm of Western monasticism – is based on scattered and disjointed evidence. There is the story of the Rule that Benedict, the founder of Montecassino, allegedly wrote shortly before his death (around 550). Gregory the Great, who records this tale in the second book of his *Dialogi*, calls the text "of excellent discretion in clear style".[1] Two hundred years later, the historian Paul the Deacon added the dramatic twist that the monks of Montecassino saved the manuscript of Benedict's Rule (along with other books, a loaf of bread, and some wine) when the monastery was raided by the Lombards and its inhabitants escaped to Rome.[2] According to Paul the Deacon, the autograph returned to Montecassino around 750. It was destroyed in a fire in 893.[3]

The allegedly oldest witness of the *Regula Benedicti* after Gregory's *Dialogi* is a letter written by an otherwise unknown Venerandus to Bishop Constantius of Albi (d. 647).[4] Preserved only in a fifteenth-century copy, this letter was considered to be original mainly because of its bad – thus Merovingian – Latin, which is not a very strong argument for its authenticity. It strictly enjoined the abbot and the monks of the otherwise unknown monastery of Altaripa to obey the *Regula Benedicti* and threatens the abbot with removal from his office if he does not comply with this order. Neither the idea of a bishop ordering a monastery to follow a specific monastic rule, nor the threat of severe repercussions, nor the entire understanding of "following a rule" as a legal norm finds any parallels in other early seventh-century texts. If anything, the Venerandus Letter would fit in the context

(1) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 36, *SC* 260, p. 242: *Nam scripsit monachorum regulam discretione praecipuam, sermone luculentam.*

(2) Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* IV, c. 17, *MGH SRL*, p. 122.

(3) Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, pp. 178–179; Traube, Ludwig, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*, Munich: Verlag der Königlich-Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898, pp. 29–30 (pp. 627–628).

(4) Ed. in Traube, *Textgeschichte*, pp. 92–93 (pp. 690–691), based on St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 917, p. 3. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West', in: Hendrik W. Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2011, pp. 53–84, at p. 67. Prinz, Friedrich, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2nd ed. 1988, pp. 267–268 and Engelbert, Pius, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der *Regula Benedicti* im Frühmittelalter', in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 81 (1986), pp. 39–60, at pp. 40–41 assume that the letter is authentic.

of Carolingian debates on implementing the *Regula Benedicti*, but it is out of place in the period in which it was allegedly written.

The first reasonably reliable references to the *Regula Benedicti* appear in charters for a number of monasteries founded from the 630s onwards, which granted monasteries privileges under the condition that their inhabitants follow a combined *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani*. This *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* largely disappeared from the sources in the late seventh century.[5] Friedrich Prinz, who pioneered the study of monastic life after Columbanus (and coined the expression *Iro-Fränkisches Klosterwesen* – "Hiberno-Frankish monasticism"), assumed that the more moderate *Regula Benedicti* replaced Columbanus' harsh precepts and that Frankish monasticism increasingly turned "Benedictine". This is a hypothesis that is based on scanty evidence since both the *Regula Columbani* and the *Regula Benedicti* rarely appear in late seventh-century Frankish sources.[6] There are, however, several later diplomatic forgeries and hagiographic narratives that aim at providing monasteries with a "Benedictine" past reaching further back than the Carolingian monastic reforms.[7] The first witnesses of the text and content of the *Regula Benedicti* are the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

We find in the first half of the eighth century a number of traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Anglo-Saxon sources, particularly in the work of the Venerable Bede.[8] The oldest extant manuscript of the *Regula Benedicti*, now preserved in the Bodleian Library (Hatton 48), was probably produced at the beginning of the eighth century in an Anglo-Saxon monas-

(5) Diem, Albrecht, 'Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?', in: Max Diesenberger and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2002, pp. 63–89. On the spread of the "*Regula Benedicti et Columbani*", see Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 121–151 and pp. 263–292; Moyse, Gérard, 'Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e^-X^e^ siècles)', in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 131 (1973), pp. 21–104 and pp. 369–485; Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung', pp. 40–44; McLaughlin, Terrence P., *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'occident*, Poitiers: Imprimerie moderne 1935, pp. 15–30. According to Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 277, the last episcopal charter referring to *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* was the privilege of Aredius von Vaison for the monastery of Graselle from 683, ed. Jean Marie Pardessus, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, vol. 2, Paris 1849, no. 401, pp. 191–193 and the privilege of Bishop Widigern of Strassburg for the monastery of Murbach from 728, ed. Pardessus, vol. 2, no. 543, pp. 352–355.

(6) See Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung', pp. 47–49.

(7) For later diplomatic forgeries referring to the *Regula Benedicti*, see *MGH Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, no. 71, pp. 181–183; no. 78, pp. 197–200; no. 87, pp. 224–227; no. 91, pp. 234–237; no. 186, pp. 462–465.

(8) Anglo-Saxon references to the *Regula Benedicti* include Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 1, ed. Christopher Grocock and Ian N. Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 2013, p. 22; c. 8, p. 40; c. 11, p. 46; c. 16, pp. 60–62; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66, l. 1706–1707, *CCSL* 123B, p. 521; Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam* III, l. 466–473, *CCSL* 119A, pp. 350–351; Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 14, ed./transl. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, p. 202; c. 19–20, pp. 222–224; *Vita Cuthberti* III, c. 1, pp. 94–96; Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 14, ed. Bertram Colgrave, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, c. 14, p. 30; c. 47, p. 98: Wilfrid allegedly introduced the *Regula Benedicti* to his monastery of Ripon after a journey to Gaul (which would be the first and only example of the introduction of the *Regula Benedicti* in Anglo-Saxon England until the tenth century). See Wormald, Patrick, *The Times of Bede*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Oxford/Malden: Blackwell 2006, pp. 3–29; Foot, Sarah, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006, pp. 49–60.

tery. Anglo-Saxons monks were a likely faction promoting the *Regula Benedicti* in Francia at that time.[9]

In 719 a community of monks settled at Montecassino, the alleged place of origin of the *Regula Benedicti*.[10] Montecassino became a prime destination of Anglo-Saxon and, later, Frankish monks, and successfully claimed authority over Benedict's legacy.[11] From the middle of the eighth century onwards, initially instigated by the Anglo-Saxon monk Boniface and his successors, the *Regula Benedicti* became a tool for monastic reform and unification, culminating in the Aachen synods of 816/817.[12] For at least two hundred years, there are no indisputably authentic traces of the *Regula Benedicti* in Italy, its alleged region of origin.[13] The "story" of the triumph of the *Regula Benedicti* is, thus, largely a Carolingian story.[14] The pastiche of evidence of a rule appearing and disappearing in various regions at different times became from the ninth century onwards the backbone of a perceived history of monasticism and the basis of a shared monastic identity. The gaps were filled in with the assumption that the triumph of "Benedictinism" had already begun long before the Carolingian reforms, that Gregory the Great and the Venerable Bede were "Benedic-

(9) Sources on Anglo-Saxon monks propagating the *Regula Benedicti* in the Frankish kingdoms include Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, c. 14, *MGH Script*. 2, pp. 371–372; *Vita Liudgeri prima*, c. 18, p. 410; Hugeburc, *Vita Willibaldi*, c. 5, *MGH Script*. 15, p. 102; Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 10, p. 125; *Vita Alcuini*, c. 11, p. 191; Boniface, *Ep.* 86, *MGH Epp*. 3, p. 368; *Concilium Germanicum* (742), c. 7, *MGH Conc*. 2.1, p. 4.

(10) See Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* VI, c. 40, *MGH SRL*, pp. 178–179. On the refoundation of Montecassino: Meeder, Sven, 'Monte Cassino and Carolingian politics around 800', in: Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Rob Meens, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude, and Carine van Rhijn (eds.), *Religious Franks. Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2016, pp. 279–295; Wollasch, Joachim, '*Benedictus abbas Romensis*. Das römische Element in der frühen benediktinischen Tradition', in: Norbert Kamp, Joachim Wollasch, Manfred Balzer, Karl Heinrich Krüger, and Lutz von Padberg (eds.), *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hauck*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1982, pp. 119–137; Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung', pp. 49–51.

(11) Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 74–75; Padberg, Lutz von, 'Missionare und Mönche auf dem Weg nach Rom und Monte Cassino im 8. Jahrhundert', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 111 (2000), pp. 145–168; Palmer, James T., *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900*, Turnhout: Brepols 2009, pp. 201–204.

(12) Sources in Diem, 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 70–72; id., 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', in: van Espelo *et al.* (eds.), *Religious Franks*, pp. 243–261. On the Aachen reforms, see most recently Choy, Renie S., *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016; ead., 'The Deposit of Monastic Faith: The Carolingians on the Essence of Monasticism', in: Peter D. Clarke and Charlotte Methuen (eds.), *The Church on its Past: Papers read at the 2011 Summer Meeting and the 2012 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2013, pp. 74–86. Still seminal: De Jong, Mayke, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2: *c. 700–c. 900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, pp. 622–653; Semmler, Josef, 'Benedictus II: una regula – una consuetudo', in: Willem Lourdaux and Daniel Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture 750–1050*, Leuven: Leuven University Press 1983, pp. 1–49.

(13) Hallinger, Kassius, 'Papst Gregor der Große und der hl. Benedikt', in: Basilius Steidle (ed.), *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, Rome: Orbis Catholicus/Herder 1957, pp. 231–319; Ferrari, Guy, *Early Roman Monasteries; Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana 1957, pp. 377–401.

(14) On the role of the *Regula Benedicti* in Carolingian reforms, see Diem, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*'; Dartmann, Christoph, 'Normative Schriftlichkeit im früheren Mittelalter: das benediktinische Mönchtum', in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 100 (2004), pp. 1–61.

tine" monks, and that monasteries, after following various "mixed rules", decided to follow Benedict's wiser and moderate precepts.[15]

The story of the origins of the *Regula Benedicti* poses a number of problems that are relevant for this study. First, there is the question of whether the text we know as the *Regula Benedicti* was indeed the Rule "of outstanding discretion in clear style" ascribed to Benedict, the founder of Montecassino, as Gregory the Great claims in the second book of his *Dialogi*. Neither the content of the *Dialogi* nor the remainder of Gregory's work gives indications that he knew the *Regula Benedicti*, let alone that he was a "Benedictine" monk before he became pope.[16] If we abandon the premise of Benedict of Nursia's authorship of the *Regula Benedicti* and its origin in Montecassino, the text could have been written anywhere: in Italy, in Merovingian Francia, and maybe even in the Insular world. The Venerable Bede was the first to identify Benedict, the hero of Gregory's *Dialogi*, with the blessed (*benedictus*) author of the Rule.[17]

It is, of course, not impossible that parts of the established narrative are true. There may have been *one* genius who founded Montecassino and wrote the *Regula Benedicti* as we know it. The *Regula Magistri* may have formed the model for the text, and the *Regula Benedicti* may have started its triumph after it was divorced from Columbanus' grim precepts. However, this narrative stands on too shaky a foundation to serve as a cornerstone for any modern narrative of the origins of Western monasticism or, for the purpose of this book, as a broader context that could shape our understanding of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

If we stop taking it for granted that Benedict of Nursia was the author of the *Regula Benedicti*, another problem arises: is there *one* author of the text, or has the *Regula Benedicti* been assembled from various sources that may have been written by different authors at different points in time?[18] The long prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* could perfectly stand on its own, as does chapter 7 on the ten steps of humility and the liturgical outline in

(15) Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 288–292.

(16) Hallinger, 'Papst Gregor the Große', pp. 259–277; Clark, Francis, *The "Gregorian" Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism*, Leiden: Brill 2003, pp. 219–227. Adalbert de Vogüé argues in his introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, *SC* 181, pp. 150–151 in favour of Gregory's knowledge of the *Regula Benedicti* on the basis of one single passage in his *In librum primum Regum expositionum* IV, c. 17, *CCSL* 144, p. 330 that shows vague similarities to *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58.2/8, *SC* 182, pp. 626–628. Both quote I Joh. 4, 1 and both use the phrase *dura et aspera*. See also Diem, Albrecht, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens*, Münster: LIT-Verlag 2005, p. 137 on the meanings of the term *regula* in Gregory's *Dialogi*.

(17) Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 1, ed. Grocock and Wood, p. 22 refers to *Benedictus* as he appears in Gregory's *Dialogi*: *Qui ut beati papae Gregorii uerbis, quibus cognominis eius abbatis uitam glorificat, utar: 'Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab ipso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile, aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli animum uoluptati dedit.'* In c. 11, p. 48 Bede refers to the *regula*, presumably having the same *Benedictus* in mind: *Sed iuxta quod regula magni quondam abbatis Benedicti, iuxta quod priuilegii nostri continent decreta, in conuentu uestrae congregationis communi consilio perquiratis, qui secundum uitae meritum et sapientiae doctrinam aptior, ad tale ministerium perficiendum digniorque probetur…*

(18) Rudolf Hanslik discusses this question in the introduction to his edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, *CSEL* 75, pp. xvii–xviii, without coming to a verdict. On the problem of authorship in general, see also pp. 156–161.

chapters 8–18. The *Regula Benedicti* would function without these parts. The text contains two chapters on the abbot (c. 2 and c. 64) and two chapters on obedience (c. 5 and c. 71); it defines the first step of humility in two different ways (c. 5; c. 7.10–30); and it discourages the community from appointing a prior but nevertheless refers to a prior or to priors several times (c. 21.7; c. 62.7; c. 65). Neither the *Regula Donati* (the first witness of the text itself), nor the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (the first text using and revising the *Regula Benedicti*) quote the prologue of the *Regula Benedicti* as we know it or the liturgical *ordo* of chapters 8–18. Donatus, at least, quotes the twelve steps of humility, which indicates that his version of the *Regula Benedicti* contained this part.[19]

Then there is the question of how this *Regula Benedicti* is related to the much longer *Regula Magistri*, the other presumably Italian monastic rule – a question that has been a topic of a heated but excruciatingly dull debate.[20] Parts of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* overlap almost verbatim. In other instances, both texts say similar things in different words, but there are also sections in which both rules part from each other in wording, content, and monastic ideal. The communities addressed by each rule are different in size and internal organization. The discussions on the chronology and connections of both texts are based on the premise that both rules have single authors and that one rule directly depends on the other. Adalbert de Vogüé at least admits that his arguments on the priority of the *Regula Magistri* are based on the assumption that Benedict used an earlier version of the *Regula Magistri* that is different from the text we have today.[21]

While it is still possible that there was indeed one Benedict behind the *Regula Benedicti*, or at least most of its chapters, I consider it rather unlikely that the *Regula Magistri*, a chaotic, idiosyncratic, contradictory, and redundant hodgepodge of straightforward regulations, speeches, theological reflections, and long-winded commentaries on monastic life, is the work of one "Master", though it is undoubtedly a "masterwork" of its own kind. The *Regula Magistri* consists of a sequence of questions and answers. An *interrogatio discip-*

(19) *Regula Donati*, *CSEL* 98, pp. 139–188 uses *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2–7, *SC* 181, pp. 440–490; c. 19–20, *SC* 182, pp. 534–538; c. 22, pp. 540–542; c. 24–25, pp. 544–546; c. 27–28, pp. 548–552; c. 31–36, pp. 556–572; c. 40–43, pp. 578–590; c. 47, pp. 596–598; c. 52–53, pp. 610–616; c. 58, pp. 626–632; c. 63–65, pp. 642–658. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* paraphrase, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, *SC* 181, pp. 440–452; c. 18–20, *SC* 182, pp. 528–538; c. 22–26, pp. 540–548; c. 28–33, pp. 550–562; c. 35–39, pp. 564–578; c. 41–44, pp. 580–592; c. 46–48, pp. 594–604; c. 53–54, pp. 610–618; c. 63–67, pp. 642–662; c. 69–71, pp. 664–668; c. 73, pp. 672–674.

(20) The main contributions to this debate include Knowles, David, 'The Regula Magistri and the Rule of St Benedict', in: id., *Great Historical Enterprises*, London: Nelson 1963, pp. 139–195. Knowles refuted the long held viewpoint that the *Regula Benedicti* must have been older than the *Regula Magistri*. This was later corroborated by Adalbert de Vogüé in his introduction to the edition of the *Regula Benedicti*, *SC* 181, pp. 173–314. Knowles' and de Vogüé's viewpoint has been questioned by Marilyn Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict: monastic rules and their authors in the early medieval West', in: *English Historical Review* 105 (1990), pp. 567–594, which earned a fierce refutation by Adalbert de Vogüé, 'The Master and St Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn', in: *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), pp. 95–103. Marilyn Dunn responded in 'The Master and St Benedict: a rejoinder', in: *English Historical Review* 107 (1992), pp. 104–111. A summary of the first phase of the debate is provided by Jaspert, Bernd, *Die Regula Benedicti-Regula Magistri-Kontroverse*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg 1975.

(21) de Vogüé, 'The Master and Saint Benedict', p. 90.

ulorum is followed by the words *Respondit Dominus per magistrum*: God responds through *the* – or *a* – *magister*. It may not be by accident that the two complete manuscripts extant conclude the text with *explicit regula sanctorum patrum* (here ends the Rule of the Holy Fathers – plural).[22] A modern librarian scribbled the title *Regula Magistri* into its oldest manuscript.[23] In the *Codex regularum*, the text has no title. The first running title calls the text *Regula per interrogationem discipuli et responsionem magistri facta*, which was simplified to *Regula Magistri* on the running titles of subsequent folios.[24]

If the *Regula Magistri* was just a monastic florilegium presented in the form of questions and answers, it would be possible that both camps in the now dormant debate about which rule predates the other are partly right and partly wrong. Some parts of the *Regula Magistri* could have been older, others younger than the *Regula Benedicti*. Benedict may simply have been one of the "masters", which would explain that both Rules overlap in many chapters. In some sections, one text could have influenced the other; in others both works (or compilations) may have fished in the same pond of texts and ideas and used or appropriated now lost textual material independently from each other.[25] Neither the question of how much of the "Benedictine" narrative holds true, nor the question of the shape, authorship, and relationship of the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* will be fully addressed here, but it is important to ensure that our reading of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is not determined by assuming that they *are* resolved. Jonas' Rule itself vastly complicates these questions because there are various points in which the content and the ideas expressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stand closer to the *Regula Magistri*, while showing indisputable ties to the *Regula Benedicti* on the level of language and phrasing. It seems that Jonas had the *Regula Magistri* in mind but the *Regula Benedicti* on his desk when he wrote the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[26]

The two first witnesses of the *Regula Benedicti* (or a text very similar to the one we have now), the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Regula Donati*, play a rather ambivalent role in the history leading to the "triumph" of the *Regula Benedicti*. Donatus praises Benedict along

(22) Paris, BnF, lat. 12205, fol. 157r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 184vb.

(23) Paris, BnF, lat. 12205, fol. 64v.

(24) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 142v–143r.

(25) There is, for example, the problem that several chapters of the *Regula Magistri* indicate that their author regarded *monachi* as category apart, different from *laici* (laypeople). See *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.6, *SC* 105, p. 330; c. 7.31, p. 388; c. 24.23, *SC* 106, p. 128; c. 56.1, p. 262; c. 58.5, p. 274; c. 61.12–15, p. 280; c. 78.t, p. 316; c. 83.9, p. 344; c. 87.t, p. 354; c. 90.t, p. 378; c. 90.83, p. 394. The term *laicus* is absent from the *Regula Benedicti*. If Benedict had indeed used the *Regula Magistri* this would imply that he had removed all references to *laici* with a lice comb, which wouldn't make much sense in a broader historical context that does indeed move towards regarding monks as a category apart from laypeople. See Diem, Albrecht, '…*ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur*. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in: Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, Lukas J. Dorfbauer, and Clemens Weidmann (eds.), *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL. Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2014, pp. 191–224, at p. 206.

(26) Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', pp. 570–571 makes this suggestion. Instances of Jonas' bypassing the *Regula Benedicti* by using ideas, practices, or terminology we find in the *Regula Benedicti* can be found on pp. 269, 272–273, 323, 325–326, 335, 378, 402, 439, 443, 459, 470, 472, 477, 492, 497, 533.

with Columbanus as *abbas beatissimus* and mines their Rules in order to revise and expand the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles.[27] Jonas does not mention Benedict at all nor piggybacks on his authority. Instead, he refers generally to the authority of the "holy fathers" or to "holy scriptures" (*traditio multorum patrum iuxta scripturarum seriem*, *series sanctarum scripturarum*, or *instituta sanctorum patrum*).[28] As we will see in Chapter 6, he wholeheartedly disagrees with various provisions and foundational ideas of the *Regula Benedicti* and this may have been the reason why he punished its author with silence. Thus, the text of the future *sancta regula* of Benedict started its history, as far as it is visible to us, by being dismantled, processed in a florilegium, and refuted.

Neither Donatus' nor Jonas' way of composing a new rule out of older material was unique. There are other florilegia of existing monastic rules that quote their material more or less faithfully. The *Regula* ascribed to Eugippius largely consists of fragments of Augustine's Rule, the *Regula Magistri*, and the *Regula Basilii*. The *Regula orientalis* quotes Pachomius' and Macharius' Rules. Aurelianus' Rule, the *Regula Tarnatensis*, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris* paraphrase older monastic rules but express new ideas in a similar way to Jonas.

It is likely that Jonas' disagreement with the *Regula Benedicti* was the main reason for composing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Benedict's Rule was gaining a foothold at Luxeuil and its affiliations. It is obvious that Jonas knew and thoroughly studied the text in order to write the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but his *Vita Columbani* does not contain any trace of the *Regula Benedicti*, not even unintended terminological overlaps that would have been unavoidable if Jonas had studied the text well when he wrote the *Vita Columbani*.[29] None of the countless parallels between the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contains material that undoubtedly comes from the *Regula Benedicti*, which gives us a clear indication about the chronology. Jonas must have started writing down the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* after completing the *Vita Columbani*.

Jonas not only ignores the *Regula Benedicti* in his *Vita Columbani*; he staunchly claims that all affiliations of Luxeuil, i.e. Rebais, Remiremont, Faremoutiers, Jouarre, Solignac, Saint-Martial, Donatus' monasteries, and many unnamed foundations, were established *ex regula Columbani*.[30] His claim clashes in two cases with evidence from charters that predate the *Vita Columbani*: the foundation charter of Solignac drawn by Eligius of Noyon (*c.* 632) and the episcopal privilege for Rebais issued by Bishop Burgundofaro of Meaux, Burgundofara's brother (*c.* 637). Both charters claim not only that the monks of Solignac and Rebais were supposed to follow a *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* but identify this observance as

(27) *Regula Donati*, prologue.1–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139.

(28) *RcuiV*, c. 6.1; c. 9.1; c. 22.1.

(29) See de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. 11, Paris: Éditions du Cerf 2007, pp. 31–49.

(30) *VCol* I, c. 26, pp. 109–210; II, c. 10, pp. 255–256. See Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?', pp. 67–68.

the *modus Luxouiensis* (the practice of Luxeuil), implying that the *Regula Benedicti* was at this point already in use in Luxeuil itself.[31]

Solignac is founded…

> …ea tamen condicione interposita, ut uos uel successores uestri tramitem religionis sanctissimorum uirorum Luxouiensis monasterii consequamini et regulam beatissimorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani firmiter teneatis (…) ut regulam supradictorum patrum, quam in sepe memorato monasterio Luxouiense tenent, omni custodia teneatis et uigilias atque obsecrationes ad placandam iram furoris Domini assiduae impendatis…[32]
>
> […under the condition that you or your successors follow the path of piety of the most holy men of the monastery of Luxeuil and firmly keep the Rule of the blessed fathers Benedict and Columbanus, (…) that you keep the Rule of the above mentioned fathers with all watchfulness which they keep in the above mentioned monastery of Luxeuil and that you persistently devote vigils and pleas to sooth the anger of the fury of the Lord.]

Burgundofaro describes the foundation of Rebais as follows:

> …ubi monachos uel peregrinos sub regula beati Benedicti, et ad modum Luxouiensis monasterii, deuoti deliberant collocare. (…) Et si aliquid ipsi monachi de eorum religione tepide egerint, secundum regulam ipsius beati Benedicti uel beati Columbani, ab eorum abbate corrigantur, quia nihil de canonica auctoritate conuellitur, quidquid domesticis fidei pro quietis tranquilitate tribuitur.[33]
>
> […where those devout people plan to settle monks or *peregrini* under the Rule of the blessed Benedict and following the model of the monastery of Luxeuil. (…) And if these monks carry out tepidly something of their way of life, they should be corrected by their abbot according to the Rule of this blessed Benedict and of the blessed Columbanus because, whatever is assigned to the inmates of faith for the sake of the tranquility of the repose, nothing of that may be ripped away from the canonical authority.]

None of that is mentioned in Jonas' report on the early history of Luxeuil, and the *Regula Benedicti* is conspicuously absent in his undoubtedly biased description of the disputes between Columbanus' successor Eusthasius and the allegedly rebellious monk Agrestius

(31) Foundation charter for Solignac, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 746–749; Privilege of Burgundofaro von Meaux für Rebais (637), ed. Pardessus, vol. 2, no. 293, pp. 61–63. On these two texts, see Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*'; id., 'Inventing the Holy Rule', pp. 67–70; Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1999, pp. 67–73; Ewig, Eugen, 'Das Formular von Rebais und die Bischofsprivilegien der Merowingerzeit', in: id., *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, vol. 2, Munich: Artemis Verlag 1979, pp. 457–463. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, pp. 133–134 and pp. 268–269. Tatum, Sarah, *Hagiography, Family, and Columbanian Monasticism in Seventh-Century Francia*, Ph.D. thesis University of Manchester, pp. 55–72 argues that Jonas deliberately omitted referring to the Rebais Privilege in his *Vita Columbani* because he was opposed to the notion of monasteries held under the control of families such as the Faronids rather than under the control of Luxeuil. She does, however, not assume that this omission has anything to do with the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani*.

(32) Eligius, *Foundation Charter of Solignac*, *MGH SRM* 4, c. 3/4, pp. 747–748. The foundation of Solignac is described in *Vita Eligii* I, c. 15–16, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 680–682.

(33) Privilege of Burgundofaro von Meaux für Rebais (637), ed. Pardessus, vol. 2, no. 293, pp. 61–63.

about the orthodoxy of the *Regula Columbani*.[34] Clare Stancliffe and Thomas Charles-Edwards suggest that the question of whether the *Regula Benedicti* should play a role in Columbanus' foundations and Luxeuil's affiliations, was one of the many matters of contention arising after Columbanus' death – and they are probably right.[35]

Hagiographic texts give different answers to the question of whether Luxeuil followed the *Regula Columbani* or the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani*. The *Vita Filiberti* recounts that Philibert, the founder of Jumièges, visited Luxeuil and Bobbio and other monasteries *sub norma sancti Columbani* during his travels through various other monasteries; he did also, however, thoroughly study the *Basilii sancti charismata, Macharii regula, Benedicti decreta*, and *Columbani instituta sanctissima* in order to develop his own *regula* that he introduced in his various foundations.[36] The *Vita Sadalbergae* claims that under the rule of Waldebert, the second successor of Columbanus, numerous monasteries were founded under the *Regula beatorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani*.[37]

There may have been various reasons for a dispute about the place of the *Regula Benedicti*. Should there be another, non-Insular, monastic authority besides Columbanus? Is it necessary to adjust Columbanus' monastic practices to local monastic traditions? Is it necessary to build monastic observance around a set of written precepts understood as legal norms or is Columbanus' Rule as we know it (an ascetic treatise, liturgical outline, and penitential handbook) sufficient as a textual basis? Do Luxeuil, Bobbio, and Luxeuil's filiations really consider themselves "Columbanian", i.e. based on a distinct monastic ideal embodied by the Irish monk Columbanus? Or were Luxeuil and Bobbio just two aristocratic and royal monastic foundations in local traditions that accidentally involved the strange, weird looking, and utterly annoying Irish *peregrinus* with his twelve companions who then excessively imposed their radical monastic practices on them? The *Regula Columbani*, as it is mentioned in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, may not even have been a specific written text, but a monastic ideal most aptly expressed in Jonas' own narrative.[38]

(34) *VCol* II, c. 9–10, pp. 247–257. See Diem, Albrecht, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage: The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (with a translation of the Rule)', in: Alexander O'Hara (ed.), *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 259–306, at pp. 267–278.

(35) Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, pp. 383–390; Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Jonas's Life of Columbanus and his Disciples', in: John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (eds.), *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, Dublin: Four Courts Press 2001, pp. 189–220, at pp. 211–213.

(36) *Vita Filiberti*, c. 5, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 587: *Sed quia perfecti uiri semper a perfectiora sectantur, coepit sacerdos Domini sanctorum caenubia circuire, ut aliquod emulumenti ex successione sanctitatis ualeret accipere. Lustrans Luxouium et Bobium uel reliqua cenobia sub norma sancti Columbani degentia atque omnia monasteria, quas intra suo gremio Francia et Italia hac tota claudit Burgundia, astuta intentione prouidens, ut prudentissima apis, quicquid melioribus florere uidit studiis, hoc suis traxit exemplis. Basilii sancti charismata, Macharii regula, Benedicti decreta, Columbani instituta sanctissima lectione frequentabat assidua, sicque honustus uirtute aromatum sequacibus sanctum monstrabat exemplum.*

(37) *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 8, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 54. On the discussion whether the *Vita Sadalbergae* is a genuine Merovingian text or has been written in the Carolingian period, see Hummer, Hans J., 'Die merowingische Herkunft der Vita Sadalbergae', in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003), pp. 459–493. Hummer argues against Bruno Krusch that the work is in its core Merovingian.

(38) On the thesis that *Regula Columbani* does not necessarily refer to Columbanus' own *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, see Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*?'.

Bishop Donatus did not follow the path of Jonas. He explicitly recognized the authority of the *Regula Benedicti*. If there was indeed a debate on the question of whether to integrate the *Regula Benedicti* into Columbanus' legacy, Donatus would probably have sided with Eligius (the founder of Solignac), Audoinus (the founder of Rebais), Burgundofaro, and other bishops who subsequently issued privileges for monasteries under the *Regula Benedicti et/uel/seu Columbani*. We can indeed speculate whether favouring the *Regula Benedicti* also represented a specifically episcopal interest in giving these monasteries a proper legal basis.[39] Around 670, Bishop Leodegar of Autun, who had been imprisoned in Luxeuil, presided the first (and in the Merovingian period the only) regional council that imposed the *Regula Benedicti* (now without additional reference to Columbanus) upon all monasteries in his diocese.[40]

All of these questions of monastic politics may have played a role in the composition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My analysis of this text shows that Jonas' discontent with the *Regula Benedicti* was first and foremost programmatic, i.e. caused by disagreements on doctrinal questions, concepts of monastic discipline, and ideas of how a monastic community should function and which role it should play in the pursuit of salvation.

Jonas' own monastic ideal – or rather his claim on Columbanus' true heritage – was hardly compatible with the monastic ideal of the *Regula Benedicti*. One way of explaining why Jonas pretended in the *Vita Columbani* that the *Regula Benedicti* did not exist in his world while extensively using it in his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* would be a change of strategy. He may have realized that ignoring the *Regula Benedicti* would eventually undermine his own credibility. His new strategy would be to acknowledge the Rule's existence, to rip the text to pieces, and to present an alternative that somehow looked like the *Regula Benedicti* but was, in fact, his own rendition of the "*Regula Columbani*".

Reading the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines* – a User's Manual

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is an excessively complicated text and it provides even more challenges than the Faremoutiers episodes in the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas produced a *Gesamtkunstwerk* with a number of recurring features that need to be explained before analyzing the text. Most chapters consist of a combination of theological reflections (sometimes presented in form of an introduction) and practical provisions or implementations of his theological ideas.[41] Both aspects are often linked with phrases such as *sic enim*: that's *how* we

(39) Eugen Ewig analyzed most of these episcopal privileges in great detail in various articles that have been bundled in *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, vol. 2.

(40) Council of Autun (*c.* 670), c. 15, ed. Hubert Mordek and Roger E. Reynolds, 'Bischof Leodegar und das Konzil von Autun', in: Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main, etc.: Peter Lang 1992, pp. 71–92, at pp. 90–92. On Leodegar's imprisonment in Luxeuil, see *Passio Leodegari prima*, c. 12–14, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 294–296.

(41) Introductory sections can be found in *RcuiV*, c. 2; c. 3; c. 6; c. 8; c. 14; c. 22; c. 23; c. 24, and in *De accedendo*.

should do it. Jonas' desire to *explain* rather than prescribe manifests itself also in the fact that almost half of the chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* have the expressions *qualis*, *qualiter*, and *quomodo* in their titles.

The theological reflections are usually free from allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* and can be seen as Jonas' own contribution, which distinguishes his work not only from the *Regula Benedicti* but, quite often, from the entire tradition of monastic normative texts. This means that it is particularly valuable to confront Jonas' ideas with these traditions and to make visible his very own notion of the pursuit of salvation. In some chapters, the practical provisions merely serve as examples that underline the programmatic points he wants to convey. The normative implementations of Jonas' theological programme do not only appear in the respective chapters but are spread throughout the Rule, which turns the text into a maze of ideas.

Most of the practical provisions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show traces of Benedict's wording – probably just enough to allow his audience to see Benedict shining through his text and to make them accept the new Rule as a suitable alternative. The proximity to the *Regula Benedicti* led in modern scholarship to the misleading verdict that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consisted of two-thirds *Regula Benedicti* and one-third *Regula Columbani*.[42] Even on the level of pragmatic regulations, the similarities between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule are in many instances deceiving. Jonas places Benedict's words into different contexts, shifts emphases, or simply prescribes something different with similar words. For example, he uses Benedict's chapter on the sleeping arrangements in the monastery to craft his chapter on how the nuns ought to sleep (c. 14) but prescribes something Benedict emphatically prohibited: that two members of the community sleep together in one bed. The chapter in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on readmitting *fugitive* nuns (c. 21) clearly shows traces of Benedict's chapter on *expelled* monks. This means that analyzing the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* requires reading the text very closely *against* the *Regula Benedicti*. Every alteration, omission, or addition potentially carries meaning.

There are some other complicating factors. All chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* are tied together and form part of one breathtakingly coherent monastic programme that manifests itself in each specific set of provisions and in the use of a consistent semantic repertoire. Jonas invented, as it were, his own monastic idiom. No chapter can be understood in isolation from all the others. Usually the following chapter appears to be a logical continuation of the previous one, which turns the Rule itself into a chain.

Jonas' craftmanship manifests itself in seven different ways:

(1) Many topics that are addressed in specific chapters return throughout the Rule. For example, the discussion of mutual love (c. 5) provides a theological argument on the salvific effect of *amor*, *dilectio*, *caritas*, and *pietas*, which is implemented in almost every other chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and superimposed upon material of the *Regula Benedicti*. Jonas' chapters on confession (c. 6–7) explain the salvific effect of confession and

(42) Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, p. 286.

describe a regular confessional ritual. We find allusions to this ritual in various other chapters of the Rule in different contexts. Jonas' chapter on the education of children (c. 24) discusses the place of children in the monastery, but its main ideas are implemented throughout the Rule whenever children needed to be addressed. *De accedendo ad Deum* (see Chapters 7–8 of this study) describes monastic existence as an unceasing *opus Dei* (work of God) that encompasses all aspects of monastic life and not just liturgical activities. Consequently, we find the idea of the unceasing *opus Dei* expressed in almost every chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(2) Jonas' monastic programme revolves around a number of theological premises: the already mentioned notion of the perpetual *opus Dei*, the imperative of mutual love as a crucial factor in the pursuit of salvation, the idea that the monastic community collectively acts as a third party in the interaction between God and the individual, and the notion that the individual nun is not only responsible for her own salvation or damnation but also for the eternal well-being of the entire community. These premises are consistently superimposed upon the material Jonas took from the *Regula Benedicti*. His main disciplinary concern is not the outward acting of the individual nun but her *status mentis*, which is entangled by the weakness caused by the Fall of Adam and therefore needs to be put under a constant regime of discipline, control, and incitement. The *mens* as object of monastic discipline is virtually absent in the *Regula Benedicti* but ubiquitous in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The most radical premise of Jonas' programme is that there is no escape. His concept of monastic discipline can only work if all loopholes are closed and if it applies equally to *every* member of the community at *any* moment and in *any* space. The terms *omnis* (all), *omnimodo* (in any way), *omnino* (entirely), *nullus* (none), *semper* (always), and *nullatenus* (by no means) are omnipresent throughout the Rule and *De accedendo ad Deum*, appearing no fewer than 168 times – almost as often as the word *et* (which is used 194 times).

(3) A number of chapters combine, in an ingenious way, a topic and a theme (or several themes) – and topics and themes are not always directly related to each other. They manifest themselves through recurring expressions or specific semantic fields. The chapter on the abbess (c. 1) for example, uses the responsibilities of the abbess as a point of departure for explaining the relationship between *opus* (work) and *uox* (voice). The chapter on the organization of meals (c. 10) uses its regulations as a case study on the imperative of mutual service, using the terms *ministrare* and *administrare* as keywords. The chapter on tools and implements (c. 13) describes the task of distributing tools and implements but also uses this task as an example for illustrating the responsibility of the individual for the community. *Cura* is the key term for this chapter. The chapter on escape and readmission (c. 21) uses this issue to illustrate his concept of space and boundaries. *Septa monasterii* becomes therefore the recurring term in this chapter. Almost every chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* has, thus, several layers of meaning and ties into various central themes at the same time. We have already seen something similar in the Faremoutiers episodes.

(4) As I have shown in Chapter 4, Jonas expands upon Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. A lot of Jonas' decisions to use or ignore material from the *Regula Benedicti* can be explained by

the fact that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns is present in the background. As one could expect from an author who crafts his text so carefully, Jonas does not like redundancies. Whatever has been said already does not have to be repeated. If Jonas returns to a topic that has been addressed by Caesarius, there is always an explanation. Either Jonas deviates from Caesarius (often switching to the first-person plural, thus using his own voice) or he exemplifies, expands, explains, or contextualizes a provision that has already appeared in Caesarius' Rule.

(5) Even though Jonas uses the *Regula Benedicti* as his main textual "quarry", this does not mean that he does not use other sources. The *Regula Basilii*, Columbanus' Rules, and the works of John Cassian left a number of identifiable traces in Jonas' text and sometimes served as sub-text in a similar way as the *Regula Benedicti*.[43] Some passages also indicate Jonas' knowledge of the Rule of Isidore of Seville and the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* – directly or through florilegia.[44] Jonas never just paraphrases his sources but takes their language and ideas to mould something that is entirely his own and often a critical response to the work he uses. Just as much as the Faremoutiers episodes can be read as a response to the fourth book of Gregory's *Dialogi*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be read as a critical engagement not only with the *Regula Benedicti* but also, for example, with John Cassian's and Basil's monastic ideals.

The *Regula Magistri* forms a peculiar problem in this intertextual web. There is no "smoking gun" that proves that Jonas directly used this text, but there are numerous instances in which the programme of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* corresponds to the content of the *Regula Magistri* rather than to the *Regula Benedicti* whose words Jonas used. The peculiar triangle of the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and Jonas' Rule is a constant reminder that the *Regula Magistri-Regula Benedicti* debate is not a closed case.

(6) A final challenge for the analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is its place within the textual corpus produced by Columbanus or in his aftermath. Jonas' work, both his *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, are, as I already have shown, attempts to establish a distinct understanding of the monastic ideal allegedly inspired by Columbanus. They represent what Jonas perceives as the *Regula Columbani*. Jonas phrases this "*Regula Columbani*" in his own unique and consistent language. Jonas' *Vita Columbani* has various sequels, most notably the *Vita Sadalbergae*, the *Vita Segolenae*, the *Vita Galli*, the *Vita Agili*, and

(43) *RcuiV*, c. 2.8–9, c. 9.1, and c. 14.15 use Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 9, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Columbani Opera*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1970, pp. 138–140; *RcuiV*, c. 15.24 uses *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, *CSEL* 86, pp. 134–135; *RcuiV*, c. 6.19–22 uses *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 272–273; *RcuiV*, c. 9.1 uses Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, p. 124; *RcuiV*, c. 22.5–9 uses Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, *SC* 109, p. 498.

(44) *RcuiV*, c. 11.4 shows strong similarities with *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18.2, ed. Johannes Evangelista M. Vilanova, Montserrat 1959, p. 115; *RcuiV*, c. 10.4 with *Regula Isidori*, c. 9.4–5, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz and Ismael Roca Melia, *San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso: reglas monásticas de la España visigoda*, Madrid: La Editorial Católica 1971, pp. 104–105.

the *Vita Wandregiseli*, but none of his continuators wanted to imitate Jonas' monastic idiom or seriously engage with his theological ideas.[45]

Jonas' position, especially his rejection of the *Regula Benedicti*, was by no means the only or the prevalent voice among those who claimed Columbanus' legacy. There are, as we saw, in the charters for Rebais and Solignac, monks and bishops who considered the *Regula Benedicti* part of the *modus Luxouiensis* (the way of life of Luxeuil); there was the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which rewrote Columbanus' original Rules in a way similar to Jonas' revision of the *Regula Benedicti* but developed a radically different monastic ideal;[46] and there is the *Regula Donati*, which uses Benedict's text and acknowledges his authority, but nevertheless succeeds in creating a highly original rule which, in some regards, turns out to be strikingly similar to Jonas' programme. There is no definitive proof that Jonas and Donatus' knew each other's Rules, but it is striking that the few sections of Donatus' Rule that were not compiled from identifiable sources, show the closest proximity to Jonas' Rule.[47]

(7) Jonas loves chains, circular structures, juxtapositions, and cliffhangers. I argue at several points that the text itself represents in a different way the virtual enclosure of the *ambitus uirtutum*.[48] This also manifests itself in the way he organizes the chapters of his monastic rules. Aside from grouping the first four chapter on the monastic offices (c. 1–4) and three chapters on excommunication (c. 17–20) together, there is no sign of a thematic organization. Almost every chapter, however, somehow evolves from the previous one: confession (c. 6–7) implements the imperative of mutual love (c. 5); liturgical discipline (c. 8) implements the imperative of mutual prayer that is tied to confession (c. 6–7). Singing (c. 8) and silence (c. 9) approach the aspect of restraining one's voice from opposite sides. The two chapters on meals (c. 10–11) expand upon Jonas' reflections on silence

(45) On Jonas' impact on later hagiography, see Berschin, Walter, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Merowingische Biographie. Italien, Spanien und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1988, pp. 48–104; O'Hara, Alexander and Ian Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Columbanus; Life of John of Réomé; and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017, pp. 78–83.

(46) Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'.

(47) Aside from various inserted sanctions and penances (most of them in the style of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*), the following passages of the *Regula Donati* cannot be traced in any other rule and are probably original: *Regula Donati*, c. 1.22, *CSEL* 98, p. 146: biblical quotation; c. 2.10, p. 146: imprisonment for contradicting the abbess; c. 5.2, p. 149: the *praeposita* needs to know the *regula*; c. 5.8, p. 150: imprisonment of the *praeposita* as alternative to expulsion; c. 8.8, p. 152: tariffed penance for claiming private property; c. 9.3, p. 152: The abbess assigns work; tariffed penance for those who are obstinate; c. 10.6, p. 153: tariffed penance for ostentation; c. 11.3, p. 153: tariffed penance for not sleeping in separate beds or having one's own closet; c. 14.2–3, p. 155: *disciplina regularis* for not arriving at prayer or table in time; c. 19.3–5, p. 157: confession; c. 20.9, p. 158: on the abbess giving permission to speak while at work; c. 22.2, p. 1590: *disciplina regularis* for not responding to a reproach; c. 23.1–4, p. 159: confession; c. 24.1–2, p. 160: public reproach and tariffed penance for storing objects and food at one's bed; c. 32.2, p. 163: tariffed penance for holding each other's hands; c. 33.6, p. 164: tariffed penance for speaking at table; c. 35.2, p. 165: tariffed penance for swearing; c. 49.9, p. 171: tariffed penance for raising one's voice; c. 52.10, p. 172: prohibition of arguing is especially applicable to nuns; c. 52.23, p. 173: exclusion for refusing to apologize; c. 53.11, p. 174: tariffed penance for receiving gifts; c. 54.2, p. 174: no education of girls who are not *sub habitu religionis*; c. 56, p. 175: no entry for worldly women; c. 57.2, p. 175: witnesses in interaction with outsiders; c. 58.3–5, p. 176: not attending festive meals; c. 75.2–13, p. 185: liturgical *ordo*.

(48) See pp. 314–319, pp. 392–393, and p. 547.

and speaking during mealtimes. Jonas' chapter on work (c. 12) expands on his provisions on serving at table (c. 11). His provisions on work are followed by provisions on how to distribute tools (c. 14), etc.

All of these aspects need to be considered when reading the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which made the presentation of an analysis of this text a challenge. Like in my analysis of the Faremoutiers episodes, I decided not to "deconstruct" the text by rearranging its material according to themes or according to the six modes of contextualization just described, but to follow Jonas' structure, despite the danger of repetitions, some redundancies, and a substantial thicket of cross-references.[49] Jonas' Rule is, after all, a masterwork in its own that should not be torn apart. The text deserves to be read in the way its audience read or heard it and my analysis also serves as an old-fashioned sentence-by-sentence commentary to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My objective is, however, to produce more than just a commentary. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is not only the final rule in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* but represents the end of a genealogy of monastic normative texts: the last monastic rule written before the definitive "takeover" of the *Regula Benedicti* – at least the last preserved one. It incorporates, but also criticizes and elaborates on large parts of the Latin normative monastic tradition. It also documents very concretely the challenge of a pioneering experiment of a new monastic model: a female community that claims to embody the tradition of Columbanus, and a definitive attempt to create a monastic institution that allows its members to actively pursue their individual and collective salvation.

Jonas was not under pressure to produce a "complete" rule similar to those of Benedict or Donatus because many topics one would expect to find in a monastic rule had already been addressed by Caesarius. He could restrict himself to addressing topics that were, in his view, essential to his monastic programme. Therefore, I will use Jonas' choice as a foundation for an alternative approach to the history of early medieval monasticism that revolves around themes that have so far hardly been part of the narrative of the emergence of Western monasticism; these include, for example, hierarchy and authority, space, love, confession, sleep, the sacredness of objects, and monastic excommunication. Some of these topics may be relevant beyond the scope of monastic history and tie into the universal human experience. Each chapter analysis is therefore also meant to be a more general reflection on the themes Jonas chooses to address and a roadmap for future research.

(49) Goodrich, Richard J., *Contextualizing Cassian. Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth-Century Gaul*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007, pp. 151–207 choose the this approach of arranging his material stricty thematically in his exemplary analysis of the first four books of Cassian's *Institutiones*.

CHAPTER 6

THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES* AND ITS CONTEXT

The Abbess/Abbot (Chapter 1)

My first exploration consists of five sections. I begin with a reflection of the role of the abbot and the abbess in early medieval monastic rules. The next two sections address the role of the abbess in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns (which Jonas expands) and in the *Regula Benedicti* (which Jonas rewrites). I will especially focus on the concept and language of abbatial authority in the *Regula Benedicti* in Jonas' Rule. The fourth section provides a sentence-by-sentence analysis of the first chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which shows how Jonas envisions the role and the authority of the abbess but also his concept of authority in general. Additionally, this analysis will provide a wealth of insights into everyday life in the monastery addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and into Jonas' language, style, and rhetorical strategies. The last section addresses briefly how the provisions of Jonas' first chapter are implemented in other parts of his Rule and how they are resonating in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani.*

The Abbot and Abbess in Early Medieval Monastic Rules

The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* define proper coenobitical life in almost the same words as life *sub regula uel abbate* (under a rule and an abbot).[1] Not all monastic communities organized themselves on the basis of a written *regula*, but we can assume that most of them required submission to the authority of a leader (*abbas*, *abbatissa*, *pater*, *mater*, *is qui praeest*, or *praepositus*). Yet Benedict and the *Regula Magistri* explicitly condemn *sarabaitae* (as they call them), i.e. groups of monks living without *regula* and *pastor*. This indicates that there were at least some communities that attempted to organize themselves in a non-hierarchical manner.[2] Obedience and submission under someone's authority became,

(1) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.2, *SC* 181, p. 436; *Regula Magistri*, c. 1.2, *SC* 105, p. 328. See de Vogüé, Adalbert, 'Sub regula vel abbate, Étude sur la signification théologique des règles monastiques anciennes', in: *Collectanea Cistercensia* 33 (1971), pp. 209–241. de Vogüé shows that there are various early monastic sources emphasizing either the aspect of *sub regula* or of *sub abbate*.

(2) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.6–9, p. 438. On *sarabaitae*, see Blanchard, Monica J., '*Sarabaitae* and *Remnuoth*. Coptic Considerations', in: James E. Goehring and Janet A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity. Language, Literature, and Social Context: Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2007, pp. 49–60; Caseau, Béatrice, 'L'image du mauvais moine: Les remnuoths et les sarabaïtes de Jérôme et de Cassien', in: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 46 (2009), pp. 11–25.

however, for most monks and nuns an essential element of their ascetic repertoire or an equivalent alternative to any individual ascetic pursuit.[3]

The question of how abbatial authority was constructed, legitimated, upheld, and theologically justified is much more complicated that one might assume from such a standard element of monastic practice. Hidden below the imperative of obedience, monastic rules developed vastly varied concepts of authority. They differed, for example, on the question of whether the abbot or abbess represents Christ in the monastery; whether the abbot or abbess is responsible for the salvation of the members of his/her community; whether they are bound by the *regula*, embody the *regula*, or stand above the *regula*; to what extent authority is monopolized by the abbot or abbess or shared by a group of seniors; whether the abbot or abbess is to be chosen or appointed, and whether a community can depose its superiors; whether the abbot or abbess should rule, just supervise, or primarily represent the community towards the outside world; whether the abbot or abbess should act as teacher or as *paterfamilias*; whether he or she is expected to be an aristocrat; to what extent he or she is supposed to operate outside the monastery, etc.[4] It would be a book of its own to trace and compare different concepts of abbatial authority in early medieval monastic rules and narrative texts.[5] A comparison of authority in the Rules of Caesarius and Ben-

(3) Foucault, Michel, *Die Geständnisse des Fleisches. Sexualität und Wahrheit 4*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2019, pp. 149–177 analyzes the roots of unconditional obedience as Christian ascetic practice in philosophical, especially Stoic, traditions. On obedience as ascetic virtue, see also Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 202–207.

(4) For various approaches to the role of the *regula* for abbatial authority, see de Vogüé, 'Sub regula vel abbate', pp. 227–232.

(5) The by far most prolific study on the rule of the abbot is Felten, Franz J., 'Herrschaft des Abtes', in: Friedrich Prinz (ed.), *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationsformen*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1988, pp. 147–296. See esp. pp. 193–223 on the role of the abbot in various normative texts. Felten does address Caesarius' Rule for Nuns only tangentially on pp. 229–230 and does not mention the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* at all. See also id., *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich. Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann 1980, pp. 99–111 and pp. 144–174. de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Community and Abbot in the Rule of St Benedict*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1979, pp. 63–159; Constable, Giles, 'The Authority of Superiors in Religious Communities', in: George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thommine (eds.), *La notion d'autorité au Moyen Âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident. Colloques internationaux de La Napoule*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France 1978, pp. 189–210; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'image de l'abbé à l'époque mérovingienne', in: Steffen Patzold, Anja Rathmann-Lutz, and Volker Sciorr (eds.), *Geschichtsvorstellungen. Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau 2012, pp. 253–276 (with an overview of references to abbatial authority in hagiographic texts); Jacobs, Uwe Kai, *Die Regula Benedicti als Rechtsbuch. Eine rechtshistorische und rechtstheologische Untersuchung*, Vienna/Cologne: Böhlau Verlag 1987, pp. 15–25; McLaughlin, Terrence P., *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'occident*, Poitiers: Imprimerie moderne 1935, pp. 52–55; Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel. Im Auftrag der Salzburger Äbtekonferenz*, 2nd ed., St Ottilien: EOS Editions 2015, pp. 76–93 and pp. 538–551. An exemplary study, though largely limited to Irish rules, is Bhaldraithe, Eoin de, 'Obedience: The Doctrine of the Irish Monastic Rules', in: *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983), pp. 63–84. On different notions of obedience, see also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 283–287. Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, pp. 118–139 describes how abbots in the seventh and eighth century succeeded in diminishing the control of founding families by assuming control over the monastery's property and provides an excellent overview of early medieval sources on the election and appointment of abbots and abbesses.

edict and in Jonas' work sheds at least some light on the complexity of the problem and may provide a roadmap for further investigations.

Before delving into Caesarius' and Benedict's Rules it is worthwhile to reflect briefly upon the question of how authors of monastic rules organized their provisions and what their opening chapters reveal about the programme and purpose of their rules. After all, the corpus of preserved monastic rules does not only represent different sets of monastic norms but also different concepts of normativity and authority.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* belongs to the monastic rules that "start at the top" with a chapter on the authority, tasks, and responsibilities of the abbess. Only a few other rules start in a similar way with a chapter on the abbot or abbess.[6] Many more, however, address the abbot (and a description of other offices in the monastery) in one of the first chapters, thus still at a prominent place.[7] Some rules begin with explaining the purpose of monastic life.[8] Others reveal in a dedicatory letter the specific circumstances of their genesis.[9] Four monastic rules begin by describing monastic entry as submission to the *regula*.[10] The *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, and the Visigothic *Regula communis* start with a typology of good and bad monks, probably in order to defend their monastic programme against alternative models of monastic life.[11] Some rules begin with a reflection on peace, concord, and unanimity within the community[12] or on obedience,[13] which indicates that they have been written in order to resolve internal conflicts. Two rules have unusual beginnings which point to other reasons for their composition: the Rule of Isidore of Seville begins with an outline of the monastic space;[14] the *Regula Fructuosi* with a chapter on prayer.[15]

(6) *Regula orientalis*, c. 1, *SC* 298, p. 462; *Regula Donati*, c. 1, *CSEL* 98, pp. 145–146.

(7) *Regula Isidori*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 92; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, pp. 139–141; *Regula communis*, c. 3, pp. 177–178; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2, *SC* 181, pp. 440–452.

(8) *Regula Basilii*, prologue, *CSEL* 86, pp. 5–7; *Regula quattuor patrum*, prologue, *SC* 297, p. 180; *Regula patrum secunda*, *praefatio*, p. 274; *Regula Benedicti*, prologue, *SC* 181, pp. 412–424; *Regula Magistri*, prologue, *SC* 105, pp. 288–294; *Regula Leandri*, Letter to Florentina, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 21–37.

(9) *Regula Pachomii, Praefatio Hieronymi*, ed. Amand Boon, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de S. Pachôme, épître de S. Théodore et "liber" de S. Orsiesius*, Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 1932, pp. 3–9; *Regula Basilii*, *praefatio*/*prologus*, *CSEL* 86, pp. 3–7; *Regula Fructuosi*, prologue, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 137; *CaesRV*, c. 1, *SC* 345, pp. 170–172; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, *SC* 398, p. 304; *Regula Isidori*, prologue, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 90–91.

(10) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 1, ed. Boon, p. 13; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 1, *SC* 298, p. 532; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Albert Schmidt, 'Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles I', in: *Studia Monastica* 17 (1975), pp. 237–256, at p. 240; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 1, *PL* 68, col. 399D; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 1.6, ed. Fernando Villegas, 'La "regula monasterii Tarnatensis". Texte, sources et datation', in: *Revue bénédictine* 84 (1974), pp. 7–65, at p. 15; *Regula Isidori*, *praefatio*, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 90–91; *Regula Donati*, prologue.1–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 139.

(11) *Regula Magistri*, c. 1, *SC* 105, pp. 328–350 and *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1, *SC* 181, pp. 436–440: on the four kinds of monks; *Regula communis*, c. 1–2, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 172–177: refuting family monasteries and monastic communities of priests.

(12) Augustine, *Praeceptum* I.1–2, ed. Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, vol. 1, Paris 1967, p. 417; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 1.1–9, *SC* 297, pp. 180–182; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.5–10, pp. 274–276; *Regula Macharii*, c. 1, p. 372; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 1, ed. Vilanova, p. 109.

(13) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 122; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 1, ed. Desprez, p. 127.

(14) *Regula Isidori*, c. 1, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 91.

(15) *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 1, ed. Camps/Roca, pp. 137–139.

If we assume that the first chapter and the subsequent arrangement of chapters reflects the author's priorities, this reveals that authors of monastic rules held different viewpoints on the importance of the abbot or the abbess and defined the relationship between the authority of the abbot and the authority of the Rule differently. As we will see, Jonas' decision to "start at the top" is somewhat odd because he is much more concerned about the community than about the abbess. His emphasis is on shared responsibility rather than hierarchy and authority.

The Abbess in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns

If Jonas wrote his Rule as an extension of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, we first need to look at the provisions on the abbess we find there. Caesarius addresses the role of the abbess in two chapters and mentions her about thirty times throughout the rest of his Rule. For him, the abbess should be concerned about the salvation of the souls of her nuns, the property of the monastery, and the physical well-being of her community. She is also responsible for the interaction between the monastery and the outside world. Here is the key passage:

> Because the mother of the monastery has to be solicitous for the salvation of souls, and, concerning the temporalities of the monastery, has continually to think of what is needed for nourishment of the body, and also to entertain visitors and to reply to letters from the faithful…[16]

One of Caesarius' main concerns is that the abbess never changes or mitigates the *regula* of the monastery, which she has to follow like any other member of the community:

> Even though I trust that this will not be done, nor that God on account of his mercy will allow it, if at any time any abbess should try to change or to relax something of the essence of this rule, and, either because of kinship, or for any kind of circumstance, should desire to be subject to and to be within the household of the bishop of this city, under the inspiration of God, with our permission, resist on this occasion with reverence and with dignity, and on no account remit it to be done; rather, according to the letter of the most holy Pope of the city of Rome, with God assisting you, strive to make yourselves secure in all things. I admonish especially concerning the recapitulation written below which I have written and signed with my own hand, that you remove nothing at all from it. Any abbess and prioress who might try to do anything contrary to the spirit of the Rule should know that they will have to defend themselves in my presence before the tribunal of Christ.[17]

(16) *CaesRV*, c. 27.1, *SC* 345, p. 204: *Et quia monasterii mater necesse habet pro animarum salute sollicitudinem gerere, et de substantiola monasterii, quod ad uictum corporis opus est, iugiter cogitare, salutantibus etiam affectum inpendere, et epistolis quorumcumque fidelium respondere…* Transl. Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of St Caesarius of Arles. A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1960, p. 179.

(17) *CaesRV*, c. 64, p. 250: *Illud etiam, quod non credo nec Deus pro sua misericordia fieri patiatur, si quocumque tempore quaelibet abbatissa de huius regulae institutione aliquid inmutare aut relaxare temptauerit, uel pro parentela seu pro qualibet condicione subiectionem uel familiaritatem pontifici huius ciuitatis habere uoluerit,* 2 *Deo uobis inspirante ex nostro permisso in hac parte cum reuerentia et grauitate resistite, et hoc fieri nulla ratione permittite,* 3 *sed secundum sacra sanctissimi papae urbis Romae uos auxiliante domino nunire in omnibus studete.* 4 *Praecipue tamen de infra scripta recapitulatione, quam manu mea scriptsi atque subscripsi, contestor, ut nihil penitus minuatur.* 5 *Quaecumque enim abbatissa aut quaelibet praeposita aliquid contra sanctae regulae institutionem facere temptauerint, nouerint se mecum ante tribunal Christi causam esse dicturas*. Transl. McCarthy, pp. 191–192, slightly revised.

Throughout his Rule, Caesarius gives several examples of specific responsibilities of the abbess such as ensuring that no nun starves herself to death and that the nuns fast according to their abilities, negotiating with outsiders, determining what work the nuns have to do, controlling which objects or persons enter or leave the monastery, determining the severity of punishments, deciding when a novice is ready to join the community, and keeping the key to the gate.[18] Caesarius prohibits the abbess from claiming privileges such as having her own servant, talking to visitors alone, holding banquets (*conuiuia*) for her own family, or eating outside the monastery.[19] His Rule for Nuns also contains an extensive chapter on how the community chooses an abbess who is able to guard the rule, keep contact with the outside world, and protect the reputation of the monastery.[20] As one might expect, Caesarius' description of the tasks of the abbess circles to a large extent around matters of "passive enclosure", i.e. controlling and limiting interactions between the monastery and the outside world, and on matters of keeping the *regula*.[21]

In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, Jonas mitigates Caesarius' strict requirement to obey the *regula* exclusively. He identifies, as we will see, several instances in which the abbess should follow her own *discretio* (discernment), *iudicium* (judgement), *arbitrium* (decision), or *uoluntas* (will) on the basis of her *sapientia* (wisdom).[22] His abbess has quite a bit more leeway and is more flexible than Caesarius would have envisioned.

Jonas elaborates on Caesarius' statement that the abbess should take care of the salvation of the soul of each member of her community. The expectation that the audience of his Rule knew Caesarius' texts, would explain why Jonas omits to discuss the election of the abbess and the requirement of submitting to the *regula*.[23] Both topics are sufficiently covered by Caesarius, so that there is no need to address them.[24]

The Regula Benedicti and Jonas' Abbess

The relationship between Benedict's concept of the abbot and Jonas' concept of the abbess is much more complex than that between Caesarius' and Jonas' abbesses. Comparing both Rules leads us to some of the core aspects of Jonas' programme and shows us which techniques he applies in revising the *Regula Benedicti* – techniques that we will encounter

(18) *CaesRV*, c. 28, pp. 206–208; c. 29.1, p. 208; c. 30.7, p. 210; c. 34.1, p. 214; c. 34.4, pp. 214–216; c. 40.1, p. 222; c. 42.6–7, p. 224; c. 43.2, p. 226; c. 43.7, p. 228; c. 45.6, p. 230; c. 54, p. 240; c. 58, p. 242; c. 59.2, p. 242; c. 67, p. 258; c. 71.9, p. 268.

(19) *CaesRV*, c. 7, p. 186; c. 38.1, p. 220; c. 39.1, pp. 220–222; c. 41, p. 222.

(20) *CaesRV*, c. 61, p. 244.

(21) See pp. 281–288.

(22) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1: *sapientia* of the abbess; c. 1.11: punishments according to the *scientia* of the abbess; c. 10.1: order of the table according to the *scientia* of the abbess; c. 10.5: *iudicium* of the abbess on the size of portions; c. 12.6: *arbitrium* of the abbess on mealtimes; c. 12.23: *discretio* in imposing workload; c. 15.10: *arbitrium* of the abbess in the care of the sick; c. 16.1: *iudicium* of the abbess on the seriousness of acts of *neglegentia*; c. 18.1: *scientia* in imposing excommunications; c. 20.3–4: *scientia* of the abbess in punishing the reluctant; c. 23.9: *arbitrium* of the person who punishes; c. 24.11: *arbitrium* and *discretio* in the care of children.

(23) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.1–5, *SC* 182, p. 648; c. 64.20–22, p. 652.

(24) On the election of the abbess: *CaesRV*, c. 61, *SC* 345, p. 244.

throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas' chapter contains several allusions to the *Regula Benedicti* (especially to its chapters on the abbot and his election) and parallels in phrasing and structure that prove that Jonas developed his outline of the authority, tasks, and responsibilities of the abbess as a critical engagement with Benedict's Rule.[25] What makes it complicated, is that Jonas at the same time uses and mines the *Regula Benedicti*, comments on it, turns its content upside down by changing the framing of its provisions, and replaces Benedict's language with his own monastic idiom.

At first glance, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stipulates roughly the same requirements as the *Regula Benedicti*. Both Rules focus on the role of the abbot/abbess as teacher who instructs by word and example, and as the one who upholds discipline and individual improvement by moderately punishing delinquents and encouraging those who do well. Jonas additionally mentions the role of the abbess in interaction with outsiders, pilgrims, visitors, and the poor.

If we look beyond the pragmatic provisions, however, Jonas' Rule appears to be quite different from the *Regula Benedicti*.[26] This pertains especially to the way the authors frame abbatial authority and responsibility. Benedict's chapter on the abbot defines four intertwined yet different sources of abbatial authority. The abbot acts as the representative of Christ in the monastery (*Christi agere uices in monasterio*);[27] he plays the role of the father and the *paterfamilias* of his sons (*filii*);[28] he is the *pastor* taking care of his flock (*grex*, *ouile*);[29] and he is the *magister* teaching his *discipuli*.[30]

As a representative of Christ in the monastery the abbot is supposed to follow the Lord's commands (*praecepta Domini*) and, as a *magister*, to transmit these commands to his

(25) All parallels in phrasing are indicated in bold in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the apparatus fontium which provides the full text of the *Regula Benedicti*. It is noteworthy that Jonas does not use c. 3 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which regulates how the abbot should take the advice of the community into account. Jonas does, however, engage with this theme in his chapter on the *praeposita* (c. 2).

(26) See also Dunn, Marilyn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, MS: Blackwell 2000, pp. 175–177.

(27) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.2, *SC* 181, pp. 440–442: *Christi enim agere uices in monasterio creditur, quando ipsius uocatur pronomine.*

(28) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.3, p. 442: *…dicente Apostolo: Accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: Abba, Pater* (Rom. 8 15); c. 2.7, p. 442: *Sciatque abbas culpae pastoris incumbere quicquid in ouibus paterfamilias utilitatis minus potuerit inuenire.*

(29) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.8–9, p. 442: *Tantundem iterum erit ut, si inquieto uel inoboedienti gregi pastoris fuerit omnis diligentia attributa et morbidis earum actibus uniuersa fuerit cura exhibita,* 9 *pastor eorum in iudicio Domini absolutus dicat cum propheta Domino: Iustitiam tuam non abscondi in corde meo, ueritatem tuam et salutare tuum dixi* (Ps. 39/40, 11)*; ipsi autem contemnentes spreuerunt me…*; c. 2.39, pp. 450–452: *Et ita, timens semper futuram discussionem pastoris de creditis ouibus, cum de alienis ratiociniis cauet, redditur de suis sollicitus…*

(30) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.11–14, p. 444: *Ergo, cum aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis,* 12 *id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam uerbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini uerbis proponere, duris corde uero et simplicioribus factis suis diuina praecepta monstrare.* 13 *Omnia uero quae discipulis docuerit esse contraria in suis factis indicet non agenda, ne aliis praedicans ipse reprobus inueniatur,* 14 *ne quando illi dicat Deus peccanti: Quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu uero odisti disciplinam et proiecisti sermones meos post te.* c. 3.6, pp. 452–442: *Sed sicut discipulos conuenit oboedire magistro, ita et ipsum prouide et iuste condecet cuncta disponere.* On the different sources of abbatial authority according to the *Regula Benedicti*, see also Constable, 'The authority of superiors', pp. 189–191.

community. He needs to treat everyone equally and show equal love to everyone, but has to take his monks' good and bad deeds into account.[31] The abbot's second main task, being a *pastor* and *paterfamilias*, consists of reprimanding and encouraging his monks wisely and moderately through words but also, if necessary, through physical punishment.[32] He will be held accountable for his teaching (*doctrina*),[33] and the well-being of his sheep.[34] His overall goal must be increasing and improving his flock and ensuring the salvation of the souls of his monks.[35] The abbot's responsibility ends, however, at the point when his sheep refuse, despite all efforts, to be obedient to their pastor.[36]

Benedict expresses his ideas in a wide range of juridical terms and expressions of power, authority, law, order, and obedience: *admonere* (to admonish), *constituere* (to constitute), *corrigere* (to correct); *corripere* (to reprimand), *disciplina* (discipline), *emendare* (to amend), *increpare* (to rebuke), *iudex* (judge), *iudicare* (to judge), *iussio* (decree), *iustitia* (judgement), *iustus* (just), *lex Diuina* (divine law), *mandata* (commandments), *mors* (death), *oboedientia* (obedience), *ordo* (rank), *peccare* (to sin), *poena* (punishment), *praeceptum* (precept), *rationem reddere* (to give account), *regere* (to govern), *regula* (rule), and *tremendum iudicium* (fearsome judgement).[37] All in all, the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* on the abbot (c. 2 and c. 64) give the impression that the abbot is in a sort of contractual position both with Christ and with his monks. The monks allow him to impose his unlimited authority on them, which he has received from Christ. We find the idea of a contractual relationship between abbot and monks also in the tradition of Visigothic monastic *pacta*.[38]

Jonas constructs the authority of the abbess differently. She does not act *uice Christi* (representing Christ). She is described as the *mater* caring for her *filiae*,[39] but she does not carry the authority of a *materfamilias*. She is a teacher, but Jonas does not call her *magistra* or her nuns *discipulae*. Her authority is derived from her nobility in wisdom (*sapientia*) and *sancitas* (sanctity) and from her virtues: *continentia* (continence), *castitas* (chastity), *caritas* (love), *beneuolentia* (benevolence), *sollicitudo* (care), *misericordia* (mercy), *scientia* (knowledge), *prouidentia* (providence), *pietas* (love), and *cura* (care).[40]

(31) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.16–22, pp. 444–446.

(32) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.22–29, pp. 446–448.

(33) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.6, p. 442.

(34) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.7, p. 442.

(35) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.30–34, pp. 448–450. On the delegated responsibility, see Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 196–200.

(36) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.8–10, p. 442.

(37) Jacobs, *Die Regula Benedicti als Rechtsbuch*, pp. 127–144 provides a complete list of juridical terms in the *Regula Benedicti*. See also Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 181–183.

(38) Benedict of Aniane included one *pactum* between monks and their abbot in his *Concordia regularum*. See Herwegen, Ildefons, *Das Pactum des hl. Fructuosus von Braga. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des suevisch-westgotischen Mönchtums, und seines Rechtes*, Stuttgart: Enke 1907; Bishko, Charles Julian, 'The Pactual Tradition in Hispanic Monasticism', in: id., *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300*, London: Variorum Reprints 1984, pp. 1–47.

(39) The expressions *mater* and *filiae* appear once in *RcuiV*, c. 1.16 but never again throughout the rest of the Rule.

(40) *Caritas*, *misericordia*, *prouidentia*, and *cura* appear in Benedict's chapters on the abbot as well.

Even though Benedict's abbot and Jonas' abbess are both teachers, the content of their teaching is described differently. Benedict's abbot teaches, establishes, and imposes the *praeceptum Domini* (mandate of the Lord) and instils the *fermentum diuinae iustitiae* (ferment of divine justice) into the *mens* (mind) of his disciples. He does so by *facta* (deeds) and by *uerba* (words). More receptive monks are to be taught primarily through his words; those who are less intelligent, through his deeds. His teaching may never contradict his own behaviour.[41] The main qualification of Benedict's abbot is that he is *doctus diuinae iustitiae* (erudite in divine justice).[42]

Jonas' abbess acts as a teacher of souls (*ad erudiendas animas*). The nuns are to imitate the behaviour of their superiors rather than listen to their *doctrina*. Jonas may have phrased this as a direct critical commentary to Benedict's strong emphasis on *doctrina*.[43] Jonas' nuns learn their *doctrina* from the *uox* (voice) and from their superior's *forma actuum* (behaviour) rather than from *uerba* (words) and *facta* (deeds). It stands out that Jonas uses the term *uox* no fewer than five times in a row, which is, as we will see, in line with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which puts a strong emphasis on the performative side of speaking and acting.[44]

The most striking difference between the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consists of Jonas largely replacing Benedict's language of authority. Jonas develops an entirely new terminology that mostly consist of "soft" and positive sounding expressions, many of which will reappear later in his Rule.[45] The language of chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* echoes the brochure of a wellness spa: *antidotum* (antidote), *beniuolentia* (benevolence), *blandus* (gentle), *bonitas* (kindness), *bonus* (good), *caritas* (love), *coepere* (to begin), *comptus* (embellished), *consentire* (to accord with), *cor* (heart), *cultus religionis* (practice of piety), *cura* (care), *desiderium* (desire), *donum* (gift), *erudire* (educate), *fidelis* (faithful), *flos* (flower), *fructus uocis* (fruit of the word), *hortari* (to admonish), *imitabilis* (imitable), *infundere* (to pour), *laetificare* (to delight), *laudabilis* (praiseworthy), *lenis* (gentle), *mederi* (to heal), *meliorare* (to improve), *merces* (reward), *meritum* (merit), *misericors* (merciful), *nutrire* (nourish), *opulentus* (generous), *ornatus* (adorned), *perseuerare* (to persevere), *pietas* (love), *praemium* (profit), *praesidium* (protection), *praestus* (excellent), *profectus* (progress), *prouidentia* (providence), *sacrum eloquium* (sacred speech), *sanare* (to heal), *sanus* (healthy), *scientia* (knowledge), *sollicitudo* (attendance), *sollicitus* (passionate), *subuenire* (to assist), *supplementum* (reinforcement).[46] Only a few

(41) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.11–15, *SC* 181, p. 444.
(42) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.10, *SC* 182, p. 650.
(43) *RcuiV*, c. 1.3.
(44) On the role of pure speech, see Leyser, Conrad, 'Masculinity in Flux: Nocturnal Emission and the Limits of Celibacy in the Early Middle Ages', in: D. M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, London/New York: Taylor and Francis 1999, pp. 103–120, at pp. 115–120.
(45) The following expressions from Benedict's provisions on the abbot do not appear in Jonas' text: *corripere*; *iudicare*; *iudicium*; *iussio*; *iustitia*; *lex diuina*; *mandata*; *oboedientia*; *poena*; *praeceptum*; *rationem*; *reddere*; *regula*.
(46) The following terms do appear in Benedict's chapters on the abbot as well: *bonus*; *caritas*; *coepere*; *consentire*; *cor*; *cura*; *merces*; *meritum*; *misericors*; *nutrire*; *prouidentia*; *sollicitudo*; *sollicitus*. The following terms appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, but not in the chapters on the abbot: *desiderium*; *donum*; *eloquium*; *erudire*; *hortari*; *lenis*; *perseuerare*; *pietas*; *sanare*; *sanus*; *scientia*; *subuenire*. The following terms do not appear in the *Regula Benedicti* at all: *antidotum*;

terms share the authoritarian and legalistic tone of the *Regula Benedicti*: *austeritas* (strictness), *cohercere* (to restrain), *correptio* (reproach), *corrigere* (to correct), *delinquens* (offender), *disciplina* (discipline), *doctrina* (teaching), *facinus* (misdeed), *flagellum* (scourge), *ignauia* (idleness), *lasciuus* (lascivious), *malus* (evil), *subiugatus* (subordinate), *uitium* (vice).[47]

The abbess' tasks are described in a string of positive terms. She needs to educate the souls (c. 1.2); join sacred works to sacred speech (c. 1.4); delight the hearts of all the faithful (c. 1.7); be excellent in the attendance of strangers and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and the needy (c. 1.8); correct the idleness of offenders and lead lascivious and feeble nuns back to a way of life of piety (c. 1.9); mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness (c. 1.10); be good to the good according to their merit (c. 1.11); heal by gentle exhortation (c. 1.12); assist the reckless with mild persuasion (c. 1.13); pour the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood (c. 1.13); offer exhortation by admonishment (c. 1.14).

There is also a darker side to her responsibilities: she should not kindle the fuel of misdeeds (c. 1.10); she should be evil to the evil through the scourge (c. 1.11); not nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects (c. 1.12). But this harsh side almost disappears under a large, soft blanket of kindness. Jonas' abbess is much more a coach than a strict leader. The simple characterization of the abbot as *is qui praeest* (the one who leads) in the *Regula Benedicti* does not work for Jonas. Benedict's concept of discipline revolves around the biblical word from II Tim. 2, 4: *Argue, obsecra, increpa* (reprimand, entreat, rebuke); Jonas replaces this assignment with words from Ps. 118/119, 66: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, Domine* (Lord, teach me kindness, discipline and knowledge). Burgundofara, as described in the *Vita Columbani*, fully embodies this ideal of goodness, guidance, and wisdom.

Both the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* elaborate on the responsibility of the abbot and abbess. Benedict does so, again, in strongly juridical terms, emphasizing that the abbot will be punished at the day of judgement for every sheep he lost and needs to give an account of his deeds. The stern *rationem reddere* – giving account at the Last Judgement – appears no fewer than five times in Benedict's chapters on the abbot and once in the chapter on the *cellararius*.[48] Jonas looks at responsibility from the opposite perspective. He does not talk about the punishment a failing abbess might face at the day

beniuolentia; *blandus*; *bonitas*; *cultus religionis*; *fidelis*; *flos*; *fructus uocis*; *imitabilis*; *infundere*; *laetificare*; *laudabilis*; *mederi*; *meliorare*; *opulentus*; *ornatus*; *praemium*; *praesidium*; *praestus*; *profectus*; *supplementum*.

(47) On shared emotional language creating specific "emotional communities" see Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press 2006, pp. 1–31. Rosenwein does not address monastic rules in particular in her work, but her model perfectly applies to the impact of Jonas' emotional language on the community of Faremoutiers. On the emotional language of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see also Diem, Albrecht, 'Disimpassioned Monks and Flying Nuns. Emotion Management in Early Medieval Rules', in: Christina Lutter (ed.), *Funktionsräume, Wahrnehmungsräume, Gefühlsräume. Mittelalterliche Lebensformen zwischen Kloster und Hof*, Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg/Böhlau, pp. 17–39.

(48) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.34–37, *SC* 181, p. 450; c. 3.11, p. 454; c. 63.2, *SC* 182, p. 644; c. 64.7, p. 650; c. 65.22, p. 658; also in c. 31.9, p. 558 on the *cellararius*.

of judgement but about the reward she will expect after her death for her care and for having helped establish a protective wall (*praesidium*) to overcome the enemy, i.e. the devil.[49]

This does not at all imply that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is less strict and more lenient than the *Regula Benedicti*. Beneath a much friendlier language hides a programme of monastic discipline that uses highly effective means to turn the monastery into a "total institution" in which power reaches much deeper than demanding obedience and humility.[50] Jonas produces, as we will see in the rest of the Rule, a frightening example of soft-spoken authority that by far surpasses any overtly authoritarian and repressive system. Even Jonas' emphasis on reward and profit (*merces*, *lucrum*, and *praemium*) instead of Benedict's stern *rationem reddere* may have its dark side, since it implies that salvation turns from something to be granted to whoever has done everything right, to a reward available only to someone who excels in virtue.

Jonas puts a strong emphasis on the *uox*, the sound of one's words. We get a glimpse of this sound when we listen to the text rather than read it, which was probably the main way the Rule was conveyed.[51] The middle part of chapter 1, which deals with the abbess' treatment of offenders, consists of a series of sentences starting with *sic ergo…sit…sit…sic…sic…sit*. It sounds as if the Rule is hissing at the nuns who hear the Rule.[52] I provide an audio version of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (read by Matthieu van der Meer) as a supplement to the critical edition.[53]

Jonas' Chapter on the Abbess – an Analysis

The chapter on the abbess of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* can be divided into four parts. The first one (c. 1.1–6) describes the abbess in her role as a teacher who instructs both by word and by example and who needs to make sure that her words (or rather voice) do not contradict her work. The second part (c. 1.6–8) addresses the qualities the abbess should show both towards the members of the community and towards outsiders: her chastity (*castitas*), her charity (*caritas*), her zeal in care (*sollicitudo*), and her magnanimity towards the poor and needy (*erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta*). The third part (c. 1.9–15), which

(49) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19. On the devil, see p. 224 and p. 298.

(50) On the concept of a "total institution", see Goffman, Erving, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, pp. 1–124. Total institutions, as defined by Goffman, consist of closed communities that are separated from the rest of society, organized by strict norms and submitted to a single authority that holds the power to enforce the rules. Those who, voluntarily or by force, become part of a total institution are forced to give up their former identity and to develop a new one that is solely determined by the institution itself. Goffman's list of examples of total institutions includes orphanages and nursing homes, mental hospitals, leprosaria, POW camps, concentration camps, army barracks, ships, boarding schools, monasteries, and convents. Goffman's understanding of monasteries is largely based on a selective reading of the *Regula Benedicti*. Adding concentration camps to the list of total institutions is, in my view, highly problematic since it has the potential of trivializing the crimes committed in Nazi concentration camps and exposes them to inappropriate comparisons.

(51) *CaesRV*, c. 58.1, *SC* 345, p. 242; *RcuiV*, c. 9.13.

(52) *RcuiV*, c. 1.6–11.

(53) The audio edition can be accessed on the Open Access platform of Brepols: https://doi.org/10.1484/A.13049939.

covers almost half of the chapter, deals with the abbess' disciplinary function, requiring that she find a balance between encouragement and punishment and between strictness and moderation in dealing with delinquents. The chapter ends (c. 1.16–19) with a general reflection on the responsibility of the mother (*mater*) towards her daughters (*filiae*) for improving their character (*mores*), and the reward (*lucrum*, *merces*) she may receive: "as much profit for her toils as many protective measures (*praesidium*) she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy".[54] The balance between discipline and encouragement has to be reached by the abbess' wisdom (*sapientia*) and moral qualities – her care, charity, zeal, and magnanimity. All of these aspects return throughout the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Jonas begins his Rule with these words:

> [1] Abbatissa monasterii non tam genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis esse debet, [2] ut, quae sermonem ad erudiendas animas iusta eruditione lucubrat, propriis actibus non contradicat. [3] Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant.
>
> [[1] The abbess of the monastery must be noble not so much in birth as in wisdom and sanctity, [2] so that she, who toils by night over her speaking in order to educate the souls by correct instruction, does not contradict [her speaking] through her own deeds. [3] For indeed, subordinates imitate the appearance of their superiors' deeds more than they lend their ear to the teaching that is introduced [to them].]

Of all monastic rules, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only one that assumes that the abbess is from aristocratic stock, even though Jonas states that aristocratic origin is neither necessary nor sufficient. Yet it reflects on the fact that many monasteries founded *ex regula Columbani* were joint endeavours of kings and aristocrats. Benedict assumed that both *nobiles* and people without property might enter the monastery; Jonas does not make provisions for that.[55]

Various hagiographic texts contain a statement slightly different from that in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, emphasizing that an abbot/abbess or monastic founder was *not only* aristocratic by blood *but also* by sanctity.[56] Jonas' use of *sanctitas* along with *genus* and *sapientia* is

(54) *RcuiV*, c. 1.19: …*ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum*.

(55) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58–60, *SC* 182, pp. 626–636. The Faremoutiers miracles in the *Vita Columbani* describe nuns of different backgrounds but there is no indication that any of them was of lower birth. There might be a difference between female and male monastic communities in this regard. Audoinus of Rouen, *Vita Eligii* I, c. 10, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 678 describes how Eligius freed captives and gave them a choice between returning home, staying with him, or entering a monastery. In this case, Eligius would pay for their monastic garbs.

(56) On nobility of the abbot/abbess and nobility by birth and virtues: Jerome, *Ep.* 108, c. 1, *CSEL* 55, p. 306; *Vita Aldegundis*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 6, p. 86; *Vita Amati*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 216; *Vita Austrebertae*, c. 4, *AASS* February, vol. 2, col. 419F–420A; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 1, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 201; *Vita Bertilae*, c. 1, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, col. 90B; *Vita Eustadiolae*, c. 1, *AASS* June, vol. 2, col. 133C; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 1, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 33; Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 3, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 123; *Vita Romarici*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 221; *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 1, p. 340; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 1, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 51; *Vita Segolenae*, c. 1.4, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 631D; *Virtutes Geretrudis*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 467; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 9, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, p. 360. See also O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 256–259 on Columbanus' impact on

odd because he is otherwise extremely stingy in using the expressions *sanctitas* and *sanctus*. In his *Vita Columbani*, he speaks of Columbanus' *sanctitas* only once and describes Athala, Columbanus' successor in Bobbio, once in words similar to those in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as *Burgundionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate* (of Burgundian origin, noble by birth but more noble by sanctity).[57] Otherwise Jonas never uses *sanctus* or *sanctitas* in reference to a person. For him, there is no "absolute" or attainable sanctity in a person (or a community), though someone may have the opportunity to act saintly or, in a few exceptional cases, to be noble by sanctity.[58]

By using *anima* (soul) as metonym for nun, Jonas makes a crucial programmatic statement right in the first sentence of his Rule. The ultimate purpose of monastic discipline is to ensure the salvation of the *anima* and to prevent her from eternal damnation. Jonas refers to the *anima* as the primary object of concern no fewer than thirteen times throughout the Rule.[59]

> [4] Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere, [5] ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum. [6] Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi.
>
> [[4] Therefore, [the abbess] must join sacred works to sacred speech, so that one who imitates her teaching based on her word may imitate her way of life based on her work, [5] lest if in anything the work contradicts the word, the profit of the word does not achieve result. [6] Therefore, she should be in such a way adorned through both the word and the work that the work accords with the word and the word with the work.]

I have already mentioned Jonas' emphasis on *uox*, the spoken word or voice, rather than just the *uerbum*. It is not only the content, but also the sound that counts. The expression *cultus* (way of life) is important to Jonas. It is absent in the *Regula Benedicti* but appears six times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo*, and 29 times in the *Vita Columbani*. In c. 1.9, Jonas specifies *cultus* as *cultus religionis* (here tentatively translated as "practice of piety").

> [6] Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriis imitabilis exemplo. [7] Sit caritatis beniuolentia ornata, ut omnium fidelium laetificet corda. [8] Erga peregrinorum et hospitum sollicitudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta.
>
> [[6] She should be embellished with the flower of continence and chastity, praiseworthy in the mouth of everyone, through her example imitable for the desires of everyone. [7] She should be adorned with the benevolence of love, so that she delights the hearts of all the faithful. [8] [She

transforming monasteries into aristocratic centres, and Hummer, Hans J., *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2018, pp. 206–208 on the development of a notion of spiritual nobility among seventh-century Frankish aristocrats. Hummer provides more examples of the motive of nobility by birth and virtues in hagiographic texts.

(57) *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 10–11; II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 24.

(58) See pp. 287–289 and p. 299.

(59) *RcuiV*, c. 2.9; c. 2.12; c. 5.2; c. 6.18; c. 9.4–6; c. 9.13–15; c. 9.19; c. 14.1–2; c. 14.7–8; c. 16.9–10; c. 17.2; c. 22.1; c. 23.2–3. See also c. 1.16 (*animus*).

should be] excellent in the attendance of strangers (*peregrini*) and guests, passionate in the care of the sick, generous in helping the poor and needy.]

It is remarkable that Jonas immediately moves from emphasizing the harmony of *uox* and *opus* to the impact the abbess is supposed to make not only on the members of the community but also on the outside world. She is supposed to be an example to all the faithful. This statement aligns with the idea that monasticism in Jonas' world had a much wider constituency than monks and nuns themselves. Outsiders could partake in the monastic endeavour by founding or supporting monasteries or receiving moral guidance from them. Since monasteries were founded as places of intercessory prayer to be performed with the highest standards of purity, the demonstrable *continentia* and *castitas* is an essential part of monastic life.[60] Jonas returns to the notion of "demonstrative chastity" when outlining the interaction between the *portaria* and outsiders in the chapter on the gatekeepers.[61]

Jonas' reference to the care for *peregrini* (strangers or pilgrims), the sick, the poor, and the needy implies that the monastery encompassed much more than the community of nuns but operated as a place to be visited by outsiders, supported a hospital, and engaged in the care for the poor. It may even have included a community of *matricularii* (registered poor).[62] Caesarius' Rule for Nuns explicitly states that the nuns themselves should not engage in care for the poor at the monastery's gate, but delegate to a *prouisor* the task to give away whatever is not needed by the nuns themselves.[63] Jonas assigns the care for the poor, strangers, and guests both to the *portariae* and to the *cellararia*. The gatekeepers had to do or supervise the actual work; the *cellararia* was responsible for dispensing the necessary resources.[64]

To what extent the nuns themselves were directly involved with care outside the monastery and to what extent the real work was done by outsiders in the service of the monastery remains unclear. The *Vita Eligii* recounts how Eligius, when he founded the monastery of Solignac, populated his foundation with one hundred freed slaves (*uernaculi*) and fifty monks. The number of external servants for a male community outnumbered the community of monks by a factor of two.[65] In a female monastery the ratio may even have been higher. Yet aside from a handful of remarks that could potentially acknowledge the presence of a community larger than that of the nuns themselves, the "outside community" does not play a role in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns or in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[66] There are no references to interactions with "outside members" of the community in the

(60) Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 312–321.
(61) *RcuiV*, c. 3.4–9.
(62) On *matricularii* forming part of monastic communities, see Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*, pp. 31–33 and pp. 164–171. I discuss the question of the meaning of *peregrini*, *hospites*, and *pauperi* more extensively in the commentary to the chapter on the gatekeepers, pp. 382–385.
(63) *CaesRV*, c. 42.6–7, *SC* 345, p. 224.
(64) *RcuiV*, c. 3.10; c. 4.12.
(65) *Vita Eligii* I, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 681.
(66) On different communities within the monastery, see Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100)', pp. 553–557.

Faremoutiers episodes. The *Vita* of Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, which contains various parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, does, however, explicitly refer to a *familia* of the monastery that includes people living in the neighbourhood.[67]

The largest section of this chapter describes the role of the abbess as the one who supervises, encourages and, if necessary, punishes her nuns:

> 9 Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat ut ad cultum relegionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat. 10 Sic misericorditer bonitatis dona distribuat, quatenus ex nimia bonitate facinorum fomenta non nutriat. 11 Sit ergo bonis bona per meritum, sit malis mala per flagellum, quod mediante scientia agendum est, iuxta Psalmistae orationem dicentis: *Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me, Domine.* (Ps. 118/119, 66) 12 In utroque etenim abbatissae cauendum est ne aut nimia bonitate in subiectarum cordibus uitia nutriat, aut nimia disciplinae austeritate ea quae leni increpatione sananda fuerant, rigida correptione diripiantur. 13 Incautis etenim sic blanda persuasione subueniat, ut eorum saniae antidoti quodammodo medendi curam infundat. 14 Sanis uero moribus ea ortando prebeat, ut quae agere coeperunt, meliorando usque ad finem perducant. 15 Nihil etenim prodest coepisse, si in opere bono quod coeperant non studeant perseuerare. 16 Habeat ergo tot animos mater quot habet in suo regimine filias, ut iuxta omnium mores omnium nouerit uitia cohercere.
>
> [9 She should correct the idleness of offenders to lead [their] lascivious and feeble minds back to a way of life of piety. 10 She should mercifully distribute the gifts of kindness in such a way that she does not kindle the fuel of their misdeeds out of too much kindness. 11 Therefore she should be good to the good according to merit; she should be evil to the evil through the scourge. This ought to be done mediated by knowledge, according to the prayer of the Psalmist, who says: *Lord, teach me kindness, discipline, and knowledge.* (Ps. 118/119, 66) 12 Therefore, either way the abbess ought to take heed: she should neither nourish vices in the hearts of her subjects through too much kindness, nor should they who should have been healed by gentle exhortation, be destroyed by too great a strictness of reproach. 13 She should therefore in such a way assist the reckless with mild persuasion that she pours, as it were, the cure of a healing antidote into their corrupted blood. 14 But to those of sound character she should offer these things by admonishment, so that what they have begun to do, they may bring to an end by improving themselves. 15 For indeed, there is no gain in having begun something, if they are not eager to persist in the good work that they have begun. 16 Therefore, the mother should have as many souls as she has daughters under her guidance, so that according to the character of each of them she may know to restrain the vices of all.]

The key to this passage – and in fact to the entire Rule – is the expression *mens* (mind), a term rarely used in the *Regula Benedicti*. The Rule contains one passage defining the *mens* as a receptacle for the "yeast of divine justice".[68] Jonas' ultimate goal is the preparation of the soul (*anima*), but his primary target is the *mens*, which, as we learn from various other passages in the Rule, acts autonomously and therefore needs to be guided, controlled, disciplined, and brought back on the path of the *cultus religionis*. It is, for example, the *mens* that commits

(67) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, p. 93A: *Familiam quoque monasterii siue uicinos propinquos per sanctam communionem attrahebat, ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent; ex quibus plurimis emendatis et sibi praemium adquisiuit, et illorum animabus lucrum fecit.* The expressions *praemium* and *lucrum* appear in the last sentence of *RcuiV*, c. 1.18–19.

(68) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.5, *SC* 181, p. 442: …*sed iussio eius uel doctrina fermentum diuinae iustitiae in discipulorum mentibus conspargatur.*

crimes at night that need to be confessed first thing in the morning, and it is the *mens* that hastens to prayer once the sign has been given.[69] Jonas is concerned about the activities of the *mens* rather than the outward deeds of a nun. The fundamental problem is that the *mens* suffers not only from lasciviousness but from weakness. Throughout the Rule, Jonas returns numerous times to the idea that the *mens* has grown old, weary, and weak through the Fall of Adam, but can be strengthened and incited through monastic discipline.[70]

Cultus religionis (practice of piety) also belongs to Jonas' key expressions. It "frames" the Rule by appearing in the first and in the last chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in *De accedendo ad Deum*. Moreover it appears no fewer than five times in the *Vita Columbani* and thrice in the *Vita Iohannis*.[71] *Cultus religionis* can be understood as an alternative to Benedict's term *conuersatio* (roughly: way of life) but it encompasses more than that. The primary concern of the abbess is not the practice itself but the mental attitude that motivates it.

It is, as Jonas emphasizes, the task of the abbess not only to punish in a wise and moderate manner, but also to encourage and to motivate. She needs to find a balance between strictness and leniency through her *scientia*. His emphasis on the discretion of the abbess could be understood as a critical response to the idea of an inflexible *disciplina regularis*, punishment according to the book, or the tariffed penances laid out in the *Regula coenobialis*. The *disciplina regularis* is, in Jonas' Rule, only mentioned as the last resort or as a punishment for particularly severe and dangerous transgressions.[72] The abbess' disciplinary measures are neither punishments for the sake of punishment nor impositions of tariffed *paenitentia*, but healing measures for the wounded soul.

Jonas ends his chapter by introducing three more key concepts of his Rule: love, reward, and protection:

> [17] Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat. [18] Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra, [19] ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.
>
> [[17] So great should the providence for all be that neither love takes away the place of punishment, nor punishment that of love. [18] She should perform the care of all so that she receives the profits of her reward from the progress of all [sisters], [19] so that she, as soon as she is taken from the corruption of the present life, receives as much profit for her toils as protective measures she has provided as reinforcements to overcome the enemy.]

(69) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20; c. 8.2–3.

(70) See *RcuiV*, c. 3.3–4; c. 6.2; c. 6.18; c. 6.22; c. 6.30; c. 7.3; c. 8.2; c. 8.11; c. 9.4; c. 12.11; c. 12.15; c. 13.6; c. 14.1; c. 16.4; c. 18.5; c. 22.5–6; *De accedendo* 22.

(71) See *RcuiV*, c. 24.4; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18, and p. 282, l. 26–27; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 7; c. 2, p. 329, l. 12. The expression *cultus religionis* is not uncommon in other sources but does not appear in any other monastic rule. No author uses it as often as Jonas of Bobbio. Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule for Nuns uses the term *religio*. It appears once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* but several times in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Basilii*.

(72) See *RcuiV*, c. 3.14: *paenitentia regularis* for allowing gossip to enter the monastery; c. 3.18: *disciplina regulae* for violating table rules; c. 17.12: *disciplina regularis* for refusal to improve; c. 18.4: verdict *secundum regulam* for refusal to improve; c. 19.11: *paenitentia regularis* for illicitly interacting with excommunicated nuns.

Love (*pietas*) and punishment (*disciplina*) may not exclude each other. They are two sides of the same coin. In subsequent chapters Jonas emphasizes several times that punishment has to be understood as a form of love.[73] Finally, Jonas states that the abbess (as mother) may expect but also create reward from her care for all her daughters, using three different expressions: *lucrum*, *merces*, and *praemium* (a fourth one, *fructus*, appears in other passages). It is possible that this specific passage draws upon a sermon of Caesarius of Arles, which uses *praemium*, *lucrum*, and *meritum* in the context of the priestly care and responsibilities.[74]

One important detail is that neither *merces* nor *lucrum* nor *praemium* has a possessive pronoun – and this applies to subsequent uses of reward terms. Jonas emphasizes time and again that fulfilling one's role responsibly creates reward, but he also makes clear that it is not only the individual nun who profits from this reward, but the entire community. Whatever the abbess (or any nun) achieves for herself, she achieves for everyone.[75]

The last key idea expressed in the chapter on the abbess has already been discussed in the context of Jonas' concept of space. One task of the abbess is to keep a protective wall (*praesidium*) intact that helps the nuns to overcome the devil. Instead of focusing primarily on a physical separation between the monastery and the dangerous world outside, Jonas assigns to the abbess the task to help the community to create a protective "moral" or "mental" space that keeps the devil at bay. Later in the Rule he calls this space *ambitus uirtutum*.[76]

The Implementation of Jonas' Provisions in the Rest of the Rule and in the Faremoutiers Miracles

In order to gain a full understanding of the role of the abbess in Jonas' programme we also need to take into account how he describes her tasks and responsibilities in the other parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Almost every chapter of the Rule refers at some point to the *abbatissa* – or rather to the wisdom (*sapientia*), knowledge (*scientia*), will (*uoluntas*), provision (*commeatus*), management (*dispensatio*), mandate (*ordinatio*), judgement (*arbitrium*), permission (*permissio*), care (*cura*), judgement (*iudicium*), zeal (*studium*), and order (*iussio*) of the abbess. It is striking how much Jonas is interested in these attributes of the abbess rather than the abbess herself. His notion of authority manifests itself in the grammatical function of the abbess. She primarily appears in the genitive. In Caesarius' and Benedict's Rules the abbot and abbess mostly appear as agent, i.e. in the nominative.[77] For Jonas, the true agent is not the person, but her qualities: *scientia*, *sapientia*, *iudicium*, *studium*, and *arbitrium*.

(73) See, for example, *RcuiV*, c. 20.5; c. 23.6–8; c. 24.2.

(74) Caesarius, *Sermo* 5, c. 5, *CCSL* 103, p. 29.

(75) *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 4.21; c. 5.11; c. 5.17; c. 9.19–20; c. 12.2; c. 12.23; c. 13.5; *De accedendo* 8; 23.

(76) *RcuiV*, c. 22.3.

(77) In the *RcuiV*, *abbatissa* appears ten times in the nominative, 28 times in the genitive, six times in the dative, four times in the accusative, and ten times in the ablative. In the *Regula Benedicti*, the *abbas* appears sixty times in the nominative, 32 times in the genitive, five times in the dative, eight times in the accusative, and three times in the ablative. In Caesarius' Rule for Nuns *abbatissa* and *mater* appear 15 times in the nominative, five times in the genitive, six times in the dative, once in the accusative, thrice in the ablative, and once in the vocative.

Jonas connects the *abbatissa* particularly often to the term *commeatus*, an expression that does not appear in any other monastic rule but several times in the *Vita Columbani*.[78] *Commeatus* is probably the softest possible expression for giving orders, and maybe best translated with "provision", "suggestion", or "recommendation". Jonas' abbess provides guidance rather than giving commands, but this guidance carries even more power than clear-cut orders because the nuns have to direct their *mens* to *wanting* what is the right thing to do, rather than just acting in obedience. The term *oboedientia*, which is central to the *Regula Benedicti*, plays therefore a marginal role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. There is no safety net of an unambiguous hierarchy. Benedict's monks have a much easier life since their unconditional *oboedientia* largely places the responsibility of their salvation in the hands of their superior.[79]

The Rule contains many instances of the abbess delegating her responsibility. Jonas indicates that the day-to-day business of the monastery is to be determined by the *praeposita* rather than by the abbess who should be able to "rest" above her (*super quam abbatissa requiescat*).[80] The abbess can appoint someone (*committere*) to hear confession, to distribute utensils, or to interact with those who are excommunicated, even though all these tasks fall in principle into her own responsibility.[81] Nothing in the monastery, however, should happen without the knowledge (*scientia*), will (*uoluntas*), or assessment (*arbitrium*) of the abbess,[82] who is supposed to make final decisions on numerous aspects of everyday monastic life, including the scheduling of mealtimes, portion sizes for meals, etc.[83] The abbess' power pertains also

(78) *VCol* I, c. 15, p. 178, l. 21; I, c. 17, p. 185, l. 1; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 19.

(79) See also Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 201–205.

(80) *RcuiV*, c. 2.7; c. 22.20–21: Nuns should not approach the abbess directly but go to the *praeposita* first.

(81) *RcuiV*, c. 7.1: hearing confession; c. 13.4: the abbess appoints (*committere*) someone to distribute tools; c. 19.10: talking to excommunicated.

(82) *RcuiV*, c. 2.8: The prioress may do nothing that contradicts the *uoluntas abbatissae*; c. 3.11: No one may give and receive anything *sine commeatu abbatissae*; c. 3.19: Working nuns may keep the key of the monastery *per comeatum abbatissae*; c. 3.23: Guests are served *per abbatissae ordinationem*; c. 4.9: The *cellararia* may not do anything *sine commeatu abbatissae*; c. 7.4: No one may hear confession *sine ordinatione abbatissae*; c. 8.11: The hour of the liturgy is determined *iuxta dispensationem abbatissae*; c. 8.7–9: One is allowed to speak only *per abbatissae commeatum* and *ab abbatissa ordinatum*; c. 8.13: Reading at meals *si abbatissae placuerit*; c. 8.17: The nuns may speak during feast days *si ex permisso abbatissae fuerit*; c. 10.7: Rations of wine may be increased *si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit*; c. 12.5: Work has to be done *per abbatissae uel praepositae commeatum*; c. 17.5–8: Nuns may not keep anything *nisi ex abbatissae iussione*; c. 17.10: Nuns may not take or give something *nisi abbatissa ordinante*; c. 19.10: Only someone who has received a *praeceptum ab abbatissa* is allowed to speak with the excommunicated; c. 22.19: Nuns have to await the *commeatus* of the abbess to do their work; c. 22.22–23: Nuns may approach a priest *per abbatissae commeatum* and talk to him *si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa*.

(83) *RcuiV*, c. 10.1: Serving at the table is to be determined by the *scientia abbatissae*; c. 10.5: The amount of food is to be determined *abbatissae iudicio*; c. 12.6: Whether nuns are allowed to drink more due to harsh work circumstances is to be considered *abbatissae arbitrio*; c. 13.10: Care of the sick is to be performed *iuxta arbitrium abbatissae*; c. 16.1: Punishment of the negligent is to be determined *abbatissae iudicio*; c. 19.3: Transgressions are to be assessed *abbatissae studio*; c. 24.10: When the children have to eat or to sleep is to be determined *abbatissae arbitrio*. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 25, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, p. 426 tells about the devastating effects of the abbess' lack of knowledge of what is going on in her monastery.

to everything happening *inside* of every individual nun.[84] This aspect of abbatial power and responsibility will be discussed in detail in my commentary to the chapters on confession (c. 6–7). Hearing confession is, as we also know from the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*, one of the most important tasks of the abbess – much more important that the day-to-day business of the monastery.

The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* does not contain an explicit reflection on the function of the abbess, but Jonas gives Burgundofara a role in almost every episode, usually calling her *mater* rather than referring to her by name.[85] He never calls her *abbatissa*. Burgundofara's function is largely in line with what we find in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: she does not rule by giving orders, but she prays for her nuns, hears confession, acts as a teacher, protects the community, and imposes mild sanctions.[86] Most of the day-to-day business, including the "dirty work" of punishment, are delegated, as we will see in the next chapter, to the *praeposita*.

The Prior/Prioress (Chapter 2)

There is, to my knowledge, no systematic study yet on the roles of priors and on the different leadership structures developed in early medieval normative texts, aside from a brief overview by Kassius Hallinger of references to the *praepositus* in the works of Gregory the Great, the *Regula Benedicti*, and other monastic rules, and Michaela Puzicha's invaluable commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*.[87] By assigning a crucial role in the monastery

(84) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: The abbess must make sure that no one avoids confession; c. 7.1: Confession is heard by the abbess, the prior, or a nun who is assigned to hear confession; c. 7.5–6: A nun hearing confession or imposing penance without the order of the abbess receives a severe penance because she has attempted to hide vices and transgression from the abbess; c. 16.5–9: Negligent nuns have to confess to the prior or the abbess immediately; c. 19.8: Delinquents receive forgiveness *ab abbatissa uel a senioribus*; c. 22.17: A nun has to confess another nun's transgression to the abbess or prior.

(85) On the role of the abbot according to the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Iohannis* see Helvétius, 'L'image de l'abbé', pp. 263–270.

(86) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259: Sisetrudis calls Burgundofara and implores her and the community to pray for her and says farewell to her and the community; c. 12, pp. 259–261: Burgundofara receives the nun Gibitrudis in the monastery; Gibitrudis prays for the recovery of Burgundofara so that she may die first; c. 13, pp. 262–264: Burgundofara takes such care of Ercantrudis that she does not know the difference between men and women; Burgundofara excludes Ercantrudis from Communion; Ercantrudis says farewell to Burgundofara and the community; c. 15, pp. 265–266: Burgundofara rushes to Deurechilda's deathbed to pray with her; c. 16, pp. 267–268: Burgundofara sternly asks two young nuns to keep quiet about a miracle; two dying nuns ask Burgundofara to sing; c. 17, p. 269: a sinful nun reveals her secrets to Burgundofara in confession; c. 18, p. 271: Leudebertana is asked not to deviate from Burgundofara's teachings; Burgundofara is present at her last rites; c. 19, pp. 272–274: Burgundofara hears confession, tries to extract confession of the two fugitive nuns, decides after their death to have them buried outside the monastery, and later opens their grave; c. 21, p. 277: Burgundofara examines a miracle; c. 22, p. 279: the dying Beractrudis asks Burgundofara to come and to hear her confession.

(87) Hallinger, 'Papst Gregor der Grosse', pp. 296–305; Puzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 695–706. Adalbert de Vogüé's seminal study *Community and Abbot in the Rule of St Benedict* does not address the role of the *praepositus*. See also McLaughlin, Terrence P., *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'occident*, Poitiers: Imprimerie moderne 1935, pp. 55–56.

to the *praeposita* (prioress) Jonas follows Caesarius' Rule for Nuns rather than the *Regula Benedicti*. Caesarius repeatedly refers to the *praeposita* and her tasks, but does not dedicate a specific chapter to her, which indicates that for him her role in the monastery was self-evident enough not to deserve much reflection. He mentions the *praeposita* along with other officeholders that share her responsibilities, such as the *formaria* (the novice mistress), the *primiceria* (the choir mistress), the *lanipendia* (the sister in charge of the wool work), or the *posticiaria* (porter).[88] At one point, Caesarius makes a distinction between the abbess whom the nuns should obey (*oboedire*) and the prioress to whom the nuns should "report" (*deferre*), which captures the different levels of authority the abbess and the prioress hold.[89]

One important task that Caesarius' prioress shares with the abbess and other officeholders is to control that nothing is received or given without permission.[90] The prioress also oversees the wool work (along with the *lanipendia*) and the distribution of clothing and the care of the sick (along with the *formaria*).[91] She is, just like the abbess, bound to obey the *regula*.[92] None of this is made explicit in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but we may assume that Caesarius' model for a prioress forms the background of Jonas' provisions for this role. Like Caesarius, Jonas describes the *praeposita* as someone who oversees those holding specific offices in the monastery: the *cellararia*, the nun responsible for waking the other nuns up, and the nun in charge of tools and implements. In this regard, Jonas just fills in what Caesarius omitted.

In Caesarius' Rule, the expression *praeposita* appears almost exclusively in singular, implying that there was one nun holding this office. There is one passage that refers to *praepositae* (plural), which paraphrases Augustine's *Praeceptum*, stating that those who are *praepositae* (*uos, quae praepositae estis*) should not feel compelled to apologize to a nun for having used harsh words when reproaching her.[93] I would read *praepositae* in this context not as a noun but as a participle: "you, who has been put in charge" and not as a reference to several nuns holding the office of *praepositae* jointly.

In order to understand how Jonas describes the tasks of the *praeposita*, it is necessary to digress into the role of the *praepositus* in Benedict's Rule – and here the trouble starts. Its chapter dedicated to this office (c. 65) warns against appointing a single *praepositus* because delegating power to someone who is second in rank may cause conflicts in the community and undermine the authority of the abbot. This is, as Benedict states, especially the case if the *praepositus* is not appointed by the abbot and bound in obedience to him, but both of them are appointed at the same time by bishops or other abbots who are not part of the community. Only if absolutely necessary, the abbot should appoint a

(88) *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, *SC* 345, p. 192; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 44.2, p. 228. It seems that Caesarius invented these other functions since they do not appear in other sources except for those quoting his Rule.
(89) *CaesRV*, c. 18.1, p. 192: *Matri post Deum omnes oboediant; praepositae deferant.*
(90) *CaesRV*, c. 25.2, pp. 202–204; c. 30.5, p. 208; c. 35.10, p. 218; c. 43.3, p. 226.
(91) *CaesRV*, c. 27.2–3, pp. 204–206; c. 42.1, p. 224; c. 44.2, p. 228.
(92) *CaesRV*, c. 47.1–2, p. 232; c. 64.5, p. 250.
(93) *CaesRV*, c. 35.1–3, p. 216.

praepositus, but the chapter recommends that executive tasks are to be performed by various deans (*decani*) instead of one person.[94]

At two other places, however, the *Regula Benedicti* refers to several *praepositi* as a clearly defined group of monks appointed by the abbot. A monk should obey his immediate superior, unless a higher order comes from the abbot or one of his appointed *praepositi*.[95] A priest is required to follow the rule established for *decani* and *praepositi*.[96] In addition to the term *praepositus*, Benedict also uses the term *prior*. Just like *praepositus*, *prior* appears usually referring to one specific person, but it also appears in plural, as *priores* juxtaposed to *iuniores*.[97] Benedict does not share the concept of a *prior* with the *Regula Magistri*. There the term *prior* appears exclusively in reference to the designated abbot's predecessor in the chapter that regulates the succession of leadership.[98] The only other monastic rule that uses *prior* in the same way as the *Regula Benedicti* is the *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, where the *prior* (here always in singular) appears numerous times as the one who exercises power and makes decisions.[99]

This inconsistency in terms and concepts fuels the hypothesis that the *Regula Benedicti* was not be written by one author or, at least, not at one moment in time, and that it shows traces of various organizational structures. This would explain why the *Regula Benedicti* warns against appointing a *praepositus* at one point while at other places taking his existence for granted.

The *Regula Magistri* is more consistent, referring to *praepositi* (in plural) no fewer than 140 times, assigning them a crucial role in supervision, maintaining discipline, and especially controlling every spoken word.[100] Each group of ten monks should have two *praepositi* so that there is one overseer present even if the group splits up.[101] The Rule draws an analogy between this hierarchical structure and the ecclesiastical hierarchy (with priests and bishops as overseers).[102] *Praepositi* refers, thus, in the *Regula Magistri* to roughly the same group that Benedict indicates as *decani uel praepositi*. The term *decani* does not appear in the *Regula Magistri*. The *Regula Magistri*, though, expresses similar anxieties as Benedict's Rule about a second in command who may accumulate too much power. It recommends that the abbot constantly changes the hierarchical structures in the monastery, but does not

(94) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 65, *SC* 182, pp. 654–658. See also c. 21, p. 538 (on the *decani*).

(95) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.3, p. 668: *Praemisso ergo abbatis aut praepositorum qui ab eo constituuntur imperio, cui nun permittimus priuata imperia praeponi, de cetero omnes iuniores prioribus suis omni caritate et sollicitudine oboediant.*

(96) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 62.7, p. 642.

(97) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.7, *SC* 181, pp. 470–472; c. 7.41, p. 482 (deviating from the *Regula Magistri*); c. 13.12, *SC* 182, p. 520; c. 40.5, p. 580; c. 43.19, p. 590; c. 53.3/8/10, p. 612; c. 63.10–15, pp. 644–646 (in plural, as opposed to *iuniores*); c. 68.4, p. 664; c. 71.4–7, p. 668 (in plural, as opposed to *iuniores*).

(98) *Regula Magistri*, c. 93, *SC* 106, pp. 424–440.

(99) *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 4.1–2, ed. Vilanova, pp. 109–110; c. 5, p. 110; c. 7, pp. 110–111; c. 9.1, p. 112; c. 14.2, p. 113; c. 17.1, p. 115; c. 27.2, p. 118; c. 28–29, p. 119; c. 31, pp. 119–120; c. 35.1, p. 122; c. 36.1, p. 122; c. 39.1, p. 123. The *abbas* appears only in c. 24.3, p. 117 on assigning work, and in c. 29.1, p. 119 in the context of tonsure. The *Regula Pauli et Stephani* does not use the term *praepositus*; the *abbas* plays only a marginal role.

(100) See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 11, *SC* 106, pp. 6–32.

(101) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.4, p. 8.

(102) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.6–14, pp. 8–10.

refer to a *praepositus* in this context. There is, however, even in the *Regula Magistri* someone who is second in command: the designated successor of the abbot. The Rule addresses extensively the danger that the monk who holds this position may overstep the boundaries of his authority.[103]

There is, thus, even among and within Caesarius' Rule, the *Regula Benedicti*, and the *Regula Magistri* a Babylonian confusion of tongues with regard to the meaning of *praepositus*/*praeposita* and with regard to identifying the person or people who are second in command or, in modern terms, the "leadership team" of the monastery. This confusion spills over into the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which gives the term *praeposita* at least three different meanings. At several instances Jonas identifies the *praeposita* as the one who is second in command.[104] At one place he refers to one *praeposita senior* who is supported by various *iuniores praepositae*.[105] In other places the *praeposita* is the highest in command in specific constellations: at table or in groups of nuns working together.[106] Either Jonas was not really interested in using the term in a consistent manner, or its diverse use reflects different stages of institutional development: moving from a small community with one representative of the abbess to a larger community that required an entire "leadership team" to maintain the high level of control and supervision Jonas' Rule required.

It is, in any case, obvious that we have to establish the meaning of *praepositus* and *praeposita* from its context every time the term appears. This confusion of terms is also a general reminder that the internal structures of monasteries were by no means fixed but constantly *in flux* and that there is a tension between institutional and real power structures. We can say that monastic rules slowly move towards a consensus of defining the *praepositus* or *praeposita* as responsible for the community's day-to-day business, but they continue to define his or her tasks differently. Only four of them, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and the Spanish *Regula communis* contain extensive chapters on the *praepositus* or (in the case of the *Regula Magistri*) *praepositi*.[107] All other monastic rules refer, like Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, occasionally to the tasks of the *praepositus* or *praeposita* without much reflection and seemingly taking his/her role for granted. The fact that the *praepositus* and *praeposita* are virtually absent from narrative texts does not make it easier to gain access to the varying internal structures and hierarchies in monastic communities.

Aside from the provisions of the notoriously loquacious *Regula Magistri*, Jonas' chapter on the *praeposita* is the longest and, as we will see, most complicated reflection on the *praeposita* or *praepositus* that we can find in monastic rules. Jonas seems to be less interested in giving a clear definition of her tasks than in using the *praeposita* as a case in point for explaining the specific responsibilities of those playing a leading role in the monastery. He conti-

(103) *Regula Magistri*, c. 92–94, pp. 410–442.
(104) *RcuiV*, c. 2.1–14; c. 7.1; c. 12.5; c. 12.9; c. 12.27; c. 16.5; c. 22.17; c. 22.21.
(105) *RcuiV*, c. 2.19–19.
(106) *RcuiV*, c. 9.10; c. 10.17; c. 11.8; c. 12.19–21.
(107) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11, *SC* 106, pp. 6–32; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 65, *SC* 182, pp. 654–658; *Regula communis*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 191–192.

nues the reflection on power and motivation that he started in the previous chapter and uses the *praeposita* to elaborate on various new aspects of his monastic ideal.

Here follows a detailed analysis of Jonas' text:

> [1] Praeposita monasterii non aetate saenili sed moribus constituenda est. [2] Multas etenim prolixitas annorum attollit, sed decus torpentis uitae ad infantiae inmaturitatem tepescendo reducit.
>
> [[1] The prioress of the monastery ought not to be appointed because of her old age but because of her character. [2] For indeed, the abundance of years extols many, but it reduces the splendour of life of someone inactive to the immaturity of infancy by becoming tepid.]

Jonas begins with a recommendation against choosing a *praeposita* based on seniority. She needs to be in her prime and may not be weakened by old age. Whether the abbess is old or not seems to not matter as much because it is the *praeposita* who is responsible for the day-to-day leadership, and the abbess may, as Jonas will say, "rest" above her. Jonas sets the tone in this chapter by using three terms related to the semantic field of weakness: *torpere* (to be inactive), *tepescere* (becoming tepid), and *inmaturitas* (immaturity). The theme of strength and weakness runs through the entire chapter.

After describing the physical and mental requirements for acting as a *praeposita*, Jonas adds a list of qualifications, which vaguely echoes the list of qualities Benedict expects from the *cellararius*.[108] Jonas provides for every officeholder a set of specific qualifications, but none of them is as extensive as the requirements the *praeposita* should fulfil. It contains no fewer than twenty items:

> [3] Constituenda ergo est praeposita moribus grauis, sermone sollers, ingenio fortis, consideratione uigil, cursu inpigra, [4] correptione pia, disciplina moderata, actu casta, moribus sobria, dispensatione equa, humilitate ornata, patiens, mitis, non turbulenta, non iracunda, [5] non superbiae uel arrogantiae uitio maculata, non prodiga, non garrula, sed omni actu religionis ornata, [6] quae sciat languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare.
>
> [3] Therefore, a prioress ought to be appointed who is serious in her character, skilful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, energetic in service, [4] loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behaviour, sober in character, equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, [5] not defiled by the vice of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous, but adorned with every behaviour of piety, [6] so that she knows how to support those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid.

There is a loose structure in this list of requirements. It begins with pointing out that a *praeposita* is "serious of character" (*moribus grauis*). In the middle of the list Jonas requires that she is "sober of character" (*moribus sober*). At the end, he concludes that a *praeposita* needs to be "adorned with every behaviour of piety" (*omni actu religionis ornata*). Between these rather general characterizations, we can vaguely identify three blocks of character traits and qualifications that align with the three main tasks of the *praeposita*. In the first block, she needs to be "skilful in speaking, strong in temperament, alert in consideration, energetic in service". She needs to be vigorous and highly motivated and should not show

(108) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1–4, *SC* 182, p. 556.

any sign of weakness that Jonas associates with old age. The next block describes traits she should display in her disciplining function: "loving in reproach, moderate in punishment, virtuous in behaviour". The third section of the list mostly relates to qualities one should have and the vices one should avoid as a good administrator: "equal in provision, adorned with humility, patient, gentle, not disordered, not wrathful, not defiled by the vice of pride or presumption, not lavish, not garrulous".

After this long list of the prioress' strength, moral virtues, and skills, Jonas comes to one of the central tasks of the *praeposita*: to assist to those of inert character and to stir up the idleness of the tepid (*languentium moribus subuenire et tepescentium ignauiam excitare*). This is the fourth time that Jonas uses the expression *mores* (character). With *languens*, *tepescens*, and *ignauia* we have another set of terms related to weakness and sluggishness, which frames an extensive list of "energetic" qualities of the *praeposita*.

Now follows a digression which has nothing to do with the previous and the following section. Some of it may have been inserted at a later stage into an already existing text:

> 7 Super quam abbatissa requiescat, ut in nullo ab eius praeceptis deuiet, 8 sed in omnibus subdita et in iussis senioris detenta nihilque abbatissae uoluntati sit contraria, aut faciat aut ordinet faciendum, sed omnia per eius interrogationem, iuxta illud quod scriptum est: *Interroga patrem tuum et adnuntiabit tibi, maiores tuos et dicent tibi.* (Deut. 32, 7) 9 Interrogandum semper est, ut in nullo a seniorum consilio animae subditae discrepent, in nullo oues absque pastoris uoluntate declinent. 10 Spraeuit namque seniorum consilia Roboam, iuuenum usus consilio. 11 Quae rei qualis dispendii fuerit occasio, Scripturae ueritas adtestatur, qui, omissam dominationem undecim tribuum, uix cum una tribu inter tot praessurarum dispendia, absque mortis crudelitate reliquum uitae peregit.
>
> [7 The abbess should rest above her, so that [the prioress] deviates by no means from her precepts, 8 but she should be subordinate in all regards and be bound by the commands of [her] senior. And she should never do anything that is opposed to the will of the abbess, or assign it to be done, but do all things by asking [the abbess], according to that which has been written: *Ask your father and he will make it known to you; [ask] your elders and they will tell you.* (Deut. 32, 7) 9 One must always ask, so that the inferior souls by no means differ from the advice of the elders – [that] by no means the sheep turn away from their path without the will of the shepherd. 10 For Roboam dismissed the advices of his elders, following the advice of the younger. 11 The truth of Scripture testifies to what a cause of loss this matter was: [Roboam] spent, after he had lost governance over eleven tribes, with just one tribe in the midst of so many damages of hardship, the rest of his life without the cruelty of death.]

This section reads like a response to the fears about the second in command expressed in the chapter on the prior in the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 65). The *praeposita* should make it possible that the abbess "rests", which is an odd term, clashing with the required power and energy of the *praeposita*. Jonas' use of *requiescere* might also be a direct reply to the *Regula Benedicti* because according to this Rule the abbot never sleeps.[109] The abbess can "rest" only if the *praeposita* never deviates from the will of the abbess. Yet Jonas avoids the term *oboedientia* and the *praeposita* has to do much more than just fulfilling the abbess' orders. She needs to act

(109) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 64.16, p. 652: *quia numquam requiescit.*

autonomously while still ensuring that she never opposes the abbess' intentions. What at first sight might look like a less stringent regime is, in fact, more authoritarian, but fully in line with Jonas' characterization of the abbess: the *praeposita* needs to carry out the orders that the abbess does not even have to give. In the words of the previous chapters, the *praeposita* needs to act in a way that no *iussio* or *ordinatio* is required but a *commeatus* suffices.

Jonas uses here, probably inspired by Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, the term *interrogare* in a peculiar sense: it is not the superior who "interrogates" the inferior, but the subordinate who "asks" the superior. Both Columbanus and Jonas refer to Deut. 32, 7 and turn the imperative of *interrogatio* into a general principle that replaces the notion of *oboedientia*: *any* subordinate soul (not just the *praeposita*) has to "ask" *any* senior to ensure that she does not deviate from the *consilium* (advice) and *uoluntas* (will) of her seniors. Columbanus turns in his *Regula monachorum* the imperative of *interrogare* into the epitome of *mortificatio* (which he understands as "killing one's own will" rather than bodily neglect).[110]

Jonas explains his concept of *interrogare* with a paraphrase of the story of Roboam (or Rehoboam) in III Kings 12, 6–19 and II Chronicles 10, 5–19, which he might have taken from Ambrose's *De officiis ministrorum*.[111] Referring to a failing Old Testament king seems to be odd at first sight but, in fact, makes perfect sense because it brings us back to the specific role of the *praeposita*. King Roboam fails in his own rule because he does not follow the *consilia* of his *seniores* and loses control over almost all of his tribes. In the same way a *praeposita* who deviates from the *consilium* of her abbess loses control over the nuns under her care. Another possible reason for this digression might be that Jonas wants to respond to the chapter of *Regula Benedicti* on the council of the brothers, which explicitly encourages the *iuniores* – those who gave bad advice to Roboam – to participate in the process of decision making.[112]

After this subtle but important digression into the nature of obedience (or rather Jonas' alternative to Benedict's understanding of a strictly hierarchical *oboedientia*), the Rule returns to the specific tasks of the *praeposita*:

> 12 Debet namque esse omnium necessitatum tam corporis quam animae prouida, ut et subsidia presentis necessitatis porrigat, et corda subditarum ad laudem creatoris intonandam ex sedula admonitione excitando erigat. 13 Humiles et propter Christum subiectas honorando in sublime prouehat, sese uero attollentes castigationis flagello ad gradus humilitatis retrahat. 14 Curam in rebus monasterii seu uasis seu suppellectilibus ita habeat intentam, ut in nullo neglegentiae tenebris repperiatur fuscata, 15 ut dum sacri laboris omnem curam adhibet, ab omnipotente fructum laboris recipiat.

(110) Compare Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 138–140, which defines *mortificatio* not as bodily *mortificatio* but as killing one's own will.

(111) Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum libris tres* II, c. 18.92–93, *PL* 16, col. 128B: *Quantum iniqui consiliarii damni afferant, exemplo decem tribuum a rege Roboam desciscentium sat intelligi. Egregie itaque uiros alicui praesidentes muneri commendat justitia: contra iniquitas destituit atque impugnat. Exemplo nobis est Scriptura quae dicit quia cum populus Israel post mortem Salomonis rogasset filium ejus, ut releuaret ceruices eorum a seruitute dura, et paterni imperii temperaret austeritatem, illum spreto senili consilio de suggestione adolescentium responsum dedisse hujusmodi, quia et onus adjiceret super patrium jugum, et leuiora grauioribus suppliciis mutaret.*

(112) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 3, *SC* 181, pp. 452–454.

> [12 In fact, [a prioress] ought to be provident to all necessities, both of body and soul, so that she provides the supply of the present needs and incites the hearts of those under her to sing the praise of the Creator, rousing them by persistent admonition. 13 She should in an approving manner raise to the heights the humble and those who are for Christ's sake subjected but draw those who exalt themselves back to a state of humility by the scourge of castigation. 14 She has to have such attentive care for the belongings of the monastery – be they vessels or implements – that by no means she be found darkened by the gloom of negligence, 15 so that, when she applies every care of sacred work, she receive from the Almighty the profit of [her] toil.]

Jonas begins this passage with *debet*, not *debet praeposita*, despite the fact that the term *praeposita* had not appeared in the previous five sentences. Grammatically, *debet* would rather refer back to *Roboam*, but it is clear that this is not what Jonas means. The abrupt *debet namque* indicates that the entire excursus on Roboam may have been inserted at a later point.

The Rule assigns the *praeposita* four responsibilities that, on the one hand, can be tied to the list of qualifications at the beginning of the chapter and, on the other hand, places her largely in the role of supervision over other officeholders who do the actual work. She needs to take care for the necessities of the body, which, in practice, means supervising the *cellararia* and those caring for the sick.[113] She needs to take care of the necessities of the soul, which means acting out what is, as we saw, the primary task of the abbess.[114] She needs to provide supplies for current needs, which also means supervising the *cellararia*.[115] She needs to ensure liturgical discipline, a task partly exercised by the nun in charge of awaking the community for nightly prayer.[116] She needs to incite the humble and humble those who are proud, which means, again, acting out a task that falls under the abbess' responsibility.[117] Finally, she needs to supervise the care of objects belonging to the monastery, which implies supervising the *portariae* (gatekeepers) who take care of guests, and the nun responsible for handing out and collecting tools and implements.[118]

In this chapter, Jonas largely just expands the list of responsibilities of the *praeposita* that he found in Caesarius' Rule. Yet in other parts of the Rule, Jonas adds a couple of new tasks she is to perform in her role as deputy of the abbess: hearing confession,[119] giving permission to speak,[120] supervising private work and ensuring silence,[121] checking whether those who did kitchen service took good care of their tools,[122] and serving as the primary

(113) *RcuiV*, c. 4; c. 15.
(114) *RcuiV*, c. 1.16.
(115) *RcuiV*, c. 4.
(116) *RcuiV*, c. 8.11.
(117) *RcuiV*, c. 1.13–15.
(118) *RcuiV*, c. 13.
(119) *RcuiV*, c. 7.1; c. 16.5; c. 22.17.
(120) *RcuiV*, c. 8.9. Compare to *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.20–48, *SC* 106, pp. 12–18, esp. c. 11.46, p. 18: *Quod si datus fuerit fratri locus loquendi, custodiat eum praepositus, ne satis clamosa uoce loquatur, quod sapientes non decet.*
(121) *RcuiV*, c. 12.5; c. 12.9.
(122) *RcuiV*, c. 12.27.

contact person for the nuns' problems.[123] The primary task of the *praeposita* seems, however, to incite, but also to control, the nuns' motivation, to identify, motivate and, if necessary, punish the tepid.

This section ends, like almost all chapters describing specific officeholders, announcing that the *praeposita* may receive a reward (*fructus*) for her care. It is likely that the chapter originally ended at this point and that the last section had been added later. Jonas suddenly talks about more than one *praeposita*: a *senior praeposita* and several supporting *iuniores praepositae*. He also moves from rather general requirements to a very specific assignment:

> 16 Omnibus sabbatis post horam orationis nonam tam senior quam iuniores praepositae lectos omnium sororum uisitent, et faciant propter eorum neglegentias inquirendas, aut si aliquid inueniatur inlicite et sine comeatu retentum. 17 Itemque post conpletam lectos omnium cum luminaribus uisitent, ut omnium expergescentem sensum uel tepescentem ex oratione agnoscant. 18 Similiter ad omnes cursus nocturnos hoc est faciendum, ut sciant quae cum feruore uel quae cum tepiditate ad cursum adsurgunt. 19 Et eas quas tarditate uel segnitia culpabiles reppererint, prout culpa uel aetas fuerit, aut increpatione aut flagello corripiant.
>
> [16 Every Saturday after the Ninth Hour of prayer, both the senior prioress and the junior prioresses should visit the beds of all the sisters, and they should do [that] in order to investigate their negligence: whether anything may be found retained illicitly and without permission. 17 Likewise, after Compline they should visit the beds of all [the sisters] with lanterns, so that they may recognize from their prayer the alert or tepid disposition of all [sisters]. 18 This is to be done likewise at all night-time services, so that they may know which of them rise for the service eagerly, and which with tepidity. 19 And those whom they find guilty of tardiness or sluggishness, they should chastise with exhortation or by the scourge, according to guilt or age.]

The practice of controlling every nun's bed appears as well in the *Regula Benedicti* and in the *Regula Fructuosi*.[124] The bed was probably the one and only truly private space, which was dedicated to storing objects for private use or clothing. Caesarius explicitly prohibits the nuns from having private wardrobes; Donatus mitigates this provision by prohibiting them from having wardrobes that could be locked with a key.[125]

The other provisions apply the care of the *praeposita* for the correct motivation and the fear of *neglegentia*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia* to one specific situation, that of going to sleep and awakening. The fact that lacking the right spirit in this particular context may not only lead to an admonition but also to corporal punishment shows that Jonas took the question of motivation, especially at these two moments, very seriously. This echoes Basil's provision that monks who show anger at those in charge of awakening them, have to face *excommunicatio*.[126] Two other rules that assign the *praepositus* the task of supervising the monks'

(123) *RcuiV*, c. 22.17.

(124) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 55.16, *SC* 182, p. 620; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 156. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 25, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, p. 425 tells how controlling the beds in the monastery of Coldingham brought various transgressions to light.

(125) *CaesRV*, c. 9.1–2, *SC* 345, pp. 186–188; *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1–2, *CSEL* 98, p. 153. On hiding objects in one's bed, see also Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CCSL* 148A, p. 181.

(126) *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, *CSEL* 86, p. 110. See also pp. 514–515.

sleep are the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Fructuosi*. According to both rules, the monks' beds need to be arranged around the bed of the *praepositus*.[127]

The last section of Jonas' chapter, on the prioresses' control of the rising of the nuns for prayer emphasizes the "performative" or even "choreographic" side of monastic discipline that will return at several places in the Rule.[128] The prioresses' concern is not only *that* the nuns rise timely and swiftly for nightly prayer,[129] but *how* the nuns' bodies express their strong motivation (or lack thereof) through the way they rise from their beds. This resonates with the emphasis on the *forma actuum* (the appearance of deeds) and the *uox* (voice) of the abbess in the first chapter. The prioresses have to "listen" to what the nuns say through their bodies as much as they have to be able to control every spoken word.[130] Since these provision form part of Jonas' general assessment of sleep, I will analyze them more in-depth in the commentary on the chapter that is dedicated to sleeping arrangements (c. 14).

In conclusion, Jonas combines two main themes in this chapter. He elaborates on the concept of "a rule without order and obedience" that he developed in the previous chapter. Instead of stating that the *praeposita* needs to follow the abbess' orders, she needs to ensure that the abbess can "rest" above her, and instead of emphasizing that the *praeposita* controls how her subordinates perform their tasks, Jonas simply emphasizes her *cura*. Strict lines of command are replaced by the imperative of *interrogare*.

The second topic of Jonas' chapter on the *praeposita* is that of motivation or the lack thereof. The main task of the *praeposita* is "to assist to those of inert character and how to stir up the idleness of the tepid". If the abbess is a coach and a benevolent castigator who brings delinquents back on track,[131] the *praeposita* is supposed to act as an animator dealing with a different but not less serious problem, that of feeble, lukewarm, unmotivated, and negligent nuns. No other monastic rule is as much concerned with the problem of lack of motivation and no other rule assesses the individual member as much according to her internal attitude and state of mind, which needs to be vigorously controlled and fostered both by motivation and by punishment.

Jonas develops throughout this chapter a broad spectrum of positive and negative motivational terms: on the one hand *torpens uita*, *tepescere*, *languens*, *ignauia tepescentium*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *sensus tepescens*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia*; on the other hand *sollers*, *fortis*, *uigil*, *inpiger*, *excitare*, *excitando erigere*, *in sublime prouehere*, *sensus expergescens*, *feruor*. Most of these expressions

(127) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.108, *SC* 106, p. 28; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 139–141.

(128) Another, more discrete, reference to the performative side can be found in the description of the qualities of the *prioress*, especially *RcuiV*, c. 2.5: *sed omni actu religionis ornata*. Just as in chapter 1, the author uses *actus* and not just *opus*.

(129) Maintaining the discipline of nightly prayer is a matter of particular concern in several hagiographic texts. See, for example, *Vita Alcuini*, c. 2, *MGH Script*. 15, p. 185; *Vita Austrebertae*, c. 16, *AASS* Feb., vol. 2, p. 422E–423A.

(130) The prioress' control over spoken words appears in *RcuiV*, c. 7.1; c. 9.9; c. 12.9; c. 16.5; c. 22.17; c. 22.21.

(131) See p. 355.

recur later in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*,[132] and appear as well in the *Vita Columbani*.[133] Only seven of them come from the *Regula Benedicti* whose main concern is obedience and humility rather than sluggishness, lack of motivation, and negligence.[134]

The Gatekeepers (Chapter 3)

Chapter 3 on the *portariae* is one of the richest and most complicated parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It gives us access to a variety of aspects of everyday monastic life, but also addresses, like the previous chapters, some of the central themes of Jonas' monastic programme, reinforces points already made in the previous chapters, and adds new ones.

The *Regula Benedicti* devotes only a very short chapter to the gatekeepers (*portarii*) which had little impact on Jonas' Rule.[135] Jonas did, however, mine other parts of the *Regula Benedicti* for material he could use to compose this chapter, using provisions on the reception of guests, receiving gifts and letters, travelling monks, the *cellararius*, and the weekly reader.[136] He transformed this material into a highly original reflection on the nature of the boundaries of the monastery and its interactions with the surrounding world, which is particularly relevant for understanding Jonas' concept of the monastic space. Much more than in the *Regula Benedicti* we can see here the origins of the medieval "cloister". I have already addressed Jonas' concept of space in the previous section of this book, but Jonas' chapter on the *portariae* deserves nevertheless a detailed analysis in itself. Every sentence opens a different door to Jonas' monastic world. The chapter allows us to peek into the intermediate space between enclosure and the boundaries of the monastery. Its title does not at all cover the breadth of its content. Jonas shows how his spacial ideal manifests itself on the ground, but he also addresses themes such as motivation, intercession, the flow of information, interactions with the outside world and the sacredness of objects belonging to the monastery.

Chapter 3 can be divided into seven sections: an introduction on the necessary qualities of the *portaria uel ostiaria* (c. 3.1–6), followed by five different sets of regulations: how to interact with outsiders (c. 3.7–9); on the tasks of the *portaria*, which includes the care for the poor, strangers, and guests, and processing gifts the monastery received from outsiders (c. 3.10–12); on the strict prohibition of the *portariae* to lend their ears to *fabulae* told outside the monastery and to transmit them into the community (c. 3.13–16); on the

(132) The expressions *torpere*, *tepescere*, *ignauia*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *tarditas*, *segnitia*, *sollers*, *uigil*, *excitare*, and *feruor* appear elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*; the expressions *languens*, *tepiditas*, *fortis*, *inpiger*, *erigere*, *prouehere*, and *expergisci* appear only in chapter 2.

(133) This is the case for *torpens*, *ignauia*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *tepiditas*, *tarditas*, *segnitia*, *sollers*, *fortis*, *uigil*, *excitare*, *erigere*, *prouehere*, and *feruor*. Only the expressions *tepescere*, *languens*, *inpiger*, and *expergisci* do not appear in the *Vita Columbani*.

(134) The expressions *tardis*, *tepidus*, *neglegentia*, *tenebrae*, *feruor*, *erigere*, and *non piger* are also found in the *Regula Benedicti*.

(135) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1–5, *SC* 182, pp. 658–660.

(136) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.10, p. 558: on the sacredness of vessels; c. 38.10–11, p. 576: on the weekly reader; c. 53.15, p. 614: on the care for the poor and strangers; c. 54.1–2, p. 616: prohibition against receiving gifts without permission of the abbot; c. 67.5–6, p. 662: on bringing gossip into the monastery.

abbess holding control of the monastery's keys (c. 3.17–20); and on the care for guests (c. 3.21–24). The chapter concludes with an exhortation that the *ostiariae* may expect their reward (*merces*) for their efforts if they act with all zeal in keeping the wording of the Rule (*tenor regulae*) (c. 3.25).

We find this division between a general reflection and a series of practical implementations in several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Chapter 3 shares with these other chapters that it is not a comprehensive set of norms on a certain topic but a sequence of provisions on various, only loosely related topics. In this case Jonas addresses specific roles of the gatekeepers and shows how his disciplinary programme manifests itself within the space in which they operate. A few more references to gatekeepers and to the interaction between the nuns and outsiders appear in other chapters.[137] The introductory remarks at the beginning of chapter 3 unfold themselves thus not only in the chapter itself but throughout the entire Rule. Jonas works, as we already saw, with a web of cross-references.

The restrictions of contact between nuns and the outside world and the boundaries of monastic space are addressed in detail in Caesarius' Rule, which allows Jonas to pick and choose topics that either mitigate what Caesarius required or stress the programmatic points Jonas wants to make. Jonas' scattered remarks on the gatekeepers and on the spatial organization of the monastery constitute, however, neither a comprehensive task description nor a complete description of the monastic space and its boundaries. It's just a tip of the iceberg. Whatever he took for granted, remains invisible to us.

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns does not refer to a *portaria*, because no nun is allowed to operate outside the enclosure or to take care of guests.[138] The economic affairs of the monastery were to be carried out by a *prouisor* (administrator).[139] Donatus collected some of Caesarius' references to the *prouisor* and created a separate chapter on this office. It is therefore possible that Faremoutiers and other female (and maybe male) communities employed a *prouisor* as well and that Jonas simply did not see the need to add anything new to Caesarius' provisions.[140]

Another office mentioned several times in Caesarius' Rule but not by Jonas is that of the *posticiaria* who controls which goods, gifts, and letters enter or leave the monastery. The term *posticiaria* appears exclusively in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and in texts using this Rule.[141] Jonas probably decided against using Caesarius' term and may have considered his *posticiariae* simply belonging to the group of gatekeepers.

(137) *RcuiV*, c. 1.8; c. 4.10; c. 9.12; c. 22.22–23.

(138) *CaesRV*, c. 39–40, *SC* 345, pp. 220–222; c. 53, p. 240.

(139) *CaesRV*, c. 23.6, p. 200; c. 36.1–5, pp. 218–220; c. 39.2, p. 222; c. 42.6–7, p. 224; Caesarius, *Testament* 18–20, p. 386.

(140) *Regula Donati*, c. 55, *CSEL* 98, pp. 174–175; c. 50, p. 171; c. 58, p. 176. Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 19, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 44, p. 252; c. 48, p. 253; and *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, p. 30 show that not only female communities delegated economic matters to a *prouisor*. It is possible that the monks Waldebert and Chagnoald, who according to the *Vita Columbani* were involved in the foundation of Faremoutiers and acted as the nuns' supervisors, also fulfilled the role of *prouisor*. See *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243.

(141) *CaesRV*, c. 25.4–6, *SC* 345, p. 202; c. 30.1, p. 208; c. 30.4–6, pp. 208–210; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 43.2–4, p. 226. *Regula Donati*, c. 53.9–10, *CSEL* 98, p. 174; c. 60.4–5, p. 177; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 24, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8, p. 383.

Jonas' very extensive reflection on the *portariae* may have been motivated by the fact that the spatial organization of Faremoutiers turned out to be different from that of Caesarius' monastery but also from the monastery envisioned by the *Regula Benedicti*. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns describes a monastery that consists of a completely enclosed space which overlaps with the outside world only at one place, the *salutatorium*.[142] This *salutatorium* is not just an audience chamber but a sort of safety lock between the monastery and the outside world that serves different purposes.[143] It allows the nuns to meet visitors, but it is also the space where novices had to stay until admitted to the community and where excommunicated nuns were to be confined.[144] All other public places belonging to Caesarius' monastery, the basilica, and its estates, are off-limits for the nuns.[145]

The monastery for which the *Regula Benedicti* was written had an inner space in which the monks ate and slept, but the Rule gives little indication of a strict separation between the monastery at large where monks and laypeople could mingle and the space where the monks were by themselves. The *Regula Benedicti* does not assign the gatekeepers a very important role. Their work can be done by two old men since it mostly consists of opening and closing the gate, welcoming visitors, and tending to the poor.[146] It is no wonder that Benedict's chapter on the gatekeepers was of little use to Jonas.

The spatial organization envisioned by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* might be best understood as a hybrid of Benedict's and Caesarius' models. It consists, like Benedict's monastery, of an inner section reserved for members of the community, but this section is, like Caesarius' enclosure, strictly inaccessible to outsiders. Jonas calls this part of the monastery the *septa*, the *septa monasterii*, or (in the *Vita Columbani*) the *septa secretiora*. Jonas' *portariae* and *ostiariae* operate within the *monasterium* but outside the *septa*. They guard the gate, interact with outsiders, control which goods leave or enter the monastery, care for the poor, and host guests and pilgrims.

The *Vita Columbani* indicates that Luxeuil itself had such a double structure of inaccessible *septa* within an accessible *monasterium*. Jonas admits that this spatial organization was an innovation deviating from local customs – the *mores comprouinciales*, as he calls them.[147]

(142) The only other rules that refer to a monastic *salutatorium* are Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1, ed. Schmidt, p. 240; c. 14, p. 245; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 1, *PL* 68, col. 399D; c. 14, col. 401D.

(143) The term *salutatorium* appears rarely in classical and medieval Latin. It usually refers to an audience chamber. It is used as such in *Vita Caesarii* II, c. 16, *SC* 536, p. 266.

(144) *CaesRV*, c. 38.1, *SC* 345, p. 220; c. 43.3, p. 226; c. 58.1, p. 242; c. 65.1–2, pp. 250–252. On spatial separation as punishment, see Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149–166.

(145) *CaesRV*, c. 2.3, p. 180; c. 50, p. 236; c. 59.1, p. 242; c. 70.4, p. 268. References to the property of Caesarius' monastery can be found in *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 48, *SC* 536, pp. 214–216; II, c. 11, p. 258.

(146) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1–5, *SC* 182, pp. 658–660. For a detailed analysis of this chapter, see Scheiba, Manuela, 'Der Dienst an der Klosterpforte. Beobachtungen zur Gestalt der Klosterpförtner in RB und RM', in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 63–86.

(147) *VCol* I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 7. This expression can be found only once in *VCol* and in a paraphrase of the respective passage in Fredegar's *Chronicle* IV, c. 36, ed. John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1960, p. 26.

King Theuderic II made a claim on these *mores comprouinciales* when demanding access to the *septa* of Luxeuil; Columbanus refused to allow him to enter, calling Theuderic's intentions a violation of the *regula*. Violating the *septa* and breaking the *regula* of Luxeuil by entering its refectory was, according to Jonas, a transgression serious enough to cause not only Theuderic's own downfall but also that of the entire branch of the Merovingian family headed by his grandmother Brunichildis.[148] In the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* Jonas gives an account of another equally fatal violation of the monastic space by the evil courtier Aega.[149] Jonas' episode on the fugitive nuns (which I discussed in Chapter 1) indicates that the *septa* of Faremoutiers were surrounded by a wall that could be crossed only with considerable effort.[150] Crossing the boundary illicitly in any direction may be fatal.

It is widely assumed that Faremoutiers and other seventh-century female foundations were – or at least became – "double monasteries" (a modern term) that consisted of an enclosed female community that was served by a community of monks of lower social standing who were responsible for sustaining the monastery and interacting with the outside world.[151] Based on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* we can cautiously infer that Faremoutiers was, at least at the point when the Rule was written down, not such a double monastery yet. The fact that supervising male members of the community was not under the purview of the abbess and that the *portariae* took up the task of attending to the poor, strangers, and guests, speaks against the presence of monks in the community, though it is possible that there were male servants who operated outside of the *septa monasterii*. The same applies to the monastery addressed by the *Regula Donati*. Donatus does also not give any indication of a community of monks present at his mother's foundation. On the other hand, the *Vita* of Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, is full of allusions to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* while at the same time indicating that Chelles was indeed a female monastery that housed monks as well.[152]

Jonas begins his chapter with a description of the doorkeeper's qualifications since not everyone may be suitable to perform this task:

> [1] Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, *quibus mundus* (Gal. 6 14)…, si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent, [2] sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: *Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam*. (Ps. 72/73, 28) [3] Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum

(148) *VCol* I, c. 19, pp. 189–191, analyzed in Diem, Albrecht, 'Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man', in: *Speculum* 82 (2007), pp. 521–559, at pp. 531–538.

(149) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269. See p. 218.

(150) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272.

(151) On double monasteries, see Beach Alison I. and Andrea Jugănaru, 'The Double Monastery as an Historiographical Problem', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Western Monasticism*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 561–578; Hilpisch, Stephan, *Die Doppelklöster. Entstehung und Organisation*, Münster: Aschendorff 1928, pp. 25–44; Peyroux, Catherine, *Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West*, Ph.D. thesis Princeton University 1991.

(152) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, p. 93A.

contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt? 4 Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae, ut Domino cum Propheta orando dicant: *Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos.* (Ps. 118/119, 37)

[1 A porter or doorkeeper of the monastery ought be of the sort who build up reward for all the nuns together: [sisters] who are old in age, to whom the world [is crucified] (Gal. 6 14) if they desire nothing of the present pomp any more, 2 but let all say, clinging with all affection of the heart to the Creator: *It is good for me to adhere to God, to place my hope in the Lord God.* (Ps. 72/73, 28) 3 For what should they desire from present vanities? For they have begun to love Christ after they have despised superficial things. They have understood through contemplation of the mind that the highest good remains in Christ. 4 Therefore, [porters] should be very steadfast in the state of their mind, so that they may say to the Lord in prayer with the Prophet: *Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way.* (Ps. 118/119, 37)]

In the previous chapter Jonas emphasizes that old age might disqualify a nun from serving as a *praeposita* because it may lead to inactivity and weakness. A *portaria uel ostiaria*, quite differently, is allowed – or rather expected – to be old (*aetate senili*), which is about the only thing she shares with Benedict's *portarius*.[153] Unlike the abbess, a gatekeeper does not have to be *sapiens* because she is not supposed to make her own decisions.[154]

Jonas uses both *portaria* and *ostiaria* to describe the function of the gatekeepers. The term *portarius* appears in the *Regula Benedicti*;[155] in his *Vita Columbani* Jonas uses *ostiarius*, which also appears in the *Regula Magistri*.[156] Oddly, Jonas uses initially the singular even though he later refers to several *portariae* and *ostiariae*. He may have addressed a community that used these expressions interchangeably, but it is, as we will see, more likely that *portaria* and *ostiaria* refer to different roles, one related to the *ostia*, the doors of the *septa monasterii*, the other to the *porta*, the gate that forms the border between the monastery and the outside world. This does not preclude, however, that one nun could fulfil both roles if she operates in the space between the *ostia* and the *porta*. It is consistent that Jonas in his chapter on silence (c. 9) gives the *portaria* a special permission to speak with outsiders, but not the *ostiaria*.[157]

The gatekeepers are supposed to "build up" or accumulate profit (*merces*) for the entire community. *Merces* is, primarily, to be understood spiritually, and we find the idea that the individual nun is responsible for a collective *merces* at several points throughout the Rule. It is one of the central aspects of Jonas' programme. *Merces* may, however, at this particular

(153) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.1, *SC* 182, p. 658.
(154) *RcuiV*, c. 3.11.
(155) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 66.2, *SC* 182, pp. 658–660; c. 66.5, p. 660. Benedict uses *ostiarius* in the title of his chapter, but not in the text.
(156) *VCol* I, c. 22, p. 204, l. 8 and l. 17; *Regula Magistri*, c. 30, *SC* 106, pp. 162–168; c. 53, pp. 242–256; c. 95, pp. 442–448. Another example of Jonas changing Benedict's language can be found in *RcuiV*, c. 13: *De utensilibus uel supellectilibus*, which closely paraphrases *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32, *SC* 182, p. 560: *De ferramentis uel rebus monasterii*. The otherwise very rare term *suppellectiles* appears in *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 23; c. 23, p. 205, l. 20 and p. 206, l. 1/7. The term *usitilia* appears in *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.57, p. 82; c. 18.3, p. 88; c. 79.3, p. 322, but not in the *Regula Benedicti*.
(157) *RcuiV*, c. 9.12.

place also have a material implication since it is the task of the *portariae* to receive gifts from outsiders and carry them into the monastery.

The main qualifications of the gatekeepers are, on the one hand, the complete detachment from all desire (*desiderium*) of worldly pomp (*pompa*), vanities (*faleramenta*), and superficialities (*perfunctoria*) and, on the other hand, the full and unconditional love (*affectus*, *amor*) of the Creator and dedication of their mind (*mens*) to Christ. In describing the gatekeepers' qualifications, Jonas also uses a number of key terms that appear throughout his Rule, especially the expression *mens*. Jonas' entire programme of monastic discipline targets the *mens* and its focus on God rather than the world. It is consistent that only those whose *mens* appears to be steadfast, should be allowed to interact with the world.[158] The other two key terms, which are closely related to concern about the *mens*, are *desiderium* and *amare*. Both appear throughout the Rule with positive and negative connotations: one can love and desire the right or the wrong object, and it is Jonas' primary concern to channel *desiderium* and *amor* in the right direction.[159] Jonas devotes one entire chapter (c. 5) to the question of how the nuns should (and should not) love.

Jonas develops the programmatic part of this chapter along the line of three biblical quotations – and we will find a similar technique of shaping a theological argument through a chain of biblical words at several places in the Rule, most prominently in chapters 5, 6, and 23 and in *De accedendo ad Deum*.[160] Another technique that will reappear is that of phrasing ideas in the form of rhetorical questions. We will encounter seven more rhetorical questions throughout the Rule, and all of them ask why a nun who has already left the world would want to return either physically or mentally.[161]

We hear in these rhetorical questions an echo of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns that describes monastic entry as a triumphant escape from the jaws of the spiritual wolves. No nun who has reached that point would willingly throw herself to the wolves again.[162] The main difference is that Caesarius understands this abandonment of the world primarily as a matter of impenetrable physical boundaries while Jonas focusses on a mental detachment from the world. Once this detachment has been achieved and the *status mentis* has been most thoroughly fortified, the nun is ready to leave the monastic enclosure. We may understand this short introductory section also as a response to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure and an explanation why total enclosure is, on the one hand, insufficient for achieving safety and, on the other hand, unnecessary for those whose mind is sufficiently enclosed.

(158) On the *mens*, see also pp. 360–361.

(159) Good *desiderium*/*desiderare*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.6; c. 9.6; evil *desiderium*/*desiderare*: c. 3.1; c. 3.3; c. 14.8; c. 17.3; good *amor*/*amare*: c. 3.3; c. 5.9; c. 5.26; c. 23.6; c. 23.9; c. 24.5; evil *amor*/*amare*: c. 5.9.

(160) On the use of the Bible in Jonas' hagiographic works, see O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 155–184.

(161) *RcuiV*, c. 9.2–6: on idle speech; c. 17.1/2/6: on renunciation of property, desiring worldly things, and giving up one's own will; c. 23.1/4/5: on giving up one's own soul, giving up one's own will, and not defending a family member.

(162) *CaesRV*, c. 2.2, *SC* 345, p. 180.

Jonas develops his argument through a series of biblical references. Of the first one, Gal. 6, 14, Jonas only gives two words, *quibus mundus…* (through which the world…). The audience has to fill in the rest: "…has been crucified to me, and I to the world". The gap may be a text loss, but neither Benedict of Aniane nor Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel saw a need to fill it. More complete paraphrases of Gal. 6, 14 appear later in the Rule, again as part of a rhetorical question about the renunciation of the world.[163] The image of "being crucified to the world" is common. It appears in the *Regula Basilii*, Aurelianus' Rule, the *Regula Magistri*, Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, and the *Regula communis* (though not in the *Regula Benedicti*).[164] The second biblical verse, Ps. 72/73, 28, emphasizes the attachment to God; the third one, Ps. 118/119, 37, links turning one's gaze away from the vanities of the world to being on the life-giving path to salvation.[165] None of these Psalm verses are used in other monastic rules.

It is noteworthy that neither in the context of the *portariae* nor anywhere else in his Rule (or his *Vita Columbani*) does Jonas refer to a nun's chastity as condition for interacting with outsiders. Caesarius' letter *Vereor* and other earlier exhortations to virgins (e.g. by Jerome or Euagrius Ponticus) were full of warnings that interactions with outsiders may endanger a sacred woman's chastity – or have a negative impact on these outsiders.[166] Jonas does not explicitly address this topic. Maybe he considered Caesarius' provision on the *custodia oculorum* (control of one's eyes)[167] and his own requirement not to speak to strangers without a third nun as a witness to be sufficient. The almost complete absence of chastity and sexual temptation from Jonas' (but also Columbanus') monastic discourse is nevertheless striking.[168]

There is a lot going on in these first three sentences of the *portaria* chapter because Jonas' scope at this point is much wider than just discussing the role of the gatekeepers. He uses his introduction to address the core of his monastic ideal. In the next section, however, he zooms in on their specific tasks and their interaction with the outside world:

> [5] Tale semper superuenientibus ostendant exemplum, ut et foris ab extraneis nomen Domini glorificetur, iuxta quod Dominus ait: *Sic luceat lux uestra coram omnibus hominibus, ut uideant opera uestra bona et glorificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est.* (Matth. 5, 16) [6] Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam.
>
> [[5] They should always show such an example to those who arrive, that also outside [the monastery] the name of the Lord be glorified by strangers, according to what the Lord says: *So*

(163) *RcuiV*, c. 17.1; c. 23.2–5.

(164) *Regula Basilii*, c. 4, *CSEL* 86, pp. 32–34; c. 82, pp. 116–117; *Regula Magistri*, c. 91, *SC* 106, pp. 398–410; *CaesRV*, c. 52.7, *SC* 345, p. 240; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, ed. Schmidt, pp. 239–241; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, prologue, *PL* 68, col. 400A; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 126, l. 12; *Regula communis*, c. 1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 174, l. 49. See also *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 24.

(165) *Auerte oculos meos ne uideant uanitatem. In uia tua uiuifica nos* (Turn away my eyes lest they see vanity. Quicken us in your way). Jonas uses the variant *uiuifica nos* instead of *uiuifica me*.

(166) Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 60–61 and pp. 168–173.

(167) *CaesRV*, c. 23, *SC* 345, pp. 198–200.

(168) Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 249–252. Only the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 18, ed. Villegas, p. 25 refers explicitly to monks committing sexual transgressions and restricting contacts between male and female communities as a means of prevention.

> *should your light shine before all men, that they see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.* (Matth. 5, 16) 6 And inside [the monastery] let them acquire the profits of reward from their fellow sisters while they take in their turn care of all outside.]

Jonas shows here that the *pompa*, *faleramenta*, and *perfunctoria* do not stand for the outside world *per se*. There are people out there who, following the example of the *portariae*, glorify the name of the Lord, which makes it possible – or even necessary – that nuns of a *status mentis firmissima* (very steadfast in the state of their mind) interact with visitors from the outside world. The nuns' good works need to be seen by the world, as Jonas corroborates by quoting Matth. 5, 16, a section of the Sermon of the Mount in which Jesus addresses all of his followers, not just his Apostles.

This has wider implications than we might think. Jonas' nuns act in service for those outside the monastery, not only through their prayer (which will be addressed below) but also by living an exemplary life that should inspire the world outside. The *portariae* execute what is, as we already know from chapter 1, the ultimate responsibility of the abbess.[169]

The second sentence of this section is somewhat confusing. We might expect *consodalibus* (dative) instead of *a consodalibus* (ablative): the ones who operate in the intermediate space between the *septa monasterii* and the outside world prepare the "profits of reward" (*lucra mercedis*) *for* their fellow sisters while taking care of all outside. That would make sense as an exemplification of the very first sentence of the chapter (*que omnium simul mercedem aedificent*), but the *lectio dificilior* could make sense too: the *portariae*, as it were, collect the good work and exemplary behaviour from those inside of the enclosure, carry it outside by means of their own performance, and use it as an act of *cura* for those outside. In the next section Jonas explains how this might work in practice:

> 7 Sic cautae moribus cum uirtutum magistra humilitate existant, ut omnis pacientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant. 8 Numquam singulae uel binae sine tertia teste loquantur. 9 Numquam oculos in sublime attollentes laicos uel clericos intente aspiciant, sed demisso cum humilitate uultu inclinatis oculis necessaria conloquantur.
>
> [7 They should be so secure in character with humility – the mistress of the virtues – that they show the favours of all patience in their friendly conversation. 8 They should never speak alone or in pairs without a third as a witness. 9 They should never look attentively at lay persons or clerics by lifting up their eyes, but should speak what is necessary with a face lowered through humility and eyes cast down.]

The expression *conloquium*/*conloqui* is in the light of the previous sentences remarkable, because it implies that the *portariae* do indeed have serious conversations with outsiders beyond just saying the absolute necessary: friendly conversations that express their *humilitas* and *patientia*, presumably, in order to convey the nuns' virtues to those with whom they interact. It might even imply that the nuns fulfil a pastoral function towards the outside world. By casting down their eyes they express the necessary modesty in line with the already quoted Ps. 118/119, 37: a performative act that is expected among the nuns within

(169) *RcuiV*, c. 1.7–8.

the enclosure as well.[170] The *conloquium affabile* is also performative. It could be tied to various references to communicate not only with one's words but with one's restrained and friendly voice.[171]

This *conloquium* with outsiders, which Jonas explicitly permits in his chapter on silence,[172] sets the *portariae* apart from the rest of the nuns who even among themselves should reduce conversations to a minimum and restrict them to special occasions, such as meals at feast days.[173] Yet inside and outside the *septa*, *conloquia* are supposed to take place only with a third person as witness and, as Jonas adds later in this chapter, the nuns may by no means carry information they heard in conversations with outsiders into the monastery.[174] It is their exceptional *mores* (character) that allow the *portariae* to have these conversations. Jonas talks in several passages of his Rule about how the nuns' mores qualify them to perform certain tasks.[175] He might refer here back to the *status mentis firmissimae* mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. The definition of *humilitas* as *magistra uirtutum* is one of numerous allusions to John Cassian's work, which Jonas obviously studied thoroughly.[176] Jonas continues:

> [10]Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam inter omnia habentes, quia in his Christus recipitur, sicut ipse ait: *Quaecumque his minimis fecistis, mihi fecistis.* (cf. Matth. 25, 40) [11]Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant.
>
> [[10]Above all things they are to take care of the poor, strangers, and guests, because in them Christ is received, just as He himself says: *Whatever you have done for the least of these, you have done for me.* (cf. Matth. 25, 40) [11]They should by no means dare to give anything to the outside [world], to serve anyone, or to receive anything from outside without the permission of the abbess.]

Almost every word in this section deserves attention: *inter omnia*, *pauperes*, *peregrini*, *hospites*, *cura*, *foris*, *ministrare*, *nullatenus*, *commeatus*. The expression *inter omnia* (above all) might give us an important clue about what happens outside the enclosure.[177] It implies that the nuns do *not only* exercise *cura* for guests, *peregrini*, and the poor. By identifying this as *the most important* task of the *portariae*, Jonas implies that there were other (albeit less important) people who enjoy their *cura* as well, possibly those in the service of the monastic community who remain otherwise invisible. The *Vita Bertilae* describes Bertila, the abbess of Chelles, as exercising

(170) *RcuiV*, c. 10.12.
(171) *RcuiV*, c. 1.4–6; c. 2.11; c. 2.19; c. 2.22; c. 9.18; c. 10.14–15; c. 22.22.
(172) *RcuiV*, c. 9.12.
(173) *RcuiV*, c. 9.7–21; c. 12.18–19; c. 14.5–9; c. 19.9–11; c. 22.23.
(174) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13–16.
(175) *RcuiV*, c. 1.14–16; c. 2.1–6; c. 21.1.
(176) Cassian, *Collationes* XV, c. 7, *SC* 54, p. 217.
(177) Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life', pp. 555–557, provides evidence of the use of the space outside the enclosure in high medieval monasteries. See also Gaillard, Michèle, 'L'accueil des laïcs dans les monastères (V^e^-IX^e^ siècle), d'après les règles monastiques', in: *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, Hors-série 8 (2015), pp. 1–13.

pastoral care for the *familia* of the monastery and hearing confession of those outside the community.[178] They might deserve *cura* as well, though the only possible reference in Jonas' Rule to a community at large can be found in chapter 22 where he speaks of serving the male and female servants of Christ.[179]

The trio of *pauperes*, *peregrini*, and *hospites* may have emerged as a variant of the much more common requirement of caring for the poor and treating strangers *as if* they were guests. Who were these poor, *perigrini*, and guests that require the care of the abbess and the *portariae* according to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*? Jonas may be referring to an organized and planned support of the poor in analogy to the bishop's responsibility for the matriculated poor;[180] he may have had people in mind who were in acute need and faced starvation, but also religious people who had submitted to voluntary poverty – the "holy poor" as Peter Brown calls them.[181] All three forms of support of "the poor" can be found in the *Vita Columbani* and in Jonas' *Vita Iohannis*. Jonas tells that the community of Luxeuil received support from an already existing monastic community and from a local bishop when they were at the verge of starvation. Later on, Columbanus' monks were robbed of a treasure of gold coins that was allocated to the support of the poor during a famine. Jonas also tells how Columbanus and John of Réomée depleted their resources to support the poor. They were later miraculously refilled (which is a common hagiographic motif).[182]

Many monastic rules contain provisions for the care of the poor, with one noteworthy exception: Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Caesarius recommends that nuns entering his monastery should *not* distribute their possessions among the poor because this could trigger pride. He determines that the nuns in his foundation should not give alms aside from leaving goods and clothing they do not need any more to the poor. The *prouisor* is responsible for their distribution.[183] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* describes the monastery not only as a supporter of the poor but also as a beneficiary of *elimosina* (alms), which implies that the nuns considered themselves as a community of the poor just as worthy of receiving

(178) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, col. 93A.

(179) *RcuiV*, c. 22.6: *Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum.*

(180) Boshof, Egon, 'Armenfürsorge im Frühmittelalter: Xenodocium, matricula, hospitale pauperum', in: *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 71 (1984), pp. 153–174; see also Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*, pp. 31–33 and pp. 164–171.

(181) Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016.

(182) *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165: Columbanus' community receives help from a monk named Carantocus sent through the *cellararius* Marculfus. I, c. 22, pp. 202–203: Thieves have stolen gold coins that were allocated to be distributed among the poor. I, c. 22, p. 204: Columbanus orders that the last remaining supply of flour should be given to a beggar; I, c. 27, p. 215: The monks in Bregenz receive grain support from local bishops. *VIoh*, c. 13, pp. 336–337: During a famine John orders that all resources of the monastery are to be given to starving people who flock to the monastery. Jonas calls this food relief "doing his usual work" (*adsuetum opus inpendens*).

(183) *CaesRV*, c. 21.5, *SC* 345, p. 196; c. 42.6–7, p. 224; c. 43.7, p. 228.

alms as the ordinary poor.[184] The *Regula cuiusdam patris* (the other anonymous rule that was inspired by Columbanus) describes a radical counter model, which implies a strong criticism of the practice of receiving gifts and just distributing surplus as alms. Its author requires that his monks work in order to support the poor and that they may retain from their gains the bare minimum, just sufficient for simple clothing and their daily bread. For the author of the *Regula cuiusdam patris* this charitable work seems to have been more important than prayer.[185]

The term *peregrini* may have had three different meanings. It simply could mean "strangers" or "travellers" – and this is likely what the authors of older monastic rules had in mind when they referred to *peregrini* who deserved to be hosted.[186] There is, however, also the possibility that Jonas and his audience understood *peregrini* in an "Insular" way as referring to those monks who left their homeland for good and undertook a *peregrinatio* for various reasons, sometimes as a particularly strict form of asceticism.[187] *Peregrini* could also refer to pilgrims either on the way to a shrine or to the monastery itself. Radegund of Poitiers had turned her monastery into a place of veneration of the Holy Cross, and there are later examples of female communities owning prestigious and powerful relics which may have attracted pilgrims,[188] but there is no indication that Faremoutiers, at least in its early history, was interested in establishing a cult of saints. Columbanus' foundations and those made in the first generations after his death did, at least if we can believe Jonas, not revolve around a saints' shrine. They were usually dedicated to Peter, Paul, or Mary.[189]

The term *hospites* also deserves some reflection. If *peregrini* means "strangers", *hospites* could refer to guests known to the community such as local bishops, the nuns' relatives, or members of other monasteries. We know that Waldebert, Burgundofaro, and Jonas himself visited Faremoutiers, and that Waldebert visited Sadalberga's monastery in Laon, which caused considerable problems because the beer to be served to him was about to turn sour.[190] Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* refers briefly to priests visiting the monas-

(184) *RcuiV*, c. 3.12. Three other monastic rules describe the monastery as *recipient* of alms rather than as those who give alms: *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 11.2, ed. Villegas, p. 30; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 59.4, *SC* 182, p. 634; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130, l. 21–22: prayer for those who give alms.

(185) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12, ed. Villegas, p. 20; see also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 281–282.

(186) On *peregrini* as travellers, see also *Vita Segolenae*, c. 2.6, *AASS*, July, vol. 5, p. 631F.

(187) On Irish perigrinatio, see Leclercq, Jean, 'Mönchtum und Peregrinatio im Frühmittelalter', in: *Römische Quartalschrift* 55 (1960), pp. 212–225; Angenendt, Arnold, 'Die irische Peregrinatio und ihre Auswirkungen auf dem Kontinent vor dem Jahre 800', in: Heinz Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1982, pp. 52–79; Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio', in: *Celtica* 11 (1976), pp. 43–59; Johnston, Elva, 'Exiles from the edge? The Irish contexts of peregrinatio', in: Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 38–52.

(188) Schulenburg, Jane Tibbetts, 'Women's monasteries and sacred space: the promotion of saints' cults and miracles', in: Lisa Bitel and Felice Lifshitz (eds.), *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008, pp. 68–86 and pp. 117–122.

(189) On the absence of a cult of relics in Luxeuil and its affiliations, see Diem, 'Monks, kings', pp. 547–549; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 231–235; Mattingly, *Living Reliquaries*.

(190) *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 277; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 61.

tery.[191] Eusthasius, Waldebert, and Jonas were, as we can infer from the *Vita Columbani*, constantly *en route*, visiting other monasteries. This raises the question of whether *hospites* refers to "special" guests only and whether the task of the *portariae* to serve guests meals (and to guard the monastery's vessels), as it is described later in this chapter, only applied to these special *hospites*.

The second task of the gatekeepers is to supervise the transport of goods and services into and out of the monastery. They are absolutely not (*nullatenus*) allowed to give things away, to serve anyone (*ministrare*) or to receive anything (*aliquid*) for the monastery without the permission (*commeatus*) of the abbess. The expression *nullatenus* (by no means/absolutely not) is a marker of urgency that appears no fewer than six times in this chapter and at various more occasions throughout the Rule. A chapter that primarily addresses space and boundaries expresses, as we might expect, deep concern that there are no loopholes.

Commeatus is, as already discussed, a typical Jonas term. It does not imply a direct order of the abbess, but rather the requirement to act in her spirit. It is not clear what Jonas means with *ministrare*. It may refer to services to be rendered to outsiders – Caesarius explicitly forbids cleaning, repairing, and storing vestments[192] – but it could also just refer to serving guests. Caesarius' Rule for Nuns regulated the exchanges of individual gifts and letters and prohibited nuns from buying goods privately outside the monastery.[193] Jonas expands this to "anything" (*aliquid*), which probably includes the supply of food and other necessities coming into the monastery. It may also include what the nuns produced in the monastery.

The next provision addresses the life-basis of the community. Columbanus prescribes in his *Regula monachorum* in broad terms that his monks have to pray, among others, for those who give alms to the monastery.[194] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the only monastic rule that describes in detail how this exchange of gifts and intercessory prayer ought to take place:

> 12 Et quodcumque a foris accipiunt ex donis uel elimosinis aliorum, nullatenus antea ad cellarium portent, quam ante oratorium deferentes omnis simul congregatio pro eo orent, qui hoc exhibuit.
>
> [12 And whatever gifts or charity of others they receive from outside [the monastery], they should by no means bring to the storeroom before it is carried before the oratory and the entire congregation prays together for the one who presented them.]

Every nun (*omnis simul congregatio*) is, as Jonas emphasizes, responsible for praying for donors and gifts may absolutely not (again: *nullatenus*) just go to the storeroom (*cellarium*). Jonas describes in similar words in his *Vita Columbani* how the *ostiarius* of Luxeuil receives the

(191) *RcuiV*, c. 22.22.
(192) *CaesRV*, c. 46, *SC* 345, p. 232.
(193) *CaesRV*, c. 25, p. 202; c. 30.4–7, pp. 208–210; c. 53, p. 240.
(194) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 7, ed. Walker, p. 130, l. 19–22. The monks have to pray *pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo christiano, deinde pro sacerdotibus et reliquis Deo consecratis sacrae plebis gradibus, postremo pro elemosinas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, nouissime pro inimicis…*

gifts of a lady named Pocula and how Columbanus orders his monks to come together so that all of them together (*simul*) pray for the donor before the gifts are received and give thanks to the Creator.[195] We find two more references to receiving gifts in the *Regula Donati*, though without mentioning prayer given in return.[196]

There is one remarkable detail that might give us some clue about the spatial organization of the monastery addressed by the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. All gifts must be placed in front of the church (*ante oratorium*) where all the nuns are supposed to pray for the donor. I assume that the *oratorium* is placed within the *septa* of the monastery, while the place *ante oratorium* where gifts are placed, is situated outside the *septa*. This would give donors the opportunity to see their gifts while hearing the nuns' intercessory prayer, but it also implies that there needs to be both a physical proximity between the gift and the intercessory prayer and some sort of boundary between the praying nuns and the riches that are about to enter the monastery.[197]

The monastic gates should be open to gifts but thoroughly closed when it comes to information – a provision that Jonas makes in the next section:

> [13] Fabulis quas ad portam uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet audierint, nullatenus aurem accomodent. Et si nolenter audiererint uel intellexerint, nullatenus consodalibus suis referant. [14] Si horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, regulari paenitentia castigentur. [15] Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur. [16] Si uero contumacie crimen incurrit, et modum paenitentiae augebit.
>
> [[13] They should by no means lend their ears to the stories they hear at the gate from worldly people or from anyone. And if they hear or notice something against their will, they by no means should repeat it to their fellow [nuns]. [14] If they transgress in anything about which we have spoken, they should be castigated with penance according to the rule. [15] If they reveal [their transgressions] with a humble apology, the guilt of the offender should be determined in as much as one can observe the humility of the [sister] who confesses. [16] But if she commits the crime of obstinacy, she will also increase the measure of penance.]

Jonas' phrasing *uel a saecularibus uel a quibuslibet* indicates, again, that the nuns do not only interact with worldly visitors but also with other people outside the enclosure that do not fall in this category, possibly male servants of the community, priests, or monks. The Rule imposes here an "enclosure of information" that could be aligned with various measures of enclosure that can be found in Caesarius' Rule. Caesarius was not as concerned with the flow of information into the monastery at the gate because interactions with outsiders were reduced to a minimum anyway. Jonas does, as we saw, allow *colloquia* with outsiders, but, as we will see at several points in his Rule, he is deeply concerned about establishing a "mental enclosure", i.e. closing off the mind from all harmful impressions.[198] In this pas-

(195) *VCol* I, c. 22, p. 204, l. 17–23: *Quod ostiarius celeri cursu patri indicanda properat; ait ille: "Sine", inquid, "se scire, fratrumque coetum adunare, ut simul positi pro largitricem Dominum precarentur simulque grates referant conditori, qui suos solare non desinet in omnibus famulos necessitatibus, et post munus oblatum recipiant."* See also *VCol* I, c. 14, p. 176.

(196) *Regula Donati*, c. 56.3–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 175; c. 58.4–5, p. 176.

(197) See also p. 313.

(198) On the "mental enclosure" see p. 319–327.

sage, he uses words from the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* that prohibits travelling monks to "smuggle" any kind of information into the monastery.[199]

Jonas' concern about *fabulae* entering the monastery through the ears and mouths of the gatekeepers relates to several recurring themes of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. More than any other monastic regulator, Jonas is concerned with suppressing uncontrolled speech that may harm the monastery. Any pollution of the monastic space and community, be it from outside the monastery or from inside the individual nun, needs to be prevented by a system of enclosure that manifests itself just as well at the monastery's gate as at the "gates" of the individual nuns, i.e. their eyes, ears, and mouth.[200] Jonas is in this regard even stricter than Columbanus in his *Regula coenobialis*, which prescribes that monks who tell idle tales (*fabula otiosa*) may expect forgiveness if they correct themselves immediately. Otherwise they may receive a penance of silence or fifty lashes.[201]

For Jonas, the "enclosure of information" is so important that it deserves the term *nullatenus* twice. Moreover, he unleashes on those who are breaking this enclosure the entire disciplinary apparatus available in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which gives us a first taste of the meaning of *disciplina* and *paenitentia* and the importance of confession – topics extensively addressed later in the Rule. We learn here that *paenitentia* is considered a *castigatio* (punishment) and that this transgression is supposed to be confessed. The internal attitude, the *humilitas*, determines the severity of guilt. A *paenitentia* is supposed to break obstinacy. All of this returns in the chapter on confession (c. 6) and in the chapters on punishment and excommunication (c. 18–20).

Jonas now shifts from his stern and nervous rebuke to a different, very practical topic: the control of the abbess over the keys of the monastery and the question of when the gate should be opened. Spatial loopholes deserve the verdict *nullatenus* just as much as loopholes of information.[202]

> 17 Claues ostiorum uel portae nullatenus penes se nocte retineant, sed ad abbatissam nocte deferentes praesentent et mane post secundam recipiant. 18 Idipsum et cellarariae et pistrices et quocae implere studeant, ut ab occasu solis uel cum fuerit opus necessitatis perfectum, usque ad secundam abbatissa claues retineat, 19 nisi necessitas euenerit, ut per comeatum abbatissae nocte retineantur et post secundam denuo tribuantur. 20 A signo uespertino usque ad secundam impletam nullatenus portarum fores aperiantur, neque ullus a foris introitus patefiat, sed si necessitas talis aduenerit ut post uesperam sit deliberandum, per fenestram quae in eadem porta fuerit, totum deliberetur.
>
> [17 They may under absolutely no circumstances retain the keys to the doors or to the gate at night, but they should deliver [the keys] to the abbess and present them, and receive them back in the morning after the Second Hour. 18 The cellarers, the bakers, and the cooks should strive to follow the same [rule], so that after dusk, or when the necessary work is completed,

(199) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 67.5–6, *SC* 182, p. 662.
(200) See *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.2–5; c. 9.12; c. 9.21; c. 12.9–12; c. 14.5–8. See also pp. 319–327.
(201) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 24–27.
(202) See also Muschiol, Gisela, *Famula Dei. Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern*, Münster: Aschendorff 1994, pp. 343–346.

> the abbess keeps the keys until the Second Hour, 19 unless the necessity occurs that they are kept overnight with the permission of the abbess and are handed out again after the Second Hour. 20 From the sign for Vespers until the completion of the Second Hour the doors should by no means be opened to the outside, nor should any entrance from outside be open. But if such necessity occurs that consultation must be held after Vespers, everything should be consulted through the window that is to be in the same gate.]

The gatekeepers may not retain the keys overnight. In principle, the abbess holds all the keys at night and hands them out in the morning after the *Secunda*, which is also the liturgical Hour when all nuns have to give a full confession.[203] This section gives access to various details of the life in Faremoutiers. Jonas talks about *claues ostiorum uel portae* which indicates that the monastery had only one gate (*porta*) but several doors (*ostia*) that could be locked with a key, such as the doors of the storeroom, the kitchen, and the bakery. It is not clear whether these places were inside the *septa* of the monastery or just inside of the gate of the monastery.[204]

The technology of keys and locks was thus available in Faremoutiers and presumably in other early medieval monasteries.[205] Caesarius refers to wardrobes with keys[206] and states that the abbess needs to keep the keys of the port of the monastery at night and during mealtimes.[207] He also mentions that those who are in charge of the storeroom, clothes, books, the gate, or the wool work should receive the keys *super euangelium* (above the Gospel book).[208] Neither aspect is mentioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – another instance in which Jonas expands upon what we already find in Caesarius' Rule.

The closure of the gates between Vespers and *Secunda* implies that no stranger may stay inside the monastery at night, which applies not only to the *septa monasterii* but to the monastery at large. Jonas repeats but also expands upon what he found in Caesarius' Rule which determines that the *salutatorium* should be closed after Vespers and during the midday.[209] He probably returns to this topic for two reasons. First, the outer parts of his monastery are different from Caesarius' *salutatorium*, which forces him to emphasize that nobody may enter the non-enclosed part of the monastery. Moreover, Jonas introduces a device not mentioned in Caesarius' Rule, which still exists today in enclosed monasteries: the window in the gate that allows the gatekeepers to interact with visitors without allowing them to enter the monastery.

(203) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20. The *Secunda* is a liturgical Hour mentioned only in the Rules of Columbanus, Donatus, and Jonas. See Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 117–120.

(204) See also Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life'.

(205) *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1–2, *CSEL* 98, p. 153. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'New ideas expressed in old words: the *Regula Donati* on female monastic life and monastic spirituality', in: *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 1–38, at p. 7; Hurschmann, Rolf and Volker Pingel, 'Schloß, Schlüssel', in: *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 11, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2001, col. 186–189. Brunner, Jean-Josef, *Der Schlüssel im Wandel der Zeit*, Bern/Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt 1988, pp. 80–86 provides various photographs of early medieval keys.

(206) *CaesRV*, c. 28.4, *SC* 345, p. 208.

(207) *CaesRV*, c. 59.2, p. 242. See also Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 21, ed. Schmidt, p. 247; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 17, *PL* 68, col. 402A; *Regula Donati*, c. 62.4–7, *CSEL* 98, p. 178.

(208) *CaesRV*, c. 32.4, p. 212.

(209) *CaesRV*, c. 59.1–2, p. 242.

> [21] Si talis necessitas hospitum uel peregrinorum aduenerit ut hora refectionis cum sororibus esse non possint, post cum cocis uel ministris, uel cum reficiendi spacium habuerint, reficiant. [22] Vasa uel reliqua utensilia quae ad opus hospitum baiulant, ac si sacrata Deo gubernent atque custodiant, ne per ipsarum neglectum ab ipso mercedem non recipiant cuius res deripiendo non reseruant. [23] Intra septa monasterii uel ostia nullum uirorum omnino uel feminarum edere uel bibere permittant, sed omnibus aduenientibus foris in hospitali, prout honor exigit, per abbatissae ordinationem ministrent. [24] Intus uero tantummodo quae sacram Deo uouerunt relegionem et in unitate oboedientiae sub una regula sunt ligatae, edere uel bibere censemus.
>
> [[21] If such needs of guests and pilgrims arise that [the porters] cannot be with the sisters at the hour of the meal, they should eat afterwards with the cooks or servants or whenever they have the time to eat. [22] They should administer and guard the vessels or other tools which they bring for the service of the guests as if they were consecrated to God, lest through their carelessness they do not receive the reward of Him, whose belongings they do not preserve from being snatched away. [23] Within the confines and doors of the monastery they should absolutely not allow any man or woman to eat or drink, but they should serve everyone who comes [to the monastery] outside in the guesthouse, just as [their] dignity requires, according to the order of the abbess. [24] But we determine that only those may eat and drink inside who have pledged to God sacred piety and who are bound in the unity of obedience under one rule.]

The last sections of this chapter deal with the gatekeeper's task to take care of the needs of guests and pilgrims – or at least to supervise their care. It is remarkable that Jonas does not determine *that* the gatekeepers take care of guests and strangers – he takes this for granted – but *how* they are supposed to do this. He singles out three aspects of this work that are particularly important to him. All of them have little to do with the care for the guests *per se* but point to topics addressed in other chapters of the rule.

His first concern is the question of when the gatekeepers are supposed to have their meals if they are occupied at the regular mealtimes of the community. The second concern is how they guard the tools and vessels they use when serving guests. The third concern is who is allowed to eat within the *septa monasterii*. Jonas' practical provisions can be tied to the chapters on mealtimes and how to serve meals (c. 10–11), the chapters on the care for objects (c. 13 and 16), and the chapter that deals with those crossing the *septa monasterii* (c. 23).

The problem that *portariae* may not have the opportunity to eat with the rest of the community was important enough for Jonas to be addressed: nuns who cannot join the community at mealtimes miss out on more than just a dinner. Almost all monastic rules strictly forbid eating outside the designated mealtimes – and Jonas mentions in the Faremoutiers section that a nun almost incurred eternal damnation because of violating this rule.[210] This might be one reason why Jonas explicitly gives the *portariae* permission to eat at another time. The *Regula Benedicti* addresses in detail when the person who is assigned to read at table is supposed to eat his own meal. Jonas uses Benedict's words and applies them to a different task.[211] Yet common meals are an essential element of developing a

(210) *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277–279.
(211) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.10–11, *SC* 182, p. 576.

sense of community. They are rituals that include prayers and the blessing of food.[212] Being excluded from shared meals belongs to the key elements of excommunication.[213]

Jonas' response that *portariae* who cannot join the community should eat with nuns who for other reasons were not able to join the common meal – or whenever they have time – sounds in this context rather pragmatic but it nevertheless indicates that this is an issue to be addressed. We find the same pragmatic approach to mealtimes at the very end of the *Regula cuiusdam*. Here Jonas determines that the abbess may decide at which times children in the monastery take their meal and go to sleep.[214]

The second topic addressed in the context of serving guests does not allow a similarly pragmatic approach: the *portariae* have to ensure that the vessels and utensils used for serving guests have to be handled and guarded *ac si sacrata Deo* (as if they were consecrated to God). Negligence in preventing that objects belonging to God are snatched away (*deripiendo*) might destroy the porter's reward (*merces*). Later Jonas devotes two entire chapters to *neglegentia* in handling tools and implements, implying that damage to anything owned by the monastery has to be considered a sacrilege.[215] Every object belonging to the monastery is, as I will address in my commentary to chapter 13, sacred as part of the sacred space. *Neglegentia*, the most serious danger that may hit the monastery, becomes nowhere as manifest as in negligent care of sacred objects.

The last topic Jonas addresses in chapter 3 is the strict prohibition that outsiders eat and drink in the monastery. Exceptions are to be made only for those living under the same *regula*. Instead of *nullatenus* Jonas uses here the similar term *nullum omnino* (absolutely no one), which expresses the same level of concern. Unlike Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which allows only sacred virgins in some exceptional cases to eat with the community, Jonas' provision is not gender specific. We can assume that Jonas, Waldebert, and Burgundofaro were allowed to eat with the nuns when they visited Faremoutiers. Yet Jonas' provision emphasizes the importance of the *septa monasterii* as impenetrable space and the communal meal of the nuns as a sacred moment in which the community constitutes itself. Other monastic rules, the *Regula Benedicti* in particular, allow guests to eat with the monks or imply that the abbot may take his meal outside of the monastery with guests.[216]

The chapter concludes with a short but dense statement that summarizes some of the key ideas of Jonas' monastic ideal:

> [25] Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum Dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent, ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem.

(212) *RcuiV*, c. 10.13–16. Jonas' provision might be inspired by *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, *CSEL* 86, pp. 134–135 on the question of whether those in service may incur harm if they are absent from the liturgical Hours.

(213) *RcuiV*, c. 19.4; c. 19.7; *Regula Magistri*, c. 13–14, *SC* 106, pp. 34–62.

(214) *RcuiV*, c. 24.10.

(215) *RcuiV*, c. 13 and c. 17. See also Diem, Albrecht, 'The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries', in: Krijn Pansters and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer (eds.), *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout: Brepols 2016, pp. 51–67.

(216) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 56, *SC* 182, p. 622. See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 24.20–25, *SC* 106, pp. 126–128; c. 78, pp. 316–320. On the care for guests in the monastery, see Fortin, John R, 'The reaffirmation of monastic hospitality', in: *Downside Review* 121:423 (2003), pp. 105–118.

> [25 The doorkeepers should always act in such a way that they preserve the wording of the rule and have the zeal of God in all things, so that they receive an uncorrupted reward for the work of their eagerness and care.]

Jonas expresses here again that motivation is as important as the act itself. I will return to that when I discuss Jonas' concept of *oboedientia*.[217] The phrase *regulae tenorem conseruent* poses some challenges. *Tenor regulae* appears also in chapter 15 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in the context of special provisions for weak and old nuns.[218] Elsewhere he uses *tenor paenitentiae*.[219] *Tenor regulae* and *tenor regularis* belong to Jonas' specific monastic language. They appear three times in his *Vita Columbani* and twice in his *Vita Iohannis*.[220] There is only one older witness of *tenor regulae*, an exhortatory letter directed to Caesarius' community ascribed to Caesarius' nephew Teridius.[221]

I suggest that the seemingly obvious translation "tenor of the Rule" (Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood) or "teneur de la règle" (Adalbert de Vogüé and Joël Courreau), is erroneous. At this moment, Jonas does not refer to the "intention" or "spirit" of the Rule but – very much in line with Caesarius' concerns about his Rule – to keeping the Rule to its precise content. Teridius uses the term *custodire* in the context of the *tenor regulae*; Jonas uses the expressions *agere*, *custodire*, *gradi*, and *subiacere*. The expression *conseruare* (to preserve), which he uses in this chapter only, goes further than just following a rule (*custodire*, *secundum regulam uiuiere*). Jonas makes the preservation of the *tenor regulae* a matter of receiving the uncorrupted reward (*merces incorrupta*, which is also an expression only appearing here). It seems that he considers the intermediate space between the *septa* and the *porta* of the monastery a minefield, as his frequent use of *nullatenus* underlines. Since Jonas factually breaks the most important part of Caesarius' Rule – his strict enclosure – he at least wants to make sure that his nuns adhere to the boundaries and to this new enclosure as strictly as possible.

The chapter on the gatekeepers addresses, despite its short and rather narrow title (*De monasterii portaria*), a wide range of topics, which, if we contextualize them, reveal countless details about monastic life in Jonas' world, that are otherwise hardly visible, ranging from the potential role of monasteries as places of pastoral care or how intercessory prayer functions, to the fact that the monastery has various doors but only one gate. It is, however, despite its diversity, composed as a coherent monastic programme that elaborates on ideas expressed in previous chapters but it also adds new aspects that will be addressed

(217) See pp. 222–223, pp. 256–257, and pp. 400–401.

(218) *RcuiV*, c. 15.10–12: *Decrepita uero aetate fessis talis sit cura quatenus nulla in eis neglegentia,* 11 *sed iuxta arbitrium abbatissae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur.* 12 *Non enim hae possunt regulae tenori subiacere, sed potius piaetatis in eas inpendendus est affectus.*

(219) *RcuiV*, c. 20.9–11: *Quod si nec sic corripi uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus preter custodibus segregata,* 10 *tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat,* 11 *quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur.*

(220) *VCol* II, c. 2, p. 231, l. 6; II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 17–18: *tenor regularis*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 1–2: *tenor regulae*; *VIoh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 11: *tenor regulae*; c. 5, p. 332, l. 8: *tenor regularis*. See also *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*, c. 9, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 36.

(221) Teridius, *Epistula ad Caesariam*, c. 3.3, *SC* 345, p. 426.

more in-depth in subsequent chapters, such as the practice of confession, the role of penance, the impenetrability of the *septa*, the enclosure of the mouth, the imperative of mutual love. The entire chapter is built around the notion of *merces*, which marks both the beginning and at the end of the Rule. Jonas describes here the purpose of a nun's (especially an officeholder's) work as accumulating *merces* (reward), but it is important that this *merces* is not primarily meant to be an individual benefit. Each nun works for the benefit of the entire community and avoids causing damage to the entire community by losing her *merces*. In this regard, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is of all monastic rules the most coenobitic because it emphasizes both the individual nun's responsibility for the entire community (such as the *portariae* acting on behalf of the entire community) and the agency of the community itself towards the salvation of each individual. The porters have to gain *merces* for all the nuns together (*omnium simul*); they fulfil their task *omnium uice*; the entire community has to pray together (*omnis simul*). Throughout the Rule, we have no fewer than 41 instances in which Jonas emphasizes that his rule addresses the *entire* community and all the nuns together.[222]

This chapter is also a response to Caesarius' concept of total enclosure. Jonas both mitigates and elaborates Caesarius' enclosure, and he does this with some nervousness that expresses itself in the repeated use of *nullatenus*. His mitigation of Caesarius' enclosure is justified by the idea that true enclosure happens not only in space but also – and more importantly – in the mind.

A closer look at the structure of the chapter reveals that Jonas skilfully inscribed into the text the idea that the *regula* itself creates and fortifies the physical and mental enclosure. Jonas' text is full of – often redundant – word repetitions, which make it difficult to translate the text consistently while not violating modern stylistic conventions. Almost all key terms, not just nouns, but also verbs and adjectives, appear either in pairs or several times – despite the fact that Jonas appears in other passages of the Rule as a master of creating vast semantic fields and endless lists of synonyms. His constant word repetition in chapter 3 weaves its different sections together and create an unbroken chain in which every word-pair encloses a term that forms a new word-pair. The term *merces* stands at the beginning and at the end of the chapter and holds the chain together.[223] Chapter 3 does

(222) *RcuiV*, c. 1.7; c. 1.16; c. 1.17; c. 1.18; c. 2.12; c. 2.17; c. 2.18; c. 3.6; c. 3.7; c. 4.1; c. 4.5; c. 4.7; c. 4.8; c. 5.11; c. 7.1; c. 8.8; c. 8.11; c. 8.15; c. 10.1; c. 10.3; c. 10.5; c. 10.14; c. 12.24; c. 12.26; c. 14.11; c. 14.13; c. 17.5; c. 17.8; c. 17.9; c. 20.7; c. 20.9; c. 20.10; c. 22.21; c. 23.23; c. 23.7; c. 24.11. *Omnes simul* appears in *RcuiV*, c. 3.1; c. 3.12; c. 11.6; c. 18.3.

(223) The chain is built as follows: *ex praesentibus…ex praesentibus* encloses *bonum*. *Bonum…bonum* encloses *Domino*. *Domino…Domini* encloses *uideant*. *Videant…uideant* encloses *ostendant*. *Ostendant…ostendant* encloses *Domini*. *Domini…Dominus* encloses *glorificetur*. *Glorificetur…glorificent* encloses *uideant*. *Videant…uideant* encloses *omnibus*. *Omnibus…omnis* encloses *foris*. *Foris…foras* encloses *curam*. *Curam…curam* encloses *humilitate*. *Humilitate…humilitate* encloses *conloquio*. *Conloquio…conloquantur* encloses *humilitate*. *Humilitate…humilitate* encloses *omnis*. *Omnis…omnis* encloses *foras*. *Foras…foris* encloses *accipere*. *Accipere…accipiunt* encloses *nullatenus*. *Nullatenus…nullatenus* encloses *portam*. *Portam…portae* encloses *claues*. *Claues…claues* encloses *nocte*. *Nocte…nocte* encloses *retineant*. *Retineant…retineat* encloses *abbatissam*. *Abbatissam…abbatissa* encloses *post secundam*. *Post secundam… post secundam* encloses *implere*. *Implere…impletam* encloses *as secundam*. *Ad Secundam…secundam* encloses *retineat*. *Retineat…retineantur* encloses *necessitas*. *Necessitas…necessitas* encloses *uespertino*. *Vespertino…uesperam* encloses *aduenerit*. *Aduenerit… aduenerit* encloses

not only establish Jonas' specific form of enclosure but it *is* in itself an enclosure. We find a similar chain structure, albeit not as consistent, in chapter 22 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the one on the community as being protected by an *ambitus uirtutum* a (circumference of virtues).[224]

The Cellarer (Chapter 4)

Almost all the early medieval monastic rules contain provisions on the *cellararius* or *cellararia* (cellarer) who play a vital role both for the economy of the monastery and for the functioning of the community. They administer the monastery's property and determine, as it were, the extent of individual poverty by deciding which objects of everyday use should be handed out to the members of the community.[225] Their work is therefore especially prone to contention caused by perceived stinginess or favouritism. Caesarius of Arles, for example, failed as *cellararius* of Lérins because he imposed his own ascetic standards upon others. He reacted to his deposition with excessive fasting and was eventually sent away, allegedly in order to restore his health. He never returned to Lérins.[226] The young and radical Benedict of Aniane ran into similar problems.[227]

Caesarius' *Regula ad uirgines* addresses the person responsible for the *cellarium* (storeroom) only in passing: the abbess has to elect someone who does not fulfil the wishes of some but considers the needs of all.[228] Jonas devotes a long chapter to the qualifications, role, and responsibility of the *cellararia*, which is composed in a different way than the

hospitum. *Hospitum…hospitum* encloses *ministris*. *Ministris…ministrent* encloses *sacrata*. *Sacrata…sacram* encloses *edere uel bibere*. *Edere uel bibere…* encloses *regula*. *Regula…regulae* encloses *ostiaria*. *Ostiaria…ostiaria* encloses *mercedem*. *Mercedem…mercedem* encloses *tales*. *Tales…tale* encloses *ex praesentibus*.

(224) *RcuiV*, c. 22.3.

(225) See especially *Regula Basilii*, c. 111–113, *CSEL* 86, pp. 137–139; Augustine, *Praeceptum* V.9, ed. Verheijen, p. 432; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.23–25, *SC* 297, pp. 196–198; *Regula orientalis*, c. 25, *SC* 298, pp. 480–482; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 25–26, ed. Vilanova, p. 118; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 10.6–8, ed. Villegas, pp. 29–30; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16, *SC* 106, pp. 72–84; c. 21, pp. 102–106; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 152, l. 26–33; *Regula Isidori*, c. 21.2, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 121–122; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183; *Regula Donati*, c. 61, *CSEL* 98, pp. 177–178.

(226) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 6, *SC* 536, pp. 154–156. See Klingshirn, William E., *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994, pp. 23–33.

(227) Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 202. References to the *cellararius* and the *cellarium* in narrative texts are scarce. Exceptions are *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 68, *SC* 142, p. 314: on the *cellararius*/*oeconomus* administering the last remaining supplies of the monastery that would be given to the poor; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 10, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 384: on the *cellararia* Felicitas handing out goods by the order of the abbess; *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165: on the abbot of Saulx, ordering his *cellararius* to send supplies to Columbanus' monastery that save his monks from starvation; I, c. 16, pp. 179–180: a miracle saving a negligent *cellararius* from being punished; II, c. 11, p. 258 mentioning that the nun Sisetrudis holds the office of *cellararia*; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 61: on the *cellararia* responsible for the brewing of beer; *Vita Filiberti*, c. 37, p. 602: the *cellararius* informs the abbot that the monastery ran out of oil for the lamps of the church; Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 2, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 209: the *cellararii* report that Benedict only drinks water.

(228) *CaesRV*, c. 30.1, *SC* 345, p. 208: *Ad cellarium et ad posticium uel lanipendium tales a seniore eligantur, non quae uoluntates aliquarum, sed necessitates omnium cum timore dei considerent*. See also c. 32.4, p. 212 on the cellarer receiving her keys from the abbess.

previous chapters. In the chapters on the abbess, prioress, and gatekeepers, Jonas uses and appropriates fragments from the *Regula Benedicti* and integrates them into a text that is essentially his own, both in its content and in its phrasing. His chapter on the *cellaria* closely paraphrases Benedict's chapter on the *cellararius* (c. 31). Jonas follows the structure of his model and uses much of its content and vocabulary, albeit expanded with his own terminology as we find in in the rest of the Rule and in the *Vita Columbani*: expressions such as *affectus* (love), *commeatus* (advice), *cor* (heart), *diligere* (to love), *dulcere* (to sweeten), *lenis* (gentle), *merces* (reward), *pietas* (love), and *uox* (voice).

Because both chapters are so close, we can identify, more than in his previous chapters, how Jonas critically engages with the *Regula Benedicti*. He goes through Benedict's text sentence by sentence, carefully removes some of his ideas and adds his own, rephrasing the text in order to make it congruent with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In doing so, he expands Benedict's text from 255 to 372 words. Most of his expansions appear in the first four sentences.

The *Regula Benedicti* begins with this clear-cut provision:

> Cellararius monasterii elegatur de congregatione, sapiens…
>
> [The cellarer of the monastery should be chosen from the community, he should be wise…][229]

Jonas chapter turns this into a long reflection on the necessary qualifications of the *cellararia* not unlike the ones we find in the previous chapters:

> [1] Monasterii cellararia sapiens et religiosa ex omni congregatione eligenda est, quae non sibi nec suis uoluntatibus, [2] sed toti congregationi aequanimiter et piae placeat dispensando, [3] nec inde placere studeat, unde et se in ruinam peccati et alias per transgressionis noxam consentiendo introducat. [4] Id est, ut nihil extra debitam mensuram pro qualibet familiaritate pro gratia meriti dispensando distribuat, sciens *quia iustus Dominus iustitiam a saeculo dilexit aequitatem uidit uultus eius*. (Ps. 10/11, 7, *LXX*)
>
> [[1] A wise and pious cellarer of the monastery ought to be chosen from the entire congregation [2] – one who pleases not herself or her own will but the entire congregation by managing in an even-tempered and loving manner. [3] And she therefore should not strive to please since she would, on the one hand, lead herself into the ruin of sin and, on the other hand, the others as well through the offence of transgression by agreeing with her. [4] That is [to say], that she should distribute nothing above the appropriate share by giving out for the sake of friendship or for the sake of doing a favour, knowing this word: *Because the Lord is just and has loved justice in the world, his face sees equity*. (Ps. 10/11, 7, *LXX*)]

Jonas describes the work of the *cellararia* first and foremost as a service to the entire *congregatio* and as an act of love. This love does not, however, only consist of dispensing justly, but also of protecting the nuns from the harm that she could cause to them – and not only to herself – by giving favours and leading them into the destruction of sin. Jonas ties the work of the *cellararia* to the idea that good and evil deeds affect not only the individual who

(229) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1, *SC* 182, p. 556; transl. Bruce Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict. Edition and Translation*, Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press 2011, p. 117.

performs them but also everyone else involved. Consequently, every good service (*ministrare*) done to others is to be understood as an act of love (*pietas*, *affectus*). He will elaborate on this imperative of love throughout the entire chapter. We see this in the next section:

> [5] Sit ergo omnibus iusta dispensatione grata; [6] sit moribus matura; sit sobria, non edax, non elata, non turbulenta, non iniuriosa, non tarda uel pigra, sed in omnibus actibus bene composita, [7] quae congregationi omni, id est tam senioribus quam etiam iunioribus, pro affectu et materno ordine debeat ministrare.
>
> [[5] Therefore, she should be favourable to all by just provision; [6] she should be of mature character; she should be sober, not gluttonous, not haughty, not disordered, not unjust, not slow or lazy, but in all [her] behaviour well disposed, [7] so that she should serve the entire congregation – that is, both the elders and the juniors – in keeping with affection and maternal order.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> … maturis moribus, sobrius, non multum edax, non elatus, non turbulentus, non iniuriosus, non tardus, non prodigus, [2] sed timens Deum; qui omni congregationi sit sicut pater.
>
> […a wise man of mature conduct, moderate, not a glutton, or arrogant, agitated, unjust, sluggish, or wasteful, [2] but a God-fearing man who should be like a father to the entire community.][230]

Jonas uses Benedict's list of qualifications and virtues of the *cellararius* but adds three details: she should be favourable to all; she should be well disposed in behaviour; and she should serve with motherly affection. Jonas does, thus, not only add love to the list of virtues but emphasizes, again, the performative side: all her deeds should be *bene composita* (well disposed). It does not only matter *what* the *cellararia* does, but also *how* she does it.

> [8] Curam de omnibus sibi commissis rebus habeat. [9] Nihil tamen sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumat. [10] Sorores tam seniores aetate quam iuniores nullatenus conturbet.
>
> [[8] She should take care of all things entrusted to her. [9] Yet she should not dare to do anything without the permission of the abbess. [10] She should by no means disquiet the sisters – neither those of older age nor the younger.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [3] Curam gerat de omnibus; [4] sine iussione abbatis nihil faciat. [5] Quae iubentur custodiat; [6] fratres non contristet.
>
> [[3] He should take care in all matters [4] and do nothing without the abbot's command. [5] The cellarer should stick to doing what is ordered [6] and not upset the brothers.][231]

Jonas deviates here from the *Regula Benedicti* by adding two details: Benedict simply states that the *cellararia* should provide care *de omnibus* (in all matters). Jonas specifies this: *omnis sibi commissis rebus*, thus to all *things* entrusted to her. We have already seen in the previous two chapters that Jonas is deeply concerned about the care of all physical objects belonging to the monastery, and he dedicates two entire chapters of his Rule to this topic alone (c. 13

(230) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1–2, *SC* 182, p. 556; transl. Venarde, p. 117.
(231) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.3–6, p. 556; transl. Venarde, p. 117.

and c. 16). Jonas could allow himself to specify *omnibus* as *omnibus rebus* because he had in his previous sentence already emphasized that the *cellararia*'s care pertains to *everyone*, the *entire* community, that is both the seniors and the juniors. Aside from this material turn, Jonas replaces Benedict's stern *iussio abbatis* (command of the abbot) with his favourite term *commeatus abbatissae* (advice/suggestion/permission of the abbess). This is in line with the three previous chapters.[232] Jonas continues:

> 11 Et si aliqua sororum ab ea inrationabiliter aliquid poposcerit, leni responsione cum uoce humilitatis contra rationem petenti deneget.
>
> [11 And if any sister unreasonably demands something from her, she should deny [it] in a gentle response with a voice of humility to the one who requests against reason.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> 7 Si quis frater ab eo forte aliqua inrationabiliter postulat, non spernendo eum contristet, sed rationabiliter cum humilitate male petenti deneget. 8 Animam suam custodiat, memor semper illud apostolicum quia *qui bene ministrauerit gradum bonum sibi acquirit.* (I Tim. 4, 13)
>
> [7 If any brother happens to ask him for something unreasonable, he should not upset him with a curt refusal, but turn down the brother asking something out of turn reasonably and with humility. 8 He must keep watch over his own soul, always mindful of the apostolic dictum that *he who ministers well earns himself good standing.* (I Tim. 4, 13)][233]

Here Jonas largely follows the *Regula Benedicti*, but he makes two small changes. First, he adds a reference to the *cellararia*'s *uox* (voice), as he did in the chapter on the abbess and on the gatekeepers. Benedict's *cellararius* should respond to irrational requests rationally and with humility; Jonas' *cellararia* should respond with a gentle voice. Secondly, Jonas omits a sentence from the *Regula Benedicti* in which Benedict claims that the *cellararius*, in fulfilling his task, takes care of his own soul (*animam suam*) and acquires for himself a good standing (*gradum bonum sibi acquirit*). Jonas is concerned about *merces* for everyone and, as we just saw, about the effect the *cellararia* may have on the salvation or damnation of *others*. His *cellararia* has to do good work for the others' sake; Benedict's *cellararius* is primarily motivated by caring for his own soul. Jonas does not appreciate Benedict's use of *sua* and of *sibi*.

> 12 In infirmitate positis sororibus diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu ministret. 13 Similiter pauperum curam gerat, 14 in omnibus timorem Domini praeponens et sciens se illi exinde rationem reddituram, si non pro eius preceptis inplendis haec omnia faciat, memor semper illius qui dixit: *Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur.* (Ioh. 12, 26) 15 Omni ergo operi bono quod facimus Domini timorem iungamus. 16 Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat.
>
> [12 She should serve the sisters who are in a state of sickness with loving care and the most ready affection. 13 Likewise, she should perform the care of the poor, 14 placing above all the fear of the Lord, and knowing that she thereafter will have to give account to him, if she does not do all of this for the sake of fulfilling his commands, keeping always him in mind who says:

(232) Jonas uses almost exactly the same words as in *RcuiV*, c. 3.11: *Foras aliquid dare uel cuilibet ministrare uel a foris aliquid accipere, nullatenus sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant.*

(233) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.7–8, *SC* 182, pp. 556–558; transl. Venarde, p. 117.

> *Whoever serves me, let him follow me.* (Ioh. 12, 26) 15 For let us attach the fear of the Lord to every good work that we do. 16 In such a way should [the cellarer] take care of all things that in no regard does she incur the harm of negligence.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> 9 Infirmorum, infantum, hospitum pauperumque cum omni sollicitudine curam gerat, sciens sine dubio quia pro his omnibus in die iudicii rationem redditurus est. 10 Omnia uasa monasterii cunctamque substantiam ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. 11 Nihil ducat neglegendum.
>
> [9 He should attend to the sick, young children, guests, and the poor with the utmost care, knowing without doubt that he will render an account for all of them on the Day of Judgment. 10 He should look after all the monastery's utensils and property as if they were sacred altar vessels. 11 He should consider nothing negligible.][234]

Jonas' alterations are subtle but important. He adds that the *cellararia*'s work is an act of love (*diligenti cura et promptissimo affectu*). Benedict assigns to the *cellararius* the care not only of the sick and the poor but also of children and guests. Later in his chapter he determines that the *cellararius* may receive helpers if the community has grown too large.[235] Jonas' community seems to have reached this size. The care for guests is therefore delegated to the gatekeepers and the care for children to suitable senior nuns.[236]

Jonas and Benedict agree that the cellarer has to give account for his or her work (*rationem reddere*) but they disagree on the question of *what* he/she needs to give account for. In the case of Benedict, it is simple: the *cellararius* gives account for the well-being of those entrusted to him. The responsibility of Jonas' *cellararia* weighs much heavier: she needs to give account for whether she has fulfilled the *praecepta Domini* (mandates of the Lord) and whether she has served *him* properly by serving those entrusted to her. She has to operate in constant fear – and we will encounter this *timor Domini* (fear of the Lord) several more times in this Rule. Therefore, she needs to take care of everything (*in omnibus*), which probably includes objects *and* people. Otherwise she creates *damnum* (harm) because of her negligence.[237] Just as the previous chapter was saturated with the term *nullatenus* (absolutely not), this chapter contains the term *omnis* no fewer than eleven times. For the *cellararia* (but eventually not only for her) *everything* is at stake.

> 17 Auaritiae et cupiditatis pestem omnino fugiat. Similiter sicut non auara, sic non sit prodiga, 18 id est, sicut dona omnipotentis Dei sub auaritiae uitio occultando subtrahere non debet, sic sine iusta dispensatione nimis fenerando commune substantiam non debet diripere, sed omnia per discretionem temperando pensare.
>
> [17 She should altogether flee the pestilence of greed and avarice. Just as she should not be greedy, she also should not be lavish, 18 that is to say, just as she must not hold back the gifts of the Almighty God by hiding them out of the vice of greed, she also must not destroy the

(234) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.9–11, pp. 556–558; transl. Venarde, pp. 117–118.
(235) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.17, pp. 558–560.
(236) *RcuiV*, c. 24.4–5.
(237) Jonas weaves here a couple of words of the *Regula Basilii* into the text: *Regula Basilii*, c. 107, *CSEL* 86, pp. 134–135. See commentary to the edition, p. 84.

common resources by squandering too much without just provision. But she must weigh everything out by being moderate through [her] discretion.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> 10 Omnia uasa monasterii cunctamque substantiam ac si altaris uasa sacrata conspiciat. 11 Nihil ducat neglegendum. 12 Neque auaritiae studeat, neque prodigus sit et stirpator substantiae monasterii, sed omnia mensurate faciat et secundum iussionem abbatis.
>
> [10 He should look after all the monastery's utensils and property as if they were sacred altar vessels. 11 He should consider nothing negligible, 12 nor be avidly greedy or wasteful and a squanderer of the monastery's property, but instead do everything with due measure and according to the abbot's orders][238]

Jonas expands on Benedict's provision by emphasizing the *discretio* of the *cellararia*. Following the *commeatus* of the abbess she has to consider every need on the basis of her own discretion, while Benedict's *cellararius* simply follows the abbot's orders.[239] Moreover, Jonas adds to Benedict's text another level of urgency, depicting the cellararia's task of keeping the balance between stinginess and wastefulness as a battle between virtues and vices. He reminds his nuns that monastic property has to be understood and treated as a gift from God.

In the final section, Jonas returns to the theme of interaction between *cellararia* and the other nuns and the problem of how to maintain the right motivation in the community:

> 19 Et si non habeat quod ab ea quaeritur, quod tribuat sermone leni sine ulla asperitate in responsione procedat, ut dulcedo cordis et uocis responsione patefiat, 20 iuxta quod scriptum est: *Fauum mellis sermones boni.* (Ioh. 12, 26) Et illud: *Sermo bonus super datum bonum.* (Eccli. 18, 17) 21 Ita sibi commissum opus ad mercedem nouerit pertinere, si omnia cum humilitate ac pietate studuerit agere. 22 Et quamuis quod petitur non sit unde tribuatur, nullatenus respondeat se non habere, sed dicat fideli uoce: *Dominus dabit.* (cf. II Tim. 2, 7; Iob 1, 21) 23 Ea uero quae danda sunt, sine mora tribuantur, ne scandali occasio aut offensionis casus ex ipsa tarditate generetur. 24 Memor semper praeceptorum Domini, qui ne minimum suorum patitur scandalizari.
>
> [19 And if she does not have what is asked of her, what she gives out should come forward with gentle words without any roughness in response, so that the sweetness of her heart and voice is disclosed by her response, 20 according to that which is written: *Good words are like a honeycomb.* (Ioh. 12, 26) And this word: *Speaking well is above a good gift.* (Eccli. 18, 17) 21 If she strives to do everything with humility and love, she will know that the work entrusted affects in this way the reward. 22 And although there is nothing from which can be handed out what is requested, she should by no means answer that she has not got it, but she should say with a sincere voice: *The Lord will give.* (cf. II Tim. 2, 7; Iob 1, 21) 23 These things that are to be given, should be given out without delay, lest out of tardiness itself the occasion of scandal or the opportunity of a complaint arises. 24 [She should] always be mindful of the precepts of the Lord, who does not endure that the least of his people be scandalized.]

(238) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.10–12, *SC* 182, p. 558; transl. Venarde, pp. 117–118.
(239) See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.32–37, *SC* 106, p. 78.

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [13] Humilitatem ante omnia habeat, et cui substantia non est quod tribuatur, sermo responsionis porrigatur bonus, [14] ut scriptum est: *Sermo bonus super datum optimum*. (Eccli. 18, 17) [15] Omnia quae ei iniunxerit abbas, ipsa habeat sub cura sua; a quibus eum prohibuerit, non praesumat. [16] Fratribus constitutam annonam sine aliquo tyfo uel mora offerat, ut non scandalizentur, memor diuini eloquii quid mereatur *qui scandalizauerit unum de pusillis*. (Matth. 18, 6) [17] Si congregatio maior fuerit, solacia ei dentur, a quibus adiutus et ipse aequo animo impleat officium sibi commissum. [18] Horis competentibus dentur quae danda sunt et petantur quae petenda sunt, [19] ut nemo perturbetur neque contristetur in domo Dei.
>
> [[13] Above all, let him be humble and offer a kind word of reply to a brother when there is nothing to give him, [14] as it is written, *A good word is better than the best gift*. (Eccli. 18, 17) [15] Everything the abbot delegates to him he should keep under his own supervision and he should take no interest in matters the abbot has barred to him. [16] He should give the brothers their allotted ration of food without haughtiness or delay, lest they be given occasion to sin, mindful of the divine saying about what he *who leads one of the little ones astray* (Matth. 18, 6) deserves. [17] If the community is large, he should have helpers so that with their support he may calmly fulfill the duties assigned to him. [18] Things that are to be given should be given and appropriate requests made at suitable hours [19] so that nobody in God's house may be troubled or upset.][240]

Jonas imposes here almost exactly the same alterations as in the previous sections. He adds the aspect of the *uox* that should express gentleness instead of harshness; he emphasizes that the *cellararia* should produce *merces* through her work (again: *merces* in general, not just for herself); he emphasizes, in line with chapter 2, that the *cellararia* should not create scandal out of tardiness; and, finally, he makes the mandates of the Lord the guideline for the *cellararia*. Consequently, he removes Benedict's reminder that the *cellararius* should only do what the abbot imposes on him and that he should not dare to do what the abbot has forbidden him to do. All of this is implied in Jonas' use of *commeatus*, which encompasses much more than just fulfilling orders. Her true lord is the Lord and she has to give account to him.

Jonas does not only change, as it were, the line of command and increases the responsibility of the *cellararia* to fearfully follow the *praecepta Domini* according to her own *discretio* instead of just carrying out orders. The most striking modification Jonas imposes on Benedict's text is introducing an overall imperative of love (*pietas*, *affectus*, *diligere*, *lenitas*), a love that expresses itself both through friendliness in deeds and voice and in a *cura* (care) that prevents the nuns from harm (*damnum*) and creates reward (*merces*) for everyone. The next chapter will elaborate on this imperative of mutual love.

Love (Chapter 5)

This chapter is very different from the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It does not contain any straightforward prescriptions and sanctions but is phrased like a sermon that addresses the nuns directly in the first-person plural. It ends with the word *amen*. Aside

(240) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.13–19, *SC* 182, pp. 558–560; transl. Venarde, p. 118.

from two short fragments, it is the only part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that does not appear in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*.[241] It is possible that Benedict of Aniane decided against using this chapter because he considered its central idea theologically too problematic.[242] The structure and tone of chapter 5 shows striking similarities with the treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which is one of the reasons why I argue that both texts were written by the same author.[243]

At first sight, this chapter looks like a chain of biblical quotations and paraphrases tied together by Jonas' short explanations. A close reading shows that it is, in fact, a very dense and highly original theological treatise that explains how the individual nuns by loving and forgiving each other can attain salvation despite their imperfection. The text shows how the loving community becomes a powerful "third party" in the interaction between God and the individual. We have already seen several references both to the imperative of love and to the idea of mutual responsibility and collectively gained reward in previous chapters of the Rule and this theme occurs many more times in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 5 ties all of these references together and explains how the nuns can develop collectively an agency that an individual nun would never be able to attain.[244]

Jonas disagrees with the *Regula Benedicti* at one central point. Benedict places *oboedientia* at the centre of monastic existence; Jonas replaces *oboedientia* with love.[245] The title of Jonas' chapter (*De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*: That one has to love each other and to obey each other) is modelled after – and probably a response to – the title of chapter 71 of the *Regula Benedicti* (*Vt oboedientes sibi sint inuicem*) which is a guideline of how monks should interact with each other. Aside from the title, Jonas did not use a single word of it:

Regula Benedicti, c. 71: Vt oboedientes sibi sint inuicem

1 Oboedientiae bonum non solum abbati exhibendum est ab omnibus, sed etiam sibi inuicem ita oboediant fratres, 2 scientes per hanc oboedientiae uiam se ituros ad Deum. 3 Praemisso ergo abbatis aut praepositorum qui ab eo constituuntur imperio, cui non permittimus priuata imperia praeponi, 4 de cetero omnes iuniores prioribus suis omni caritate et sollicitudine oboediant. 5 Quod si quis contentiosus reperitur, corripiatur.

[They should be obedient to one another

1 The goodness of obedience is to be shown by all, not just to the abbot, but the brothers should similarly obey each other, 2 knowing that they will approach God by this path of obedience. 3 Excepting the command of the abbot or the priors he has appointed, which we permit no

(241) Benedict of Aniane also omitted *RcuiV*, c. 11 and c. 14.1–10.

(242) If Benedict of Aniane had wanted to quote *RcuiV*, c. 5, he probably would have grouped it together with *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71, *SC* 182, p. 668.

(243) See p. 565–571.

(244) This analysis expands upon Diem, Albrecht, 'Das Ende des monastischen Experiments. Liebe, Beichte und Schweigen in der *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines* (mit einer Übersetzung im Anhang)', in: Gert Melville and Anne Müller (eds.), *Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts*, Münster/Berlin: LIT-Verlag 2011, pp. 81–136.

(245) Aside from emphasizing in various contexts that monks have to obey their superiors, Benedict devotes four lengthy sections on the imperative of *oboedientia*. *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.1–3, *SC* 181, p. 412; c. 5, pp. 464–468; c. 7.34–43, pp. 480–484; c. 71, *SC* 182, p. 668.

private commands to supersede, 4 for the rest all juniors should obey their seniors with all love (*caritas*) and attentiveness. 5 If someone is discovered to be resisting, he should be rebuked.][246]

The title of Jonas' chapter pairs *oboedire* with *diligere* (to love) but the term *oboedientia* does not return at all in the chapter's text. It is almost completely absent in the rest of the Rule and in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.[247] Instead, Jonas' chapter revolves around the vocabulary of mutual love. *Dilectio/diligere*, *amor*, *pietas*, *caritas*, and *affectus* appear 31 times.[248] The expressions *inuicem* (each other) and *mutua* (mutual) appear eleven times. Spread over the entire rule we find Jonas' vocabulary of love almost ninety times; *inuicem* and *mutua/mutuatim* appear 21 times. The imperative of mutual love forms the guiding principle of Jonas' monastic programme. Not even the *Regula Magistri*, which is more than seven times as long as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, refers as often to love as Jonas' Rule.[249]

Before exploring Jonas' regime of mutual love, I will give a short overview on regulations on mutual love that we find in the monastic normative texts that Jonas knew and may have used. Jonas develops, as I already have shown, his programme largely in dialogue with existing traditions, particularly the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the works of Columbanus, and the *Regula Basilii*. One of Jonas' trademarks, however, is never to quote his sources verbatim. Instead of just reproducing their content he uses and processes them in order to create new and largely original ideas.

First, what does the *Regula Benedicti* say about mutual love – aside from identifying mutual love with mutual obedience? The abbot is supposed to love everyone equally with fatherly love and every monk is supposed to love the abbot.[250] Seniors should love juniors.[251] Juniors are supposed to "obey their seniors with all love and attentiveness".[252] The abbot should show *cura* for those who are excommunicated and those who are sick.[253] The *cellararius* performs *cura*.[254] Kitchen service is an act of *caritas*.[255] Mutuality is replaced by "outdoing each other in demonstrating honor".[256] The most explicit statement about love can be found at the end of Benedict's Rule: "brothers should devote themselves to the charity of fraternity in chastity, fear God in love, and love their abbot with sincere and humble charity".[257] For Benedict, love is embedded in hierarchy. Mutual love does not play much a role in the pursuit of salvation.

(246) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.1–5, p. 668; transl. Venarde, p. 225.

(247) There is only one exception: In *RcuiV*, c. 3.24 Jonas refers to the unity of *oboedientia* among those who are bound by one rule. It is, thus, not an obedience towards a person.

(248) The expressions *diligere* or *dilectio* appear 23 times; *amor* and *pietas* three times; *caritas* and *affectus* once.

(249) The *Regula Magistri* uses *amor*, *amare*, *diligere*, *dilectio*, *affectus*, and *pietas* all in all 87 times; *inuicem* and *mutuus* appear 17 times.

(250) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 2.16–25, *SC* 181, pp. 444–446; c. 64.15, *SC* 182, p. 650; c. 72.10, p. 670.

(251) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.71, p. 462; c. 63.10, *SC* 182, pp. 644–646.

(252) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 71.4, p. 668.

(253) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 27, pp. 548–550; c. 36, pp. 570–572.

(254) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31, pp. 556–560.

(255) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.2–6, p. 556.

(256) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 72.4, p. 670.

(257) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 72.8–10, p. 670: *…caritatem fraternitatis caste inpendant, amore Deum timeant, abbatem suum sincera et humili caritate diligant.*

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns says a lot about the author's twisted love for his community; it describes how the nuns are supposed to interact with each other but never refers to mutual love as a guiding principle.[258] Caesarius does, however, define punishment as *caritas*,[259] and refers to the *cura* for the sick and the *cura* of the abbess.[260] What comes closest as a source for Jonas' chapter on love is Caesarius' Rule for Monks, which otherwise left no traces in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Caesarius' chapter on *iracundia* (anger) emphasizes the necessity of mutual forgiveness. He cites, like Jonas, Matth. 6, 15 and John 13, 35.[261] These parallels could, however, also be coincidental.

Columbanus' Rules say little about love either. He starts his *Regula monachorum* with the precept to love one's neighbour as oneself.[262] In his third *Instructio* he explicitly condemns all forms of *amor* aside from divine love.[263] One entire *Instructio*, however, is devoted to loving one's neighbour and here we find material that Jonas may have used for his chapter on love. Columbanus states that, since man is created in God's image, mutual love comes forth from unconditional love of God and restores the love of God.[264]

Similarly to Columbanus' Rule, the *Regula Basilii* states right at the beginning that loving one's neighbour is a direct consequence of loving God.[265] He emphasizes the love of the abbot for his subjects and identifies punishment as an act of love.[266] Basil requires unconditional love among the brothers citing John 15, 12–13, which is also used by Jonas,[267] and states that love means returning favours that are given in love but not returning evil for evil.[268] He explains that loving one's brother means grieving when he is harmed and striving that he does well.[269] The last two precepts vaguely resonate with Jonas' chapter.

The *Regula Magistri* begins with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, which includes a short reflection on Matth. 6, 12: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris* (Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors), which plays a crucial role in Jonas' argument. The reflection mainly revolves around the hope for forgiveness and the danger of making judgements or relying on one's good works but treats the act of forgiveness rather as an afterthought.[270] The *Regula Magistri* requires that the abbot loves everyone equally like a mother and a father love their children.[271] Those divided by swearing, anger,

(258) See p. 263
(259) *CaesRV*, c. 35.1–3, *SC* 345, p. 216; c. 65.5, p. 252.
(260) *CaesRV*, c. 32, pp. 210–212; c. 35.3–4, p. 216, c. 42, p. 224.
(261) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 13, *SC* 398, pp. 210–212.
(262) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, *Incipit*, ed. Walker, p. 122.
(263) Columbanus, *Instructio* 3, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 74. Similar in *Epistula* 4, c. 4, p. 28, where he warns Athala that being loved may be just as destructive as being hated.
(264) Columbanus, *Instructio* 11, c. 1, p. 106.
(265) *Regula Basilii*, c. 1, *CSEL* 86, pp. 8–9, elaborated in c. 2.61–69, pp. 17–18.
(266) *Regula Basilii*, c. 15, pp. 64–65; c. 17, pp. 66–67; c. 23–25, pp. 72–73.
(267) *Regula Basilii*, c. 38, p. 83.
(268) *Regula Basilii*, c. 39, pp. 83–85.
(269) *Regula Basilii*, c. 155, pp. 178–179.
(270) *Regula Magistri*, *Thema*.57–66, *SC* 105, pp. 312–314.
(271) *Regula Magistri*, c. 2.16–22, *SC* 105, pp. 354–356; c. 2.26–31, pp. 356–358.

and hate need to reconcile.[272] Moreover, the text identifies punishment as a form of love.[273] Aside from that, the *Regula Magistri* shows little difference with the *Regula Benedicti* with regard to love and, in this case, no closer proximity to Jonas' Rule.

Some of the ideas expressed in these texts return in Jonas' chapter on love, but his two central ideas – the salvific effect of mutual love and mutual forgiveness, and the replacement of the imperative of obedience by the imperative of mutual love – set him apart from all the other monastic rules he used. Most importantly, Jonas does not just proclaim that love is important; he wants to *explain* how mutual love plays a crucial role in the pursuit of salvation.

> [1] Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura debeant, per euangelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, [2] cum dicit: *Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* (Ioh. 15, 12–13) [3] Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis.* (Ioh. 13, 35)
>
> [[1] The Lord shows through the Gospel of John with how much care the nuns in the monastery should love each other in Christ, [2] when he says: *It is my precept that you love each other. No one has a greater love* (*dilectionem*) *than to lay down the soul for one's friends.* (Ioh. 15, 12–13) [3] And this [word]: *In this everyone will recognize that you are my disciples: if you love each other.* (Ioh. 13, 35)]

Jonas begins with a reference to the Apostolic requirement of love as it is expressed in John 15, 12–13 and John 13, 35, which conforms to the monastic tradition,[274] but already in the next sentence he leaves the safe monastic consensus and comes to the matter at stake:

> [4] Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit, [5] iuxta Apocalipsin: *Et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo.* (Apoc. 1, 5)
>
> [[4] We are instructed to love each other in order that we are saved by each other, so that we imitate him through mutual love (*dilectio*) who has loved us, [5] according to the Apocalypse: *And he washed us from our sins in his blood.* (Apoc. 1, 5)]

This is new – at least within the context of monastic life: mutual love is meant to be an act of mutual salvation. Loving each other allows the nuns to play an active role in pursuing this goal. It is not just God who absolves, but the nuns can do it for each other. This absolving love functions through *imitating* God's absolving love.[275] *Amor*, *caritas*, *dilectio*, and *pietas* are here not – as in the *Regula Benedicti* – directed towards God or coming from God.[276] It is all about them loving each other *like* God loves them.

> [6] Sic ergo soror sororem propter Christum diligat, ut Christum a se per temporalem dilectionem non repellat, [7] quae uera et secundum Christum dilectio est *proximae malum non operatur.*

(272) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.66–74, *SC* 106, p. 22.
(273) *Regula Magistri*, c. 15.20–24, *SC* 106, p. 66.
(274) See, for example, *Liber Orsiesii*, c. 23, ed. Boon, pp. 124–125; *Regula Basilii*, c. 39, *CSEL* 86, pp. 83–85.
(275) The motif of imitation appears also in *RcuiV*, c. 1.3–6: imitating the abbess; c. 15.4: treating the sick as if they were Christ; c. 20.7: love and prayer creates divine mercy; c. 23.1: nuns imitate the crucified Christ.
(276) See *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.21, *SC* 181, pp. 456–468; c. 4.72, p. 462; c. 7.34, p. 480; c. 63.13, *SC* 182, p. 646; c. 72.9, p. 670.

(Rom. 13, 10) [8]Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu sed piaetatis ministerio. [9]Diligatur puritate, diligatur religione, diligatur mansuetudine, diligatur caritate, ut in omni semper amore Christus inueniatur, et non secundum saeculum sed secundum Deum maneat amor. [10]Sic enim a Domino praecipitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.* (Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14) [11]Si soror sororem diligat sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet.

[[6]A sister should therefore love a sister for Christ's sake in such a way that she does not cast Christ away from herself through worldly love (*dilectionem*). [7]This love (*dilectio*), which is true and according to Christ, *does not do evil to one's fellow.* (Rom. 13, 10) [8]Therefore, a fellow [sister] is to be loved not with affection of the flesh, but with the service of love (*pietas*). [9]She is to be loved with purity, is to be loved with piety, is to be loved with mildness, and is to be loved with love (*caritas*), so that in every love (*amore*) Christ is always found. Love (*amor*) should not remain in favour of the world but in favour of God. [10]In such a way it is prescribed by the Lord: *Love your neighbour as yourself.* (Matth. 32, 39; Gal. 5, 14) [11]If a sister should love a sister as herself, she will never incur the stain of sin, but adorned by the practice of love (*pietatis*) and love (*dilectionis*) she will receive eternal reward.]

At this point Jonas defines this love that qualifies as an imitation of God's love: it is no temporal or worldly love, it is neither a permissive love, nor a carnal love, but a love performed through serving each other (*ministerium*) – just as it is exemplified in numerous chapters of the Rule. *Ministerium*, *ministra*, and *ministrare* also belong to Jonas' favourite terms.[277] This love does not express itself in emotions, but in purity, piety, moderation, and care. Every act and every expression needs to be an expression of this love and, consequently, every act has an effect on salvation – not only on that of the acting person but also on the salvation of all the other nuns. This includes also acts of reprimand and punishment.

The community becomes, next to God and the individual, an agent for the eternal fate of the individual. As such, it is not (as in the monastic theologies of John Cassian and the *Regula Benedicti*) just a suitable milieu for the individual's pursuit of salvation.[278] Coenobitism itself receives a deep theological grounding here.

In a next step, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses what leads us away from salvation: the devil and the Fall of Adam:

[12]Maneat ergo semper in corde dilectio, ut antiqui hostis liuoris uirus extinguat, per quem in primordio protoplasto decepto mortis patefecit introitum, [13]sicut scriptum est: *Inuidia autem diaboli mors introibit in orbem terrarum.* (Sap. 2, 24) [14]Diligatur proxima, ne odii macula cruentationis crimen incurrat, [15]sicut Iohannes Apostolus testatus est dicens: *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est.* (I Ioh. 3, 15) [16]Diligatur proxima, ne per aliqua discordiae fomenta retenta proprii facinoris uinculo non soluatur,…

[[12]Love (*dilectio*), therefore, should always remain within the heart, so that it extinguishes the poison of the ancient enemy's malice, through which he opened the entrance of death in the beginning by deceiving the Protoplast [Adam], [13]as it is written: *But through the envy of the devil*

(277) *Ministerium*, *ministrare*, and *ministra* appear twenty times in *RcuiV*, c. 2; c. 3; c. 10; c. 11; c. 15; c. 22; c. 24 and twenty times in the *VCol* but only nine times in the *Regula Benedicti*.

(278) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1.1–5, *SC* 181, pp. 436–438; c. 73, *SC* 182, pp. 672–674. On Cassian's view on coenobitic monasticism, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 33–61.

> *death will enter into the world*. (Sap. 2, 24) 14 A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she incurs the crime of bloodshed through the stain of hatred, 15 as the Apostle John has testified, saying: *He who hates his brother is a murderer*. (I Ioh. 3, 15) 16 A fellow [sister] is to be loved, lest she not be freed from the bond of her own misdeed, because some sparks of discord have been retained,…]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* identifies three sins as a direct effect of the Fall of Adam, and all of them can be overcome by love: envy (*inuidia*), hate (*odium*), and discord (*discordia*). All of them may be particularly relevant within closed communities.[279] From there, the author moves back to the concept of imitation and explains how this imitating mutual love needs to take shape, finding a strong biblical basis in the Lord's Prayer:

> 17 …sicut Dominus in euangelio testatus est dicens: *Si non dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, nec pater uester caelestis dimittet uobis peccata uestra*. (Matth. 6, 15) 18 Remittamus proximis, ut ab omnipotente remittatur nobis. 19 *Date*, inquit, *et dabitur uobis*. (Luc. 6, 38)
>
> [17 …as the Lord has testified in the Gospel, saying: *If you do not forgive men their sins, your heavenly father will not forgive you your sins either*. (Matth. 6, 15) 18 Let us forgive our fellow [sisters], so that we may be forgiven by the Almighty. 19 *Give*, he says, *and it shall be given to you*. (Luc. 6, 38)]

Forgiving each other's sins both imitates God's willingness to forgive and creates this willingness – and this act of forgiving is elaborated in the following chapter on confession. The author concludes with a praise of this effectual imitation and exchange between the nuns' mutual interactions and the interaction between God and the nuns:

> 20 O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse, 21 si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur! 22 Sic et Apostolus ortatur dicens: *Estote inuicem benigni misericordes, donantes inuicem, sicut et Deus in Christo donauit uobis*. (Eph. 4, 32) 23 Nihil aliud dare precipimur nisi quod nobis dare petimus. 24 Sic et orando dicimus: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*. (Matth. 6, 12) 25 Debitoribus dimittendo nos laxamur a debito. 26 Soluamus ergo per dilectionem et amorem proximos, ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus. AMEN.
>
> [20 Oh, what a just exchange! Oh, what loving compassion to have received in giving and to have given in receiving, 21 if no growth and no nourishment of contention is retained! 22 In such a way the Apostle also encourages us, saying: *Be kind and merciful to each other, giving to each other, just as God in Christ has given to you*. (Eph. 4, 32) 23 We are instructed to give nothing else, except what we request [from him] to give us. 24 In such a way we also say when we pray: *Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors*. (Matth. 6, 12) 25 By forgiving our debtors we ourselves are relieved from debt. 26 Let us therefore release our neighbors by love (*dilectionem*) and love (*amorem*), so that God releases us from our crimes through love (*pietate*) and mercy. Amen.]

The idea of inciting God's forgiveness by imitating it is not new: Caesarius of Arles expressed it in a similar manner (also using Matth. 6, 15 and 6, 12) in one of his sermons to monks.[280] The absolving power of the community manifests itself throughout the Rule in two forms. On the one hand, Jonas turns every interaction between nuns (horizontally but also between superiors and inferiors) into a performance of love. This applies, as we

(279) It is possible that Jonas is, at this place, inspired by Cassian, *Collationes* VIII, c. 10, *SC* 54, pp. 18–19.
(280) Caesarius, *Sermo* 235 *ad monachos*, c. 3, *CCSL* 104, p. 937/*SC* 398, pp. 96–98.

already saw, to the abbess,[281] the *praeposita*,[282] the gatekeepers,[283] and the *cellararia*.[284] It also applies to the entire community dealing with penitents,[285] to those tending to the sick,[286] those inflicting punishment,[287] the community dealing with nuns who want to return to the monastery,[288] the community in general,[289] and those dealing with children in the monastery.[290] Jonas establishes the connection between the ritual of confession and mutual intercessory prayer as the ultimate form of mutual purification. He dedicates the next two chapters of the Rule to this process of communal purification.

Numerous alterations of the *Regula Benedicti* that we have already encountered, and many of those in the following chapters, can be related to the monastic ideal as it is expressed in this chapter, in which Jonas replaces Benedict's framework obedience, submission, and hierarchy by a new framework of love and mutuality. One could say that in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, Jonas turned Benedict's ideal ninety degrees – from vertical to horizontal.[291]

Jonas wrote his "Rule of Love and Confession" twice, once in the Faremoutiers episodes as a narrative and a second time as a normative text that responds to the *Regula Benedicti*.[292] His notion of *amor*, *dilectio*, *caritas*, and *pietas* is, however, far removed from what we today might understand as human or divine love. It forms the basis for a system of control, responsibility, and discipline of any movement, expression, spoken word, sound, or gesture. *Everything* a nun does has to express and incite love. Compared to that, following Benedict's regime of obedience seems to be much easier.

Confession (Chapters 6–7)

Jonas' regime of mutual love, mutual prayer, perpetual attention, and collectively attained *merces* (reward) has one disadvantage: it does not work. The nuns are, due to human fallibility, permanently at the brink of inflicting harm (*damnum*) upon their fellow sisters or incurring *damnatio* themselves. The Faremoutiers section gives, as I have shown, ample evidence for the disastrous effects of human weakness and negligence, but it also provides a radical solution: a never ceasing act of confession that, on the one hand, wipes out any

(281) *RcuiV*, c. 1.7–8.
(282) *RcuiV*, c. 2.3–4.
(283) *RcuiV*, c. 3.7.
(284) *RcuiV*, c. 4.1–3.
(285) *RcuiV*, c. 6.29–30.
(286) *RcuiV*, c. 15.10–12.
(287) *RcuiV*, c. 20.5; c. 20.7–8; c. 23.9.
(288) *RcuiV*, c. 21.3–4.
(289) *RcuiV*, c. 22.1; c. 22.7–9; c. 23.6; c. 23.7–8.
(290) *RcuiV*, c. 24.2–5.
(291) On "vertical" and "horizonal" aspects in Columbanus' own rules and its source, see Stancliffe, Clare E., 'Columbanus's monasticism and the sources of his inspiration: from Basil to the Master?', in: Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell (eds.), *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in Honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2011, pp. 17–28.
(292) On love in the Faremoutiers miracles, see, for example, *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262.

stain of sinfulness as soon as it occurs and, on the other hand, brings to light the destructive mechanisms hiding within each individual. *Confessio* is Jonas' life insurance, or rather, his all-healing *medicina*.

Embedded in his anecdotes about the dying nuns of Faremoutiers, Jonas describes, as I have shown in Chapter 2 of this study, various forms of confession (at monastic entry; three times per day, immediately after having committed a transgression, at deathbed) and develops, in his usual manner, an exhaustive list of what needs to be confessed: thoughts, emotions, memories, dreams, wishes, intentions, motivations, everything seen or heard, and overt or secret deeds and transgressions.[293] Chapters 6 and 7 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* provide the normative counterpart to Jonas' "narrated Rule" of confession. At the same time, they contain one of the most sophisticated theological reflections on the practice of confession that we can find in a late antique or early medieval text. Like the previous chapter on love, chapters 6 and 7 "branch out" into different segments of the Rule, which apply the imperative of confession in specific contexts.[294]

For church historians, historians of pastoral practice, and historians of monasticism, these two chapters are probably the most important part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[295] They provide a unique source for the still enigmatic history of confession in the Middle Ages. This history is marked by various disjointed pockets of evidence that, on the one hand, can hardly be forged into a narrative or genealogy and, on the other hand, clearly disprove that confession was anything like a stable historical entity.[296] My analysis of Jonas' chapters on confession is therefore more extensive than those of other chapters. I begin with the historical overview of *confessio* (which does not necessarily mean the same thing as confession) and references to confession in monastic rules in general and then focus on references to confession in texts ascribed to Columbanus (the *Regula coenobialis* and the *Paenitentiale*) that formed the main source of inspiration for confessional practices developed

(293) See p. 227–228.

(294) See *RcuiV*, c. 3.15; c. 5.5; c. 16.5–10; c. 21.4; c. 22.17–18.

(295) *De accedendo*, discussed in the last section of this book, is of similar significance.

(296) The two most important surveys on the history of confession in the Middle Ages are Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols, Philadelphia, PA: Lea Brothers 1896 and Watkins, Oscar Daniel, *A history of penance: being a study of the authorities (A) For the whole Church to A.D. 450 (B) For the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215*, New York: Franklin 1920, which reproduces extracts of the most relevant sources. Also relevant, though focusing on penance rather than confession: Poschmann, Bernhard, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, Munich: Josef Kösel & Friedrich Pustet 1928; id., *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im frühen Mittelalter*, Breslau: Müller & Seiffert 1930. Shorter surveys that do not entirely do justice to the complexity of the issue, include Tentler, Thomas N., *Sin and Confession at the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1977, pp. 1–28; Murray, Alexander, 'Confession before 1215', in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 3 (1993), pp. 51–81; Frank, Isnard W., 'Beichte (Mittelalter)', in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 5, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1980, pp. 414–421; Asmussen, Jes Peter, 'Beichte (religionsgeschichtlich)', *ibid.*, pp. 411–414; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 222–263. On post-medieval concepts of confession and penance, see Vorgrimler, Herbert, *Sacramental Theology*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1992, pp. 207–222; Arendt, Hans-Peter, *Bußsakrament und Einzelbeichte. Die tridentinischen Lehraussagen über das Sündenbekenntnis und ihre Verbindlichkeit für die Reform des Bußsakramentes*, Freiburg: Herder 1981.

in the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. My analysis of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself begins with an overview of the vocabulary of confession that Jonas uses in chapters 6–7 and then works through the text sentence by sentence in order to show how Jonas first develops a sophisticated theological argument to prove that confession is an effective means to attain salvation and subsequently imposes a rigorous procedure of confession for his nuns. I conclude with documenting the impact of Jonas' confessional programme.

Confessio *and Confession*

Things became complicated already before *confessio* became confession. One of the earliest monastic sources on practising something that could be identified as confession in a monastic context is Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*. According to Athanasius, Antony recommends that his disciples write down their sins on a wax tablet as a means of self-examination. Antony encourages them to document their sins *as if* someone else would read them. The first, anonymous, translation of the *Vita Antonii* follows Athanasius, while Euagrius of Antioch's second translation, the one that became widely disseminated in the Latin world, leaves out the *as if*. Here, the monks are supposed to let others read their notes in order to be exposed to shame.[297] Neither the anonymous translator nor Euagrius uses the term *confessio* in this context.[298]

The expressions *confiteri* and *confessio* have various meanings in biblical, patristic, and early medieval texts. They may refer, in the broadest sense, to professing one's faith, which may include professing one's own sinful state, or making a monastic profession. Augustine's *Confessiones* should certainly be read as a profession of faith rather than being reduced to a written confession of sins. The same applies to the *Confessio* of Patrick.[299] Gregory of Tours still calls those who were willing to suffer for their faith but didn't endure martyrdom *confessores*.[300] The German expression *Konfession* retains the notion of confession of faith. It has nothing to do with confession of sins (which is *Beichte*) but refers to allegiance to a Christian denomination, the *Confessio Augustana*, the Augsburginan, i.e. Lutheran confession of faith or the *Confessio Helvetica*, the Swiss, i.e. Calvinist confession of faith.

Confessio in the sense of confession of sins was originally expressed through qualifiers such as *confiteri peccata* (confessing sins), *confessio malorum* (confession of evils), *confiteri que*

(297) *Vita Antonii*, c. 55.4–13, *SC* 400, pp. 282–286; *Versio uetustissima*, c. 55, ed. Lois Gandt, *CCSL* 170, pp. 150–151; translation of Euagrius of Antioch, c. 55, ed. Pascal Bertrand, *ibid.*, pp. 62–63. See also pp. 276–277 for a synoptic presentation of all three versions. A similar idea is expressed in Pomerius, *De uita contemplatiua* II, c. 7.1, *PL* 59, col. 451A–B. On confession as form of self-confrontation, see Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, pp. 204–247.

(298) On confessional practices in desert father texts, especially in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see Dörries, Hermann, 'Die Beichte im alten Mönchtum', in: id., *Wort und Stunde. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966, pp. 225–250. Dörries describes practices of revealing sins in the works of the desert fathers. None of them point, however, to a directly salvific effect from confession.

(299) *Confession of Patrick*, *SC* 249, pp. 70–132.

(300) Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, *MGH SRM* 1.2, pp. 294–370.

fecisti (confessing what you have done).[301] One can confess various things; confessing sins or confessing sinful thoughts are just two options. The *Regula Basilii*, for example, refers to *confessio* as profession of faith and monastic profession,[302] but also to a *confessio* of sins (*peccata*, *delicta*). Basil prescribes that a monk who wants to confess his sins should not reveal them to the community but to a spiritual elder.[303] A nun who has confessed to a presbyter should receive her penance through her spiritual mother.[304]

John Cassian addresses *confessio* extensively in Book 2 of his *Collationes* and briefly in his *Institutiones*. He is, differently from Basil, interested in the *confessio* of thoughts (*cogitationes*) rather than deeds and he does not use a qualifier any more. *Confessio* is for him an act of disclosure, not an act of profession. Abba Moses, the protagonist of the first two books of the *Collationes*, recommends a *confessio* to a spiritual guide as a means of overcoming the loss of *discretio*, which is a result of original sin. *Confessio* and spiritual guidance allow a monk to realize whether a thought arising within himself is instilled by God, the devil, or himself. Verbalizing a thought does, as an act in itself, often reveal whether it is evil or good.[305] Michel Foucault regarded Cassian's notion of confession, introspection, and spiritual guidance to be a paradigm shift which deviated both from older Christian practices and from stoic ideals of introspection and shaped a new and lasting notion of subjectivity.[306]

Cassian's imperative of a *confessio* of thoughts certainly contributed to making *confessio* (in the narrower sense of confession) part of monastic language, especially of the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, and Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, but it is important to notice that Cassian does *not* speak of a ritual of confession, of a required regular and formal confession, of the confession of sinful deeds (and not just thoughts), of confession linked to penance, confession as an act that leads to the remission of sins, or of a priestly monopoly on confession. All of these aspects of confession emerge later, and for some of them the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the first witness.

With the exception of the *Regula coenobialis*, the *Regula Donati*, and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, no early medieval monastic rule describes a ritual of *confessio* or *confessionem dare* (giving confession), though some of them include provisions on revealing one's sinful deeds or sinful intentions. Augustine and Caesarius, for example, state that a monk or nun who confesses to have received something illicitly will earn forgiveness and prayer.[307] The *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* set a different tone, probably inspired by John Cassian. Both define humble confession to the abbot as the fifth step of humility:

> [44] The fifth step of humility is that in humble confession one reveals to his abbot any wicked thoughts entering into his heart and any wickedness done in secret. [45] Scripture exhorts us in

(301) Biblical and patristic examples are collected in Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII, *CCSL* 117, pp. 34–38.
(302) See, for example, *Regula Basilii*, c. 4.4, *CSEL* 86, p. 32; c. 7.14, p. 40; c. 109.3, p. 136.
(303) *Regula Basilii*, c. 21, pp. 69–70; c. 200, pp. 217–218.
(304) *Regula Basilii*, c. 199, pp. 216–217.
(305) Cassian, *Collationes* II, c. 11–13, *SC* 42, pp. 121–130; id., *Institutiones* IV, c. 37, *SC* 109, p. 178.
(306) Foucault, Michel, *On the Government of the Living. Lectures at the Collège de France 1979–1980*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2016, pp. 303–313; id., *Die Geständnisse des Fleisches. Sexualität und Wahrheit* vol. 4, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 2019, pp. 186–201.
(307) Augustine, *Praeceptum* IV.11, ed Verheijen, p. 428; *CaesRV*, c. 25.1, *SC* 345, p. 202.

> this matter, saying, *Show the Lord your path and hope in him.* (Ps. 36/37, 5) 46 And again, *Confess to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy is forever.* (Ps. 105/106, 1) 47 And again the prophet: *I made my sin known to you and I did not conceal my unjust deeds.* 48 *I said, I will accuse myself of my unjust deeds before the Lord and you forgave the sin of my heart.* (Ps. 31/32, 5)[308]

In Benedict's list of Instruments of Good Works, we find two recommendations: "When wicked thoughts come into your heart, quickly smash them against Christ and reveal them to a spiritual elder" and "Confess past sins to God in prayer daily, with tears and sighing".[309] The *Regula Magistri*, curiously, uses the same wording as Benedict but does not require the wicked thoughts to be revealed to a spiritual elder. It mentions, however, that monks suffering from a nocturnal pollution should confess to the abbot who has to inquire whether this pollution is the result of impure thoughts.[310] Benedict states in his chapter on accidents (c. 46): "If it is a matter of sin lying hidden in the soul, he should reveal it only to the abbot or his spiritual elders, who know how to care for their own wounds and others' without revealing and making them public".[311] Even though neither the *Regula Magistri* nor the *Regula Benedicti* envision a formal and regular ritual of confession, they could certainly have been used for legitimating such a ritual once it had been established.

Among the Spanish monastic rules, only the *Regula communis* establishes a ritual that may include an element of confession. Once a week the entire community gathers and the abbot interrogates everyone about his sins.[312] Isidore prescribes, like the *Regula Magistri*, that nocturnal pollutions be revealed to a superior,[313] and states that whoever voluntarily reveals his sins will receive prayer and gain forgiveness.[314] The *Regula Fructuosi* requires a monk to disclose all deeds, thoughts, revelations, illusions, and negligences to a spiritual father in order to be assessed.[315] This is about as much as we find in Latin monastic rules other than those written by or after Columbanus.

(308) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.44–48, *SC* 181, p. 484: *Quintus humilitatis gradus est si omnes cogitationes malas cordi suo aduenientes uel mala a se absconse commissa per humilem confessionem abbatem non celauerit suum.* 45 *Hortans nos de hac re scriptura dicens: Reuela ad Dominum uiam tuam et spera in eum.* (Ps. 36/37, 5) 46 *Et item dicit: Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.* (Ps. 105/106, 1) 47 *Et item propheta: Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci et iniustitias meas non operui.* 48 *Dixi: Pronuntiabo aduersum me iniustias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei.* (Ps. 31/32, 5) Transl. Venarde, p. 51. See also *Regula Magistri*, c. 10.63–65, *SC* 105, p. 432.

(309) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.50, p. 460: *Cogitationes malas cordi suo aduenientes mox ad Christum adlidere et seniori spiritali patefacere.* c. 4.57, p. 460: *Mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis uel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo confiteri.* Transl. Venarde, p. 35. The *Regula Magistri* does not contain the requirement to reveal all evil thoughts to a spiritual superior. Cf. *Regula Magistri*, c. 3.56 and c. 3.63, *SC* 105, pp. 368–370.

(310) *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.1–6, *SC* 106, p. 328.

(311) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.5–6, *SC* 182, p. 596: *Si animae uero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat,* 6 *qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non detegere et publicare.* Transl. Venarde, p. 157.

(312) *Regula communis*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 194–196.

(313) *Regula Isidori*, c. 13.3–5, p. 111.

(314) *Regula Isidori*, c. 16.2, p. 113.

(315) *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 12, p. 151: *Omnes actus siue occasionum necessitudines suo semper necesse est ut monachus referat patri et ex illius cognoscat discretione uel iudicio quod adtendat; cogitationes, reuelationes, inlusiones et neglegentias proprias seniori nullus obcelet uerecundia uel incuria faciente uel contumacia perurguente, sed semper huiuscemodi uitia cum lacrimis et*

Confessio *in the Works of Columbanus and his Successors*

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* shed light on two major turning points in the development of confession within – and eventually also outside – a monastic context. They describe confession as a procedure embedded in a daily monastic routine and they envision confession as a practice that has a direct impact on the ultimate goal of the monastic endeavour, i.e. receiving forgiveness for one's sins and attaining eternal salvation. This is a practical turning point that changed the way monastic life was organized, and a theological turning point that redefined the monastic pursuit of salvation. A third turning point is not reflected in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* itself but needs to be kept in mind nevertheless: the moment in which confession crossed the boundaries of the monastic sphere and turned from an ascetic and monastic practice into an instrument of pastoral care. The concept of confession as it was proposed by Columbanus and Jonas probably played a crucial role in this transition, which became pivotal for the development of a cultural practice that, if we believe Michel Foucault, defined the Western individual as a "confessing animal".[316] The "confessing animal" may have been born in the monastic world of Columbanus and his successors.

Jonas was not, however, the first monastic thinker who described confession as a salvific ritual that needed to be repeated regularly. The first references to a confession ritual, which form the basis for Jonas' elaboration, are ascribed to Columbanus himself and appear in the *Regula coenobialis* and in his *Paenitentiale*. The problem is that these statements do not fit into their textual contexts and are hardly compatible with each other. There are good reasons to doubt their authenticity. In order to understand what is happening in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it is necessary to look closer into these inconsistencies. I cannot spare you the details.

The *Regula coenobialis* requires that the monks undergo a ritual of confession twice a day. This key passage comes in two different versions.[317] The longer version, which G. S. M. Walker assumes to be a later expansion, appears in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum* and in another late eighth-century manuscript. The shorter version, which Walker considers original, appears for the first time in a tenth-century manuscript from St Gallen and – if we can believe Walker's problematic edition – in most later manuscripts.

compunctione cordis adque humilitate uerissima abbati, praeposito siue probatis senioribus reuelanda sunt, et consolationes orationes et castigationes, siue etiam exorationes eis operis castigandum.

(316) Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, New York: Pantheon Books 1978, pp. 58–65. On the development of Foucault's ideas on confession, see Taylor, Cloë, *The Culture of Confession from Augustine to Foucault*, New York: Routledge 2010, esp. pp. 1–12.

(317) On the different versions of the *Regula coenobialis*, see Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., 'The monastic rules ascribed to Columbanus', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 295–304.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 89rb-va; Paris, BnF lat., 4333B, fol. 57–57v	St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 915, p. 173 and most other manuscripts
Diuersitas culparum diuersitatis paenitentiae medicamento sanari debet.	
Itaque, fratres karissimi, statutum est a sanctis patribus ut demus confessionem de omnibus, non solum capitalibus criminibus sed etiam de minoribus neglegentiis, quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberat.	Statutum est, fratres karissimi, a sanctis patribus ut demus confessionem ante mensam, siue ante lectorum introitum, aut quandocumque fuerit facile, quia confessio et paenitentia de morte liberant.
Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata quia, ut scriptum est, qui paruam negelegit paulatim defluit (Sir. 19, 1), ut detur confessio ante mensam, ante introitum lectulorum uel quandocumque fuerit facile dare.	Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata quia, ut scriptum est, qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit. (Sir. 19, 1)
Igitur qui non custodierit benedictionem at mensam…	Ergo qui non custodierit ad mensam benedictionem…
[*The diversity of faults needs to be healed with the remedy of a diversity of penances*. Therefore, beloved brothers, it has been ordained by the holy fathers that we give confession *of all transgressions, not only of the mortal ones, but also of minor acts of negligence*, because confession and penance frees from death.	[It has been ordained, beloved brothers, by the holy fathers that we give confession before meals, before going to bed and whenever it is easy, because confession and penance free from death.
Therefore, these small sins should not be neglected at confession, because, as it is written, "who neglects a small thing will soon perish" (Sir. 19, 1), so that confession should be given before meal, before going to beds and whenever it is easy.	Therefore, these small sins should not be neglected at confession, because, as it is written, "who neglects a small thing will soon perish". (Sir. 19, 1)
Therefore, who does not observe the blessing at table, *etc*.]	Therefore, who does not observe the blessing at table, *etc*.]

There are various confusing details in these two different versions. The opening statement of the longer version (*Diuersitas culparum*, etc.) appears in similar words, though without mentioning remedy and healing, in the second part of Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*.[318] It contains an important – and explosive – theological argument: penance heals, and this penance needs to be adjusted according to the nature of the transgression. The longer version immediately moves to a different topic, that of *confessio*, making an even bolder statement: confession and penance *frees* from death, i.e. it has a direct salvific effect.

The longer version uses the singular *liberat*, while the shorter version uses the plural *liberant*. The nuance is important. The longer version makes the point that the combination of confession *and* penance frees from death, while the shorter version simply states that both confession and penance have a salvific effect. Only the longer version explains that *everything*, i.e. not only active transgression but also acts of negligence, has to be confessed. Both agree that confession has to be, on the one hand, integrated into the daily routine but, on the

(318) Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* B, ed. Walker, p. 170: *Diuersitas culparum diuersitatem facit paenitentiarum*.

other hand, can happen whenever it is needed – which points to two different practices of confession, a regular and a "reactive" one. We find both forms in the Faremoutiers section.

The most puzzling aspect about the description of confession in the *Regula coenobialis* is, however, that this bold theological statement about the salvific effect of *confessio et paenitentia* does not at all resonate in almost the entire rest of Columbanus' work (his sermons and letters).[319] In the rest of the *Regula coenobialis* we don't find more than just a handful of remarks indicating that a tariffed penance may be lower if a transgression has been confessed or higher if it is not confessed.[320] Columbanus even states that a brother who is hit by melancholy should not confess until he feels better.[321] Moreover, the first provision of the *Regula coenobialis*, which imposes six lashes on someone who does not respond *amen* to the blessing of food, has nothing whatsoever to do with the previous statement about giving confession before meals and going to bed, despite the fact that both statements are linked with the word *igitur* (therefore). Columbanus' rather mundane provision on prayer at table would, however, fit well with the opening statement that the diversity of transgressions requires a diversity of penances.[322]

These observations lead to two conclusions. First, the longer version of the opening of the *Regula coenobialis* is probably older than the shorter version. Secondly, it is likely that the section on confession as salvific ritual has been inserted into the *Regula coenobialis* at a later point. Since Columbanus does not address confession anywhere else in his work (except for his *Paenitentiale*, which will be discussed below), this quite fundamental alteration may have happened after his death in an attempt to merge two different sets of practices, of confession and of *paenitentia*. This marriage of *confessio* and *paenitentia* became decisive – to an extent that modern scholarship often treats them as if they were one and the same thing.[323]

As an insertion in an existing text, which was revised in a second step and made more fitting, the short section on confession indicates that both the place of confession within the daily routine and its salvific effect were no matter of consensus. There is a marker of potential dissent: the vague invocation of the *sancti patres* (*Statutum est a sanctis patribus*…). Similar invocations of past authorities appear often enough if a proposition needs more patristic support than there is available. There are indeed a handful of biblical words and statements of church fathers on the salvific effects of revealing one's sins – which are, for example, listed in the seventh-century *Liber Scintillarum* – but none of them envisions a regular procedure, a combination of *confessio* and *paenitentia*, and an almost mechanical

(319) Columbanus, *Instructio* 1, c. 1–2, p. 60 refers to a *confessio* required by all Christian, but describes it subsequently as a confession of faith and orthodoxy.

(320) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, p. 148, l. 3–7; c. 11, p. 160, l. 13–15; c. 14, p. 162, l. 13–15.

(321) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 7, p. 152, l. 2–5.

(322) Without the reference to confession, the text would read as follows: *Diuersitats culparum diuersitas paenitentiae medicamento sanari debet. Ergo qui non custodierit ad mensam benedictionem et non responderit Amen, sex percussionibus emendare statuitur.*

(323) See, for example, Meens, Rob, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600–1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Biller, Peter and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, York: York Medieval Press 1998. Several contributions in this volume carry the word "confession" in the title but focus almost completely on penance.

effect of being freed from death.[324] The opening passage of the *Regula coenobialis* expresses a fundamentally new concept – regardless whether it was indeed Columbanus' idea or not.

Another bold statement on confession can be found in Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*, which is the oldest preserved penitential handbook that addresses monks, clerics, and laypeople alike. Confession appears at the very end of this work, as a required preparation for taking the Eucharist – and there is something fishy about this passage too:

> Confessiones autem dari diligentius praecipitur, maxime de commotionibus animi antequam ad missam eatur, ne forte quis accedat indignus ad altare, id est si cor mundum non habuerit. Melius est enim expectare donec cor sanum fuerit et alienum a scandalo ac inuidia fuerit, quam accedere audacter ad iudicium tribunalis. Tribunal enim Christi altare, et corpus suum inibi cum sanguine iudicat indignos accedentes. Sicut ergo a peccatis capitalibus et carnalibus cauendum est antequam communicandum sit, ita etiam ab interioribus uitiis et morbis languentis animae abstinendum est ac abstergendum ante uerae pacis coniunctionem et aeternae salutis conpaginem.
>
> [It is ordained that confessions be made carefully, especially of mental disturbances, before going to Mass lest perhaps any should approach the altar unworthily, that is if he does not have a clean heart. For it is better to wait until the heart is healed, and becomes a stranger to offence and envy, than rashly to approach the judgement of the throne. For Christ's throne is the altar, and His Body there with the Blood judges those who approach unworthily. Therefore, just as we must beware of mortal and fleshly sins before we communicate, so we must refrain and cleanse ourselves from interior vices and the sicknesses of a drooping spirit before the covenant of true peace and the bond of eternal salvation.][325]

Like the provision on confession in the *Regula coenobialis*, this statement is somewhat out of place. It immediately follows a rather mundane exhortation that everyone has to gather to hear the sermon on Sunday except for the cook and the porter who at least should try to be present.[326] Moreover, Columbanus' penitential handbook would end with a statement on a topic that has nothing to do with tariffed penance: how to approach the Eucharist. The Eucharist comes out of nowhere.

Both statements on confession received their authority by being ascribed to Columbanus, both may have been written into the text at a later stage in a rather clumsy manner and, moreover, both make a completely different theological and practical point. The second one talks about *confessio* of all mental disturbances once a week before attending Mass as an act of assessment and purification in order to ensure that one does not approach the Eucharist in an unworthy state. Obvious transgressions may have already excluded omeone from taking Communion,[327] but to prevent a monk from receiving Communion when mental and invisible transgressions render him unfit, confession is needed. If *confessio*

(324) Defensor, *Liber Scintillarum* VIII, *CCSL* 117, pp. 34–38.

(325) Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* II, c. 30, ed./transl. Walker, pp. 180–181.

(326) Columbanus, *Paenitentiale* II, c. 29, p. 180: *Ante praedicationem uero die dominica toti, exceptis certis necessitatibus, simul sint conglobati, ut nullus desit numero praeceptum audientium, excepto coco ac portario, qui et ipsi, si possint satis agant ut adsint, quando tonitruum euangelii auditur.*

(327) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263 describes this in the story of Ercantrudis who was excluded from Communion for violating the *tenor regulae*.

indeed frees from death, then only indirectly by ensuring that monks can safely take the Eucharist which is the only way to be saved – an ideal also expressed in Gregory's *Dialogi*. The final passage of the *Paenitentiale* invokes, like the opening of the *Regula coenobialis*, older authorities, albeit less explicitly: "It is ordained that…" (*praecipitur*). The provision on confession in the *Paenitentiale* has no resonance at all in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but shows some parallels with the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which also identifies the Eucharist, if taken in a worthy state, as the only remedy of one's sins.[328]

I draw three general conclusions from my observations on confession in the *Regula coenobialis* and the *Paenitentiale*: first, at least one – and maybe both – statements on confession and its rituals have been inserted into their texts in an attempt to reframe the penitential provisions made in both texts. Secondly, a ritually embedded confession was a new phenomenon that was not yet fully established and theologically justified. Thirdly, there was disagreement on the meaning and shape of this ritual of confession: when it should happen, which effect it should have, to what other practices it should be related. Two different texts with two possible insertions (one of which exists in two versions) might add up to no fewer than five different viewpoints on the nature and practice of confession – and we have not yet considered the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Confession can certainly be added to the long list of topics of contention arising in the aftermath of Columbanus' death.[329]

Let us now look at the *Regula Donati*, which provides more evidence both for the novelty of monastic confession and for disagreements on what shape it should take. Donatus quotes the opening of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* (in its shorter version) but places it after another provision, which belongs to the handful of sections of his Rule that he did not copy from his sources but probably wrote himself. Aside from adding his own thoughts, he commits a discreet but important infringement into the text of the *Regula coenobialis*. Here is chapter 23 of the *Regula Donati*:

Qualiter ad confessionem omnibus diebus ueniant

[1] Inter ceteras regulae obseruantias hoc magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniores monemus sorores, [2] ut assidue et indesinenti studio tam de cogitatu quam etiam de uerbo inutili uel opere seu aliqua commotione animi confessio omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momentis semper donetur [3] et matri spiritali nihil occultetur, [4] quia statutum est hoc a sanctis patribus, ut detur confessio ante mensam siue ante lectulorum introitum aut quandocumque fuerit facile, [5] quia confessio paenitentiae de morte liberat. [6] Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda cogitata, [7] quia scriptum est: Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit.

[How they should come to confession at every day

[1] Among other provisions of the Rule we especially above everything admonish both the junior and the senior sisters [2] that they always give confession of any thought, useless word and deed, or any commotion of the mind with persistent and unceasing zeal all day, at all hours, and at all moments [3] and that they do not conceal anything from the spiritual mother, [4] because this

(328) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 32, ed. Villegas, p. 35.
(329) Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 275–277.

is stated by the holy fathers, that confession is to be given before table and before going to bed and whenever it is easy to do, [5] because confession of penance frees from death. [6] Therefore, even small thoughts should not be withheld from confession [7] because it is written "Who neglects the small, will perish soon".][330]

Donatus inserts another reference to confession into a chapter on silence – and this is again Donatus speaking himself and not just quoting other rules:

Qualiter silentium studere debeant sorores

[1] Omni tempore omnique loco silentium studere debent ancillae Christi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis. [2] Et ideo exeuntes a conpletoriis nulla sit licentia denuo loqui cuiquam aliquid usque mane post secundam celebratam in conuentu. [3] Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, [4] demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te. [5] Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniorem: Da commeatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri.

[[1] The handmaids of Christ must strive to keep silent at all times and all places, but especially during the hours of the night. [2] And therefore no one is allowed to speak again to anyone after they have left Compline until morning after the *Secunda* has been celebrated in the gathering. [3] At this place they ask for forgiveness, each of them giving confession for their carnal thoughts and shameful or nightly visions. [4] Afterwards they say together in prayer: Oh Lord, may your mercy be bestowed upon us, as far as we believe in you. [5] Then also each of them says to the senior: Give me permission to change the vestment and to become what is necessary.][331]

The *Regula Donati* emphasizes that the imperative of confession is more important than any other aspect of the Rule. Confession has to be given by *every* sister with greatest effort, and it extends not only to thoughts and deeds but also to any idle word and commotion of the mind (*commotio animi*). Donatus marks this shift from act (or act of negligence) to thought by changing the *parua* (small things) as we find it in the *Regula coenobialis* into *parua cogitata* (small thoughts). Donatus' second provision is only a logical consequence of the shift from acts towards thoughts and commotions of the mind. Since they especially arise during sleep, a third round of confession of carnal thoughts and visions is added after the first morning prayer.[332]

Not only the triple confession itself but almost all the details that Donatus adds to his Rule can be found in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well, which indicates that Donatus and Jonas describe a similar procedure, albeit in different words. Moreover, Donatus is, whenever he speaks himself, inflamed by the same sense of urgency that we already saw in Jonas' Rule: *magis super omnia tam iuniores quam etiam seniores…assidue et indesinenti studio… omnibus diebus, omnibus horis omnibusque momentis semper. Omni tempore omnique loco…maxime tamen …nulla sit licentia…*

Confessio, and especially the confession of thoughts, is a matter of life and death for Donatus and Jonas alike (as we know from the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*).

(330) *Regula Donati*, c. 23, *CSEL* 98, pp. 159–160.
(331) *Regula Donati*, c. 19, p. 157.
(332) See pp. 423–424.

Both of them intensify and expand what we find in the *Regula coenobialis*. The main difference between the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is, as we will see, that Jonas describes the procedure of confession in greater detail. Moreover, he feels the need to support it with an extensive theological rationale and to make it an integral part of his overall monastic programme. Donatus' two discussions of confession remain foreign matter inserted into his Rule; Jonas' chapters of confession resonate at various points with the rest of his Rule. His reflection on *confessio* undoubtedly belongs to the most sophisticated but also most dense, parts Jonas' work – as I will show now.

Confession in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

Chapter 6 consists of three parts. The first section (c. 6.1–18) develops a theological argument about the effectiveness of confession, which is, like chapter 5, presented as a speech directed to the nuns. The second section (c. 6.19–23) describes the ritual of confession. The last section (c. 6.24–30) lays out how to deal with nuns who have committed serious misdeeds leading to their exclusion from the prayer of the community. Chapter 7 ostensibly prohibits any non-authorized person from hearing confession and imposing penance but combines this prohibition with a reiteration of the salvific effect of confession and gives instructions on *how* confession should be heard with moderation and dignity. For Jonas, *confessio* is primarily paired with love and with prayer, while *paenitentia* plays only a subordinate role. We find it mentioned occasionally throughout the Rule, but never really in direct conjunction with *confessio*.[333] *Confessio* and *paenitentia* are certainly not just two sides of the same coin.

Chapters 6 and 7 revolve (just like the previous chapters, especially chapters 2 and 5, and, as we will see, *De accedendo*) around a specific set of terms. Jonas develops his argument by applying different expressions with slightly overlapping meanings; he uses them to reach a maximum of precision, to cover every perceivable situation, but also to increase intensity. This enables him to be exact and exhaustive at the same time. The first word field is that of sin (the *object* of confession); the second that of disclosure (the *practice* of confession); the third one of redemption (the *effect* of confession).

The *object* of confession includes: the *ueterescens mentis status* (ageing state of mind); the *peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatus rudis* (rod darkened by the gloom of sin through the daily allurements), and, more specifically, *impietas* (guilt), *delictum* (offence), *iniustitia* (fault), *peccatum* (sin), *facinus* (misdeed), *crimen* (crime), *culpa* (guilt), *acta erumnosa* (wretched acts), *uulnus* (wound), *macula* (stain), *iniquitas* (injustice), *delinquere* (to commit), *tepescendo delinquere* (to commit out of tepidity), and *uitium* (vice). These fifteen expressions cover a continuum ranging from the general state of sinfulness and sinful motivations to their manifestations in specific sinful acts.

The vocabulary of disclosing and confessing sins is just as broad as that of sins and sinful acts. It includes *confessionem dare* (to make confession), *cognitum facere* (to make known), *non operiri* (not to conceal), *confiteri* (to confess), *pura et non tarda confessio* (pure and immediate

(333) *RcuiV*, c. 3.7; c. 3.14; c. 3.16; c. 9.20; c. 16.8; c. 19.7; c. 19.11; c. 20.9; c. 21.2. A more extensive discussion on the nature of *paenitentia* can be found on pp. 427–430 and pp. 536–538.

confession), *crimina patefacere* (to reveal one's crimes), and *reuelatio/reuelare* (revelation/to reveal). A confession addresses four different parties: oneself, the confessor, the community, and God. It can be performed secretly, in the form of a prayer, or within a strictly laid-out ritual.

The third set of expressions, on the positive effects of confession, includes twenty-eight terms, some of which refer to the one who confesses, others to the one who hears it: *remittere* (to relieve), *inpetratio* (gratification), *remissionem recipere* (to receive redemption), *spem redintegrare* (to restore hope), *fidutia spei* (the assurance of hope), *propiciatio* (atonement), *misericordia* (mercy), *medicina* (remedy), *dimittere peccata* (to forgive sins), *pietas diffundere* (to pour love), *soluere* (to dissolve), *solacium dare* (to grant comfort), *praesidium* (protection), *copia fructuum* (abundance of fruit), *salus adquirere* (to achieve healing), *animam nutrire* (to nurture the soul), *cotidiana uulnera sanare* (to heal the daily wounds), *cotidiana delicta abluere* (to wash away daily offences), *expiari* (to be atoned), *purgari* (to be cleansed), *grauia commissa contritione delere cordis* (to erase serious deeds through contrition of the heart), *cor contritum et humiliatum non spernere* (not to dismiss a contrite and humbled heart), *iniquitates delere* (to erase injustice), *iram sedetur* (the anger is calmed), *crimina lauare* (to wash away crimes), *salutem redintegrare* (to restore health), *mederi* (to heal), *uulneri medicinam infundere* (to pour remedy into a wound). There are different levels of redemption and forgiveness, ranging from gaining absolution for specific acts to overcoming the sinful human state and acquiring salvation.

Jonas' catalogue of confession and redemption is, however, by no means an attempt to convince his audience by making the same point through an endless chain of synonyms. He develops first an argument about the effects of confession and then moves from theory to practice and turns the imperative of confession into an elaborate communal procedure. The chapter begins as follows:

> [1] Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrauit.
>
> [[1] The tradition of many fathers has shown in accordance with a series of scriptures how frequently and with what accurate care confession is to be given.]

The invocation of the *sancti patres* is a safe – yet suspicious – place to start. Jonas felt, like Columbanus, the need to legitimate his prescriptions on confession with an amorphous reference to past authorities. He starts out by distancing himself from an early Christian practice, the *paenitentia* that a baptized Christian could perform only once after having committed a severe transgression.[334] *Confessio* is, in Jonas' eyes, not just repeatable; it needs to be given frequently (*creber*). Already in the next sentence *creber* turns into *semper* (at all times):

> [2] Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum rudem semper custodiat, [3] sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prou. 4, 23)

(334) Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, pp. 57–68 and pp. 97–104; Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp. 12–25; De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuws und Janet L. Nelson, *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185–224; ead., 'What was public about public pennance? *Paenitentia Publica* and justice in the Carolingian world', in: *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, vol. 44.2: *La guistizia nell'alto medioevo (secolo IX–XI)*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 1997, pp. 863–904, at pp. 867–887 provides an overview of the changing penitential practices in the early medieval period.

> [$_2$ Therefore, confession is to be given at all times, so that at all times it guards the state of the mind which is growing old and is rough, darkened by the gloom of sins through daily allurement, $_3$ just as Scripture taught when it said: *Guard your heart with all vigilance, for out of it comes life.* (Prou. 4, 23)]

Jonas plunges into a sea of metaphors that can't be traced anywhere else. He describes two levels of sinfulness: the *mens* is aged and weary through the Fall of Adam (an allusion to Ps. 48/49, 15 and Ps. 101/102, 27). This has the effect that the damage only increases through daily acts. Since we are already aged and weakened, we permanently attract new sins – which is the reason that confession needs to be repeated and that we need to be on guard all the time. The theme of weakness (*fragilitas*, *imbecilitas*, etc.) of the *mens* as the origin of all evil can be found throughout Jonas' Rule and in the *Vita Columbani*. We already saw a bit of it in the chapter on the *praeposita* (c. 2). Confession is a form of *custodia* over a weakened mind. For Jonas, however, it is not only the individual who performs *custodia* over him/herself. *Custodia* is entrusted to the community, and particularly to the abbess or the prior who reports to the abbess. She needs to know everything that happens within the monastery, which includes everything that happens within each nun. It is therefore her task to hear confession.[335] The *custodia* of the abbess and other superiors is also a recurring theme in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[336]

But we are not yet at the point where Jonas implements the imperative of *custodia*. What follows now is a long digression on King David in which Jonas switches to the masculine grammatical form. It is the second digression into the Old Testament after Jonas' reference to King Roboam in the chapter on the *praeposita* (c. 2). The audience probably had the very specific misdeed in mind that David had committed, for which he had done penance, and which eventually was forgiven: the abduction of Bathsheba and the murder of her husband Uriah. (II Sam. 11, 1–12/24).

> $_4$ Sic quippe beatus Dauid orando Domino dicebat: *Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non operui. Dixi: confitebor aduersum me iniustitiam meam, et tu remisisti impiaetatem peccati mei.* (Ps. 31/32, 5)
>
> [$_4$ In such a way, indeed, did blessed David say in prayer to the Lord: *"I made my offence known to you, my faults I did not cover". I said, "I will confess my fault before me, and you have relieved me from the ungodliness of my sin".*]

Jonas moves from confession as a technique of self-confrontation towards confessing one's evil deeds (*delicta*) and one's violation of rules (*iniustitia*) to God (*tibi*) and expecting forgiveness for the guilt (*impietas*) of one's sins (*peccata*). Based on this biblical word, Jonas comes to the following optimistic conclusion:

> $_5$ Quantum ualet pura et non tarda confessio, ut sic secura eam subsequatur inpetratio!
>
> [$_5$ So strong is a plain and timely confession that it is followed by sure gratification!]

(335) See commentary to *RcuiV*, c. 1.
(336) For example *RcuiV*, c. 1.9–14; c. 2.16–19; c. 9.3; c. 12.20; c. 14.4; c. 17–20; c. 24.1.

Confessio (to God), as long as it is sincere and spontaneous, surely has an effect. Jonas uses here a rather neutral term, *inpetratio* (gratification). What *inpetratio* means will be explained in the following sentence. But there is another important thought expressed here. The *confessio pura et non tarda* leaves its mark on several places in the *Regula cuiusdam*. Confession must not only be sincere but also immediate and cannot wait. The more spontaneously a transgression or an act of negligence is confessed, the lesser the damage and the lower the penance.[337] Therefore, it is, as we will see, necessary to do it at least three times a day so that nothing can be hidden inside for more than a couple of hours. But now back to the meaning of *inpetratio*:

> [6] Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo. [7] Dolendo patefecit crimen, dando redintegrauit spem.
>
> [[6] Having confessed against himself in order to drive away from himself the burden of his misdeeds, [David] lamented through confession and glorified his foregiveness through receiving it. [7] He revealed his crime in grief, and by giving [confession] he restored [his] hope.]

Confession against oneself (*se aduersum*) *is* the same as confessing to God. It relieves from the burden of misdeeds (*facinus*) and leads to receiving foregiveness (*remissio*). The question is, how abstract we have to understand *facinus*. Jonas does not use *delictum*, which probably refers to a very specific act. I place *facinus* somewhere on a spectrum between *uitium* (vice) or *peccatum* (sin) and *delictum*: the result of a *uitium*, but still more abstract than a *delictum*. To reveal (*patefacere*) one's crime (*crimen*) brings David back to a state of hope.

Patefacere goes a step further than *confiteri* since it implies an audience and disclosing what is not known. Revealing one's evil deeds to others is a painful process, but it is, as the biblical text tells us, the only way to have at least a chance to save oneself. Jonas moves discretely from *inpetratio* (gratification) to *remissio* (relief) and *spes* (hope). There is still no security, but we will get there:

> [8] Non enim precessit spei fidutiam, quia meminerat se olim per spiritum sanctum Domino inluminatus dixisse: *Quia apud te est propiciatio, et propter legem tuam sustinui te Domine*. (Ps. 129/130, 4) [9] Et iterum: *Quia apud Dominum misericordia est et copiosa apud eum redemptio*. (Ps. 129/130, 7) [10] Apud quem misericordiam perhennem agnoscit, apud eum copiosam et redemptionem.
>
> [[8] For he did not pass over the assurance of hope, because he recalled that once, illuminated by the Holy Spirit, he had said to the Lord: *For with you is atonement, and on account of your law I expected you, Lord*. (Ps. 129/130, 4) [9] And again: *For with the Lord is mercy, and with him is plentiful redemption*. (Ps. 129/130, 4) [10] [David] recognizes that with the one who has endless mercy there is also plentiful redemption.]

We are at this point still with David who reminds himself that God *can* be merciful towards the remorseful sinner. There is always hope. Sinfulness and sinful acts do not necessarily lead to damnation. Since there is *misericordia* (mercy) and *redemptio* (redemption), the only question is how to access it. To address this issue, Jonas leaves David and returns to his audience, the community, by changing to the first-person plural:

(337) See *RcuiV*, c. 16.5; c. 16.8; c. 16.9; c. 22.5.

> [11] Quaeramus ergo ibi misericordiam, ubi redemptionem manere iam nouimus copiosam.
>
> [[11] Let us therefore seek mercy where we already know that there waits plentiful redemption.]

There is *redemptio* and the only way to get it is *asking* for it (*quaeramus*), which means prayer. Jonas does not explain here how one can ask or pray because he devotes another complete chapter to this question specifically, the chapter *De accedendo ad Deum*, which is discussed in Chapter 8. Jonas continues:

> [12] Crescat dolor post ruinam, ut culpae inueniatur medicina. [13] Confiteamur inuicem delicta, ut nostra nobis omnipotens dimittat peccata.
>
> [[12] Let the pain grow after the downfall so that the remedy for guilt be found. [13] Let us confess our offences to each other, so that the Almighty forgives us our sins.]

Here Jonas picks up another key term from the passage on David: *dolor* (pain). He implicitly returns from prayer to confession: *Confessio* needs to be painful if it should work as a remedy (*medicina*) for guilt. The pill must be bitter in order to heal, as we know from David. This bitterness is created by making one's sin public (*patefacere*). Self-confrontation (as we saw in the Greek *Vita Antonii*) alone is not bitter enough and prayer works only if it is combined with the *dolor* of confession. This is a decisive step, though a logical consequence of what has been stated previously: in order to be released from our sins (*peccata*) by God, we need to confess to each other (*inuicem*, a term ubiquitous in chapter 5). Just confessing to God or confronting oursevles with our sins does not cause sufficient pain to serve as an effective remedy. Yet, as we learn later in the rule (c. 7), confessing to each other does not imply making one's sins known to the *entire* community. There has to be a balance between the necessary pain of the individual and the potentially polluting and harmful effects of publicizing one's misdeeds. For the community, it is sufficient to know that there are *peccata* and *uitia*, without hearing about the precise nature of the *facinora*, *delicta*, and *crimina*.

The next sentence finally connects individual confession with mutual prayer:

> [14] Sic nos scriptura dicendo ortatur: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem.* (Iac. 5, 16)
>
> [[14] In such a way does Scripture encourage us by saying: *Confess your offences to one another and pray for each other.* (Iac. 5, 16)]

Here Jonas stretches his argument a little bit. The biblical verse (Iac. 5, 16) does indeed link praying for each other with confessing to each other, but it does not connect this statement with any direct expectation of forgiveness of sins. This biblical word does, however, not only specify *confessio* as *mutual* confession but also assigns the community a key role. For receiving forgiveness, one needs the other, the praying community. One cannot do it alone.

In the following sentences Jonas discretely moves from the hope and possibility of forgiveness of sins to full protection:

> [15] Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur, ut quod actibus erumnosis facinus contractum fuit, mutua praece soluatur! [16] Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium, ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium.

> [15 It is known how much love of the mild judge has been poured upon us, so that the misdeed contracted through wretched acts is dissolved by mutual prayer. 16 The comfort of praying for each other should therefore be granted so that, in praying for each other, protection is obtained.]

What previously was called *misericordia* is now *pietas* (God's love), and what previously had been *redemptio* is now *pietas diffundere* (pouring love upon us), and this process is set in motion through mutual prayer. *Soluere* means something like "detach" or "remove", and the thing that is removed (from us) through mutual prayer, is the *facinus* (misdeed) resulting from the *acta erumnosa* (wretched deeds). In this case, I would understand *facinus* as something like a stain or a wound (both *macula* and *uulnus* are used below). Jonas speaks here of *contrahere* (below it is *attrahere*). It sounds almost like an infection of a body whose immune system is weakened by old age. The stain can be cleaned away (*lauare* and *purgare* appear below in the text) or the wound can be healed through mutual prayer (*mederi* is also used below).

One more word about the expression *presidium* (protection): it appears also in the chapter on the abbess (c. 1), referring to her responsibility to build up a *presidium*. The abbess is generally the one who hears confession. The idea of the community establishing protection is expressed as well in the chapter addressing how nuns have to interact with each other (c. 22), where the community is described as building a protective circle of virtues, an *ambitus uirtutum*.[338] We could visualize this *presidum* here as a layer of wax protecting a floor from getting scratches or, maybe better, as a fancy skin-nurturing face cream that protects the ageing skin from wrinkles and wounds.[339] Just as a floor needs to be rewaxed on a regular basis and a face cream needs to be applied daily (or even twice daily, the day cream and the night cream), the protective prayer-layer has to be renewed permanently. It does not last for more than a couple of hours and therefore prayer and confession need to be repeated regularly. Needless to say, every floor gets scratched and worn out at some point and we age, no matter what we do to prevent it.

The next sentence contains an expression that makes every good Protestant shiver: *salus adquiriri*:

> 17 Magna etenim copia fructuum habetur, quando ex reuelatione delictorum salus adquiritur.
>
> [17 For a great abundance of fruit is held when healing is achieved through the revelation of offences.]

We are now where we want to be, having moved from *inpetratio*, *spes*, and *redemptio* to *salus*. This *salus* – which can be understood as healing but also as salvation – can be acquired by the revelation of one's misdeeds. Jonas does not use *confessio* here, probably in order to imply that the specific ritual of *confessio* (which is described in the next section) is merely one way of putting into practice a more abstract concept. We have jumped from prayer to confession again, but that does not matter because both cannot be separated from each

(338) *RcuiV*, c. 22.3: *Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.*

(339) The metaphor of ointment appears in *RcuiV*, c. 20.4–5.

other anyway. Since the next section elaborates mainly on confession, it is logical to focus on this part of the arrangement.

Jonas completes his reflection on the nature of confession with the following words:

> *Reuela*, inquit psalmista, *Domino uiam tuam, et ipse te enutriet.* (Ps. 36/37, 5 and Ps. 54/55, 23) 18 Si reuelando peccata nutritur anima cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur, ut cotidiana medicina uulnera sanentur.
>
> [The Psalmist says: *Reveal to the Lord your way, and He will feed you.* (Ps. 36/37, 5 and Ps. 54/55, 23) 18 If the soul is nurtured through revealing sins every day, then let these [sins] be revealed through confession with zeal, so that wounds are healed by a daily remedy.]

Before getting into the details of organizing confession, Jonas summarizes the line of his argument in a general statement, based on another Psalm. He then zooms in towards confession and arrives at the community as the main negotiator of salvation through confession. Since (in general) regular revelation of sins feeds the soul, the nuns (as a community) have to be eager that their wounds are healed through the daily application of this remedy of confession.[340]

Now we are ready to implement the ritual of confession. This happens in the second section of chapter 6:

> 19 Sed quibus horis congruentibus cotidiana delicta sunt abluenda, a nobis inserendum est.
>
> [19 But we must introduce the Hours at which it is appropriate to wash away daily offences.]

The next section of chapter 6 shows clear parallels in phrasing with the *Vita Columbani* and with Donatus' Rule in content. Jonas agrees with Donatus that confession needs to be performed thrice a day (in the morning, after the meal, and at Vespers), not only twice as it is required in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*. A morning confession is necessary because confession is *not*, as implied in the *Regula coenobialis*, just about acts at daytime but also activities during sleep:

> 20 Quicquid post conpletorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari.
>
> [20 Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour.]

The *delicta* that need to be washed away (*abluere*) through confession and prayer are not only deeds. Both the mind and the flesh can commit offences at night because of their

(340) *Reuela, inquit psalmista, Domino uiam tuam, et ipse te enutriet* is a hybrid of Ps. 36/37, 5 (*Reuela Domino uiam tuam et spera in eum et ipse faciet.*) and Ps. 54/55, 23 (*Iacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te enutriet, non dabit in aeternum fluctuationem iusto.*). Jonas could have used the "correct" verse as it appears in the *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.45, *SC* 181, p. 484. It is not clear to me whether he accidentally mixed up both Psalms (they are very similar), or whether he did it on purpose. The only other witness for this hybrid is an eleventh-century handbook of penance, the *Paenitentiale Vallicellianum E. 62*. It is possible that both texts were linked through a textual tradition now lost, but it is also possible that this "error" had been committed twice independently from each other. See *Paenitentiale Vallicellianum E. 62*, ed. Adriaan Harmen Gaastra, *CCSL* 156C, p. 66, l. 351–352.

frailty, and those offences need to be confessed and healed. Jonas agrees with Donatus that confession must cover not only acts but also thoughts, dreams, and visions. They come to surface when the nuns lose control over their mind and their body while asleep.[341] The first thing a nun needs in the morning is a treatment of the wrinkles of her sinfulness with the moisturizing ointment of confession and prayer.[342] The notion of spontaneous bodily reactions as symptom for *fragilitas* is expressed otherwise mainly in a male context – spontaneous erections and nocturnal emissions – but it is never identified as exclusively male. According to the *Regula Donati*, women also have polluting dreams that need to be confessed.[343] Now Jonas moves to daytime sins, which are slightly different in nature:

> [21] Quicquid uero diurno actu uel uisu, auditu, cogitatu tepescendo deliquit, nonae horae expleto cursu ut purgetur censendum est. [22] Post uero quicquid ab hora nona mens maculae adtraxerit, ante conpletam confitendum est.
>
> [[21] But whatever it [the mind] has committed out of tepidity by deed, look, hearing, or thought during the daytime, has to be judged at the Ninth Hour after the service is carried out so that it be cleansed. [22] But whatever stain the mind contracts later, after the Ninth Hour, ought to be confessed before Compline.]

The *fragilitas* of the night turns into the *tepiditas* of the day, and here it is again clear that the *delinquere*/*delictum* does not refer exclusively to deeds. It is also what penetrates the nun through the eyes and ears because of her weakness and incapacity to build up her own *presidium*, but also what happens inside in her thoughts. Therefore, the bodily orifices that connect the inner state of the nuns with the outer world – eyes, ears, and the mouth – are objects of concern, control, and discipline throughout the Rule (an aspect that is discussed at length in the commentary to chapter 8 on liturgical discipline). Jonas' notion of what needs to be confessed is much broader than that deployed in the *Regula coenobialis*. It may even include acts, thoughts, and impressions that were not necessarily sinful but still should be revealed to the abbess. After all, the abbess needs to know everything:

> [23] Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante conpletorium faciendum est.
>
> [[23] The abbess, however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given. Likewise, this ought to be done after the Ninth [Hour] and before Compline.]

The system of complete access to every nun's deeds, thoughts, and experiences, and the control of everything that enters and leaves a nun and crosses her bodily boundaries needs to be absolutely watertight, and this idea of total control runs through the entire Rule. Just as in the chapter on the physical space and its boundaries (c. 3) Jonas consistently uses

(341) See also *RcuiV*, c. 14.1–4.
(342) Jonas uses the term *unguenta* in *RcuiV*, c. 20.5.
(343) *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1–4, *CSEL* 98, p. 164, based on Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 26–28.

expressions such as *nullatenus*, *semper*, *omnino*, *ante omnia*, emphasizing that there may be no escape. The path away from confession leads straight to hell, as illustrated by the fugitive nuns of Faremoutiers.[344]

The last section of chapter 6 addresses what to do when guilt places a nun in a state of *paenitentia*:

> [24] Hae uero sorores quae pro grauibus culpis in paenitentia detinentur, in ecclesia cum ceteris quae communicant non stent, sed in alia ecclesia secrete cursum cantent.
>
> [[24] But these sisters who are bound in penance on account of serious guilt, should not stand in the church with the others who take Communion, but should sing the service separated [from the rest] in another church.]

Even though the *Regula Benedicti* does not handle the notion of a state of penance Jonas could still apply one of Benedict's disciplinary measures.[345] Just like those who were excommunicated according to the *Regula Benedicti*, the penitents of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* may not join the praying community. They have to perform a different liturgy in another church, probably because they were not regarded as fit to perform intercessory prayer on behalf of others.

> [25] Et expleto cursu egredientes ante fores ecclesiae in qua communicantes cursum explent, stare precipiantur. [26] Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis, [27] meminentes illud: *Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.* (Ps. 50/51, 19) [28] Et: *In humilitate nostra memor fuit nostri Dominus.* (Ps. 135/136, 23) [29] In oratione posita semper penitens dicat: *Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis et omnes iniquitates meas dele* (Ps. 50/51, 11), [30] ut ira arguentis iudicis et in proximo uindictam reddentis per piae mentis affectum ac humili oratione sedetur.
>
> [[25] And when [their] service has been completed and they leave, let them be instructed to stand outside of the church in which those who are receiving Communion complete the service. [26] And when the congregation leaves, [the penitents] should ask, while prostrated on the ground, that [the congregation] implore the Lord on their behalf in order that the serious deeds be erased through contrition of the heart, [27] recalling this: *God does not dismiss a contrite and humbled heart.* (Ps. 50/51, 19) [28] And: *The Lord was mindful of us in our humility.* (Ps. 135/136, 23) [29] In the position of prayer the penitent should say at all times: *Turn away your face from my sins, and erase all my injustice* (Ps. 50/51, 11), [30] so that the anger of the judge who accuses and imposes punishment in the future, is calmed through the disposition (*affectus*) of the loving mind and with humble prayer.]

Again, the practice emulates the *Regula Benedicti*, but Jonas' terminology and the categories are rooted in the concept of sin and redemption developed throughout the chapter. *Delicta* is now called *grauia comissa*, the *mens* is now *cor*, and *lauare*, *abluere*, etc. is now *delere*. The notion of *contritio* is new and the notion of *confessio* is gone. Here it is the combination of the prayer of the others and *contritio*, which is expressed in the movement they perform once they meet the communicating sisters outside their church. They stay outside and at

(344) See pp. 223–229.
(345) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 44.1–4, *SC* 182, p. 592.

the moment when the sisters come out, they throw themselves on the ground and pray the Penitential Psalms: a carefully choreographed penance – though it is by no means the tariffed *paenitentia* we find in the *Regula coenobialis*.

The chapter ends with a general explanation that brings both aspects together: the *humiliatio* of the praying penitent and the act of love of the other nuns, who collectively soothe the anger of God. It is a very special sort of synergy. It is noteworthy that this entire last part of chapter 6 does not address the theme of confession any more. It deals with prayer and self-humiliation and shows that this aspect of prayer is actually more relevant than confession itself.

In chapter 7 Jonas returns to the practice of confession, adding one important aspect: the community, though playing a crucial role in making confession work by means of their prayer, may not be exposed to the content of any nun's confession. Publicly revealing one's sins does not bring any gain for the nun and only harm to the community. Having to say *everything* in the moment of confession does not outweigh the necessity to control speech and to protect the nuns' ears, which may not be penetrated. Yet the abbess needs to know everything and is the only one who is allowed to impose penance. Therefore, only she (or one of her representatives) is allowed to hear confession.

> 1 Abbatissa uel praeposita uel quaelibet seniorum sororum cui ab abbatissa fuerit commissum ut confessiones recipiat, crimina minora uel maxima nullatenus manifestent, nisi solo iusto iudici qui omnium confitentium crimina lauat. 2 Illa etenim quae confessa est sua uulnera uerecunde, non ad obprobrium recipiendum, sed ad salutem redintegrandam confessa est, iustum habens testem Deum, a quo et mederi exspectat. 3 Ea uero senior quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem. 4 Nulla tamen monacharum uel confessionem recipere uel paenitentiam dare sine ordinatione abbatissae praesumat, 5 ne uitium commissum abbatissae caeletur, sed omnia per eius noticiam agantur. 6 Si uero inuenta fuerit quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur, graui paenitentiae sententia corripiatur, quia delicti fomitem abbatissae uoluit occultare.
>
> [1 The abbess, prioress, or any of the elder sisters to whom it is entrusted by the abbess that she receives confessions, should by no means make lesser crimes or the greatest ones known, except only to the just judge who washes away the crimes of all who confess. 2 For she who has confessed her wounds in shame, has confessed not for the purpose of receiving disgrace but for the purpose of restoring health, having God as a just witness from whom she also expects that he heals her. 3 But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendour of her own mind. 4 But none of the nuns should dare to receive confession or impose a penance without the order of the abbess, 5 lest a committed vice be concealed from the abbess, but everything is to be done with her knowledge. 6 But if [a sister] is found who dares to violate this purpose of the rule, she is to be reproached with a severe sentence of penance, because she wanted to hide the motive (*fomes*) of an offence from the abbess.]

Jonas describes the content of the nuns' confession with four different terms, two of which already appeared in the previous chapter: *crimina* (crimes), *uulnera* (wounds), *uitia* (vices), and the *fomes delicti* (the spark of an offence). All of them represent different perspectives: *crimina* are the acts; *uulnera* are the damages inflicted upon oneself; *uitia* are the (sinful)

habits leading to the deeds; and *fomenta* are the more specific incitements that turn *uitia* into *crimina*.[346] Accordingly, different things happen with those different aspects: the *crimina* have to be confessed in order to be forgiven (or "washed away", *lauare*), but they have to be kept secretly. The *uulnera* have to be healed (*mederi*, *medicinam infundere*) in order to regain *salus*, that is: returning to a state of spiritual health/salvation. This has to happen in a way that does not break the nun's *status mentis*. Both the *uitia* and the *fomes*, the (bad) state of mind, and the actual motivation, may by no means be hidden from the abbess (*celere*, *occultare*). It is not so much the outward act (the *crimina*) the abbess has to know about, but rather the state of mind of each nun.

There is one last remarkable aspect to chapter 7, which I will discuss more in detail in the commentary to Jonas' chapter on silence (c. 9). The nun in charge has to hear confession *cum grauitate et moderatione* (with dignity and moderation). This dignity is probably an essential element of the secrecy of confession. Jonas' concern is not so much that a confessor reveals the content of a confession but that she expresses the severity of a transgression through the movements of her body or face if they are not restrained by *grauitas* and *moderatio*.

Jonas' confessional ritual completely redefines the nature of monastic life and turns the monastery into a machine of constant confession that is not so much lined up with permanent (acts of) *paenitentia* but rather with unceasing mutual prayer of a community that plays an active role in the individual pursuit of salvation. *Confessio* and prayer are the only effective response to the inherent weakness of a mind prone to cause damnation for oneself and for the other at any moment. It is hardly imaginable that this ideal of the monastery as an effectively salvific confessional machine was implemented for a long period of time, though the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* indicates that the nuns at least tried to live a life of permanent confession, and the *Regula Donati* shows that Jonas was not alone with his idea to turn a – female – monastic community into a total institution that is based on the idea of permanent introspection and disclosure of all motions of the mind.

But even if Jonas' experiment of opening, closing, and controlling the floodgates between the inner self and the outer world did not last for long, we can find indications in several hagiographic texts that a procedure of *confessio* became part of monastic life but also took roots outside of the monastery. Hagiographic texts related to monasteries founded in the seventh century mention *confessio* – not very often, but with an understanding that it was commonly practised. Amatus, the founder of Remiremont, makes confession and receives a *paenitentia legitima* before he dies.[347] Adelphius, the abbot of Remiremont, rushes to Luxeuil to confess his sins there.[348] Wandregisel urges a fellow monk to rush to confession.[349]

(346) This is a rather unusual term; it appears in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with both positive and negative connotations: *RcuiV*, c. 1.10: *fomenta facinorum*; c. 5.16: *fomenta discordiae*; c. 10.1–2: *fomes religionis*; c. 20.5: *fomenta castigationum et piaetatis*; c. 20.7: *fomes piaetatis*.

(347) *Vita Amati*, c. 11, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 219.

(348) *Vita Adelphii*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 226.

(349) *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 17, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 22.

Philibert hears a deathbed confession of a monk.[350] The *Vita* of Balthild, the founder of Chelles (a monastery in which the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was present) praises her for the purity of her confessions.[351] Bertila, the abbess of Chelles was "walking with a heart perfected by the purity of confession".[352] She also encouraged the neighbours of the monastery, "to do the penance given for their sins in confession",[353] which might be one of the earliest pieces of evidence of monasteries performing pastoral care for outsiders that includes the practice of confession. Bishop Praeiectus requires from his clergy a *confessio* after the disappearance of a silver vessel.[354] Eligius is praised for confessing his youthful sins to a priest,[355] for healing those who were wounded by the arrows of the Enemy and came to him for confession,[356] and for urging an aberrant priest make a confession.[357]

There are two Carolingian sources that describe a confessional ritual embedded in daily monastic routines. Both were produced in the period before the Aachen Reforms of 816/817. The first is the already mentioned *Memoriale qualiter*, which shows various similarities with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in phrasing, practical provisions, and ideals.[358] The second is a letter of Montecassino's abbot Theodomar (778–797) to the aristocrat Theodoric which describes the customs of his monastery, particularly its liturgical practices. Both works express that whoever belongs to a monastic community is permanently "on duty", that everything they do and speak has to be carefully choreographed, and that the *mens* is the primary object of discipline.

It is likely that the *Memoriale qualiter* was written for a community that followed the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* or at least adopted some of its main principles. The text does, however, also show parallels with the *Regula Benedicti* that are not channelled through the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which indicates that critical engagement with the *Regula Benedicti* continued beyond the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

According to the *Memoriale qualiter*, every monk (or nun) has to make the sign of the cross and pray Ps. 69/70 (*Deus in adiutorium me intende*) immediately after waking up, which is precisely what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* prescribes in its chapter on sleep.[359] Then, after having prayed the Nocturns, they have to confess their sins silently to God and ask

(350) *Vita Filiberti*, c. 14, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 593.

(351) *Vita Balthildis*, c. 16, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 503.

(352) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 2, *AASS*, Nov., vol. 3, col. 91A; transl. Jo Ann McNamara, John E. Halborg, and E. Gordon Whatley, *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press 1992, p. 281.

(353) *Vita Bertilae*, c. 6, col. 93A; transl. McNamara *et al.*, p. 285.

(354) *Passio Praeiecti*, c. 19, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 237.

(355) *Vita Eligii* I, c. 7, *PL* 87, col. 484A.

(356) *Vita Eligii* II, c. 8, col. 518D–519A.

(357) *Vita Eligii* II, c. 25, col. 556D–557A. See also *Sermo Eligii*, c. 13–14, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 757–758.

(358) *Memoriale qualiter I* and *II*, ed. Claudio Morgand, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 177–282 (text on pp. 229–282); transl. of the version for monks by Matthew Mattingly, 'The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary', in: *American Benedictine Review* 60:1 (2009), pp. 62–75. See also Diem, 'Choreographing monastic life', forthcoming. See also p. 233.

(359) *Memoriale qualiter I* I, c. 1, p. 230/*II* I, c. 1, p. 266: *In primis, nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum de lectulo surrexerit frater/soror, primum signum sibi sanctae crucis imprimat per inuocationem sanctae trinitatis; deinde dicat uersum Domine labia mea aperies* (Ps. 50/51, 17)*; inde psalmum Deus in adiutorium meum intende* (Ps. 69/70)*, totum cum Gloria.*

for forgiveness.[360] After Prime, they confess a second time, this time not to God but to each other, asking each other for prayer.[361] The *Memoriale qualiter* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, share, thus, the notion of combining confession with mutual intercessory prayer. One small difference is that the *Memoriale qualiter* places the first confession after Prime instead of the *Secunda*. It is possible that the *Secunda* as a liturgical Hour had already been fallen out of use when the *Memoriale qualiter* was written.[362]

At another place, the *Memoriale qualiter* gives an outline of the procedure of confession which is also similar to that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: those who are considered guilty have to ask for forgiveness, receive their judgement according to their guilt, and profess their guilt. If they fail to do so they should be considered in a permanent state of guilt. Subsequently the author explains that all thoughts, words, and deeds need to be judged in order to be cleansed in one's present life to prevent to be found guilty in the afterlife, which indeed implies that confession has a salvific effect.[363] For that reason, confession, especially of all impure thoughts, needs to be made all the time because the devil cannot harm monks or nuns if they always make his evil known.[364]

Before Compline all members of the community have to make another confession.[365] The *Memoriale qualiter* deviates, thus, from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* by imposing only two fixed rounds of confession, after Prime and before Compline while adding one "silent" confession at the moment of awakening and requiring that all thoughts, deeds, and words need, in principle, to be confessed immediately. Yet the overall idea of making introspection and confession an integral part of one's daily routine, and the idea that confession has a salvific effect remains the same.

(360) *Memoriale qualiter I* I, c. 2, p. 233/*II* I, c. 2, pp. 268–269: *Post expletionem uero Nocturnae in ipso interuallo summum silentium fiat tam in uoce quam et in actu uel incessu seu sono alicuius rei, ut liceat unicuique absque alterius inquietudine peccata sua cum gemitu et suspirio et lacrimis Domino confiteri et ueniam uel remissionem pro ipsis ab omnipotente Domino flendo postulare.*

(361) *Memoriale qualiter I* II, c. 5, p. 234: *Iterum conuenientes ad Primam, dum percompletur ipsud officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum donent confessiones suas uicissim puriter supplici corde certatim pro se orantes. Memoriale qualiter II* II, c. 5, p. 269: *Deinde incipiant Primam cum septem psalmis et letania. Quod dum completur officium, ante psalmum quinquagesimum, donent uicissim puriter confessions suas supplici corde certatim pro se orantes.*

(362) On the Secunda, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 117–120.

(363) *Memoriale qualiter I* II, c. 7, p. 237/II, c. 7, p. 271*: Post haec, qui/quae culpabilis est, postulet ueniam, et secundum modum culpae iudicium recipiat. Et tam in capitulo quam et in quolibet conuentu uel loco, quando ueniam postulat frater/soror ad domnum abbatem aut prepositum uel decanum aut qualemcumque de senioribus/domnam abbatissam uel prepositam siue priorem aliquam, cum ille senior/illa dixerit Quae est causa, frater/soror? Ille/illa qui/quae ueniam postulat, primum omnium respondeat Mea culpa, domne/domna; si uero aliud quodcumque ante dixerit, iudicetur exinde culpabilis.*

(364) *Memoriale qualiter I* IV, p. 249: *Pro immundis uero et nociuis cogitationibus uel ineptis locutionibus semper ad confessionem recurrant: melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, quia si semper manifestamus iniquam eius suggestionem, minus nos nocere poterit. Memoriale qualiter II* IV, p. 280: *Pro immundis et nociuis cogitationibus semper ad confessionem recurrant: melius est enim ut diabolum accusemus quam nos, quia si semper manifestamus iniquas eius suggestiones, minus nos nocere poterit.*

(365) *Memoriale qualiter I* VI, c. 17, p. 259: *Recepto silentio, cum reuerentia intrent ad Completam, orent cum intentione mentis, dent confessiones suas alternatim, incipiant Completam. Memoriale qualiter II* VIII, p. 282: *Recepto silentio cum reuerentia intrent in oratorium, factaque oratione dent confessions suas alternatim, et incipient Completorium.*

The second early Carolingian source, Abbot Thedomar's letter to Theodoric, comes from Montecassino, of all places. Theodomar writes about confession:

> Bis in die, mane scilicet et uesperi, confessionem ad inuicem facimus: mane confitentis, si quid noctu cogitatione uel illusione deliquimus, uesperi autem, si quid uerbo, corde uel opere excedimus.
>
> [We give confession to each other twice every day, in the morning and at Vespers. In the morning we confess if we committed a fault by thought or dream or at night; but in the evening if we have trespassed through word, in our heart, or in our deeds.][366]

Does *confessio* as a procedure tied to *paenitentia* have Insular roots? Irish penitentials contain a number of references to *confessio* that simply imply admitting one's sins.[367] Aside from Columbanus' *Paenitentiale*, only two penitential handbooks mention *confessio* in the context of receiving Communion;[368] four of them refer to confession to a priest.[369] Only one explicitly links confession to penance.[370] The *Paenitentiale Cummeani* is the only penitential handbook in Ludwig Bieler's collection that makes a theological statement about *confessio* listing it as the fifth remedy of the soul (next to baptism, charity, alms, and tears).[371] This does not necessarily mean that confession was not at all practised since it is always possible that it was too self-evident to be mentioned, but it does at least indicate that none of the penitentials follows Jonas' trail of considering *confessio* an act that needs to be performed regularly and that has an immediate salvific effect.

The monastic rules and guidelines written in Old Irish are another important collection of early references to confession, even though none of them are as old as the Rules of Columbanus and Jonas. The *Rule of Ailbe*, which was written after 750, contains the most explicit reference to a ritual of confession with salvific effect, though without mentioning the confession of thoughts:

> Let each confess his sins before the cross and in the presence of the abbot, with humility and without excusing himself, that so the demons may not have cause for rejoicing.[372]

The *Rule of Ciaran* (possibly ninth century) ends with the admonition to make full confession of one's sins.[373] The *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin* (early tenth century) defines the

(366) Theodomar of Montecassino, *Epistula ad Theodoricum gloriosum*, c. 23, ed. Jacques Winandy and Kassius Hallinger, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 127–136, at p. 134.

(367) *Praefatio Gildae de Poenitentia*, c. 18, ed. Ludwig Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies 1983, p. 62; c. 27, p. 64; *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britaniae*, c. 7, p. 66; *Paenitentiale Vinniani*, c. 5, pp. 74–76; *Paenitentiale Cummeani* IV, c. 16, p. 120; VIII, c. 13, p. 122; *Paenitentiale Bigotianum* IV, c. 5.3, p. 226.

(368) Confession before taking Communion: *Paenitentiale Cummeani* X, c. 6, ed. Bieler, p. 128; *Paenitentiale Bigotianum* IV, c. 7, pp. 230–232.

(369) Columbanus, *Paenitentiale Columbani* B, c. 23, ed. Walker, p. 178; *Paenitentiale Cummeani* III, c. 17, p. 119; *Paenitentiale Wallici* A, c. 34, p. 142; *Canones Wallici*, c. 46, p. 156; *Canones Hibernenses* II, c. 3–4, p. 164.

(370) *Sinodus Aquilonalis Britaniae*, c. 1, ed. Bieler, p. 66.

(371) *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, prologue, ed. Bieler, p. 108.

(372) *Rule of Ailbe*, c. 29, ed. Joseph, O Neill, 'The Rule of Ailbe of Emly', in: *Ériu* 3 (1907), pp. 92–115, at p. 102; transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996, p. 24. See also c. 10, p. 20.

(373) *Rule of Ciarán*, c. 16, p. 47.

practice of confession as a characteristic of monastic life.[374] The *Rule of Carthage* (probably ninth century) assigns to a priest the task to hear confession from penitents and to confess himself before Mass.[375] The *Rule of the Céli Dé* (possibly ninth century) recommends to not accept a confession if the confessant refuses to carry out the imposed penance.[376] The *Rule of Tallaght* (possibly originating in the late eighth century) recommends that minor transgressions should be confessed immediately and not just on Sundays. It also reminds the monk that confession without penance has no effect and that penance is useless if sins are committed repeatedly.[377] This evidence indicates that at least some Irish monastic communities integrated confession into their monastic routines in forms that were similar to those outlined by Columbanus and Jonas. None of them, though, reflects as thoroughly as Jonas about the salvific effect of confession.

The question of how and when confession crossed the boundary of the monastic confines and turned into a ritual that would be a cornerstone of pastoral care, cannot be answered at this point. Unless pastoral confession was indeed older than monastic confession, we have to assume that such a transition must have happened, and the few references to priestly confession in, for example, the *Vita Eligii* indicate that it may have been part of the pervasion of monastic and non-monastic ideals of a Christian life that were typical for seventh-century monasticism. But that needs to be investigated more thoroughly in a separate project.

Liturgical Discipline (Chapter 8)

Almost every monastic rule contains a chapter on punctuality at prayer, which shows that this aspect of liturgical discipline was of great concern.[378] Maintaining the motivation for regularly interrupting daily activities and sleep in order to rush to the church was probably

(374) *Rule of Cormac Mac Ciolionáin*, c. 6, pp. 55–56. See also *Testimony to the monastery of Sinchell the Younger*, p. 135; *Alphabet of Devotion* 1, ed./transl. Vernam Hull, 'Apgitir chrábaid: the Alphabet of Piety', in: *Celtica* 8 (1968): 44–89; transl. Uinseann Ó Maidín, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996 (Cistercian Studies Series, vol. 162), pp. 160–169, at p. 59.

(375) *Rule of Carthage*, *Duties of a Confessor*, ed./transl. Mac Eclaise, in: *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 27 (1910), pp. 495–517, at pp. 502–507; *Duties of a Monk*, c. 12, pp. 508–509; transl. Ó Maidín, pp. 65–68.

(376) *Rule of the Céli Dé*, ed./transl. William Reeves, 'On the Céli-dé, Commonly Called Culdees' in: *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 24 (1873), pp. 219–263, at pp. 208–209; transl. Ó Maidín, pp. 88–89.

(377) *Rule of Tallaght*, c. 20–27, pp. 105–107; c. 74, p. 121.

(378) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 3–11, ed. Boon, pp. 14–16; c. 121, pp. 45–46; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 17, *SC* 109, p. 88; III, c. 7, pp. 108–110; IV, c. 12, pp. 134–136; IV, c. 16.2, p. 142; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 16–17, ed. Henry Ledoyen, 'La "Regula Cassiani" du Clm 28118 et la règle anonyme de l'Escorial A.I.13. Présentation et édition', in: *Revue bénédictine* 94 (1984), p. 178; c. 39.2, p. 186; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 6.31–39, *SC* 297, pp. 280–282; *Regula orientalis*, c. 12, *SC* 298 p. 468; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 6, p. 536; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 11.2–3, *SC* 398, p. 210; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 30, ed. Schmidt, p. 249; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 24, *PL* 68, col. 402C; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 5.1, ed. Villegas, p. 21; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 13, ed. Desprez, p. 132; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 4, ed. Vilanova, pp. 109–110; *Regula Magistri*, c. 32–33, *SC* 106, pp. 172–186; c. 54–55, pp. 256–262; c. 73, pp. 306–312; *Regula Isidori*, c. 6.1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 100; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 14, ed. Walker, p. 162; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 31, ed. Villegas, pp. 34–35; *Regula Donati*, c. 13–14, *CSEL* 98, p. 155.

a major challenge for every monastic community and one of the main occasions where *neglegentia* could manifest itself. Caesarius addresses the theme briefly in his Rule, requiring that a nun is to be reprimanded if she arrives late at prayer. If this happens more than once, she needs to be excommunicated and excluded from meals – a sanction he imposes rarely otherwise.[379] Jonas addresses the topic in much greater detail, making use of parts of two chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* on punctuality at prayer and on the monk who calls for prayer.[380]

The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* agree on the following: everyone needs to proceed to the daily and nightly liturgical Hours with dignity and immediately cease from any work once the sign for prayer is given. Those arriving after the first Psalm may not take their place but have to pray at a special place reserved for the negligent to be exposed to shame.[381] Afterwards they have to ask the community for forgiveness. No one may, however, remain outside the oratory. The abbot/abbess appoints a member of the community to announce the liturgical Hours. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* states:

> [1] Quandocumque uel diurnis uel nocturnis horis ad opus diuinum signum insonuerit, mox cum summa festinatione surgendum est, ac si praeco regis insonet, omni opere quod in manibus habebatur postposito, [2] ut nihil operi Dei praeponatur, sed mens ad sonitum preconis intenta et operi Dei innixa [3] cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas festina currat.
>
> [[1] Whenever the sign for the divine work at the Hours of the day or the night resounds, one ought to rise directly with the greatest hurry, as if the herald of the King resounds. And they should lay aside all work that was held in their hands, [2] in order that nothing is set before the work of God. But the mind, which is attentive to the sound of the herald and inclined to the work of God, [3] should move swiftly with all dignity and gentleness to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love.]

Jonas uses almost all the material available in the *Regula Benedicti*. He only omits Benedict's provision that at Vigils Psalm 94 needs to be sung especially slowly (*morose*) in order to give the monks some more time to arrive.[382] It is possible that Jonas ignores these provisions because Psalm 94 did not form part of the nightly prayers, or simply because he considers,

(379) *CaesRV*, c. 12, *SC* 345, p. 188: *Quae signo tacto tardius ad opus Dei uel ad opera uenerit, increpationi, ut dignum est, subiacebit. Quod si secundo aut tertio ammonita emendare noluerit, a communione uel a conuiuio separetur. CaesRV*, c. 13, p. 190 and c. 65.1–3, pp. 250–252 impose the same sanction for active disobedience; c. 34, pp. 214–216 for the unwillingness to reconcile after a conflict.

(380) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.1–12, *SC* 182, pp. 586–590; c. 47.1, p. 596. Jonas does not use *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.13–19, p. 590 on punctuality at the table and c. 47.2–4, pp. 596–598 on the abbot's authority to determine who is qualified to sing Psalms and Antiphons.

(381) Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline', pp. 151–154 provides numerous examples from rules and customaries of using spatial separation as form of punishment.

(382) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.1–6, pp. 586–588: *Ad horam diuini officii, mox auditus fuerit signus, relictis omnibus quaelibet fuerint in manibus, summa cum festinatione curratur,* [2] *cum grauitate tamen, ut non scurrilitas inueniat fomitem.* [3] *Ergo nihil operi Dei praeponatur.* [4] *Quod si quis in nocturnis uigiliis post gloriam psalmi nonagesimi quarti, quem propter hoc omnino subtrahendo et morose uolumus dici, occurrerit, non stet in ordine suo in choro,* [5] *sed ultimus omnium stet aut in loco quem talibus neglegentibus seorsum constituerit abbas, ut uideantur ab ipso uel ab omnibus,* [6] *usque dum completo opere Dei publica satisfactione paeniteat.*

in line with chapter 2.17–19 of his Rule, the vigour of the nuns rising to nightly prayer so important that he does not want to give them any opportunity to dawdle.

Jonas also adds various details that do not appear in Benedict's provisions. His nuns do not just have to arrive on time for prayer, but they have to proceed to the oratory *cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine* (with all dignity and moderation) and certainly not *morose et segniter* (slowly and sluggishly). Benedict already used the expression *cum grauitate*; Jonas adds the rest and emphasizes again that the nuns have to express their inner attitude by their bodily movements.

For Jonas, however, it is not just the body that moves to prayer but the mind, the *mens intenta et operi Dei innixa* (the mind that is attentive and inclined to the work of God). This reflects, on the one hand, Jonas' repeated concern about disciplining the *mens*, but it also implies that the *opus Dei* encompasses more than just singing prayers. It begins at the moment when the *praeco regis* (the herald of the King) sounds – or, as we have seen in the chapter on the *praeposita*, at the moment when a nun awakens. *Praeco regis* might be a metaphor, but it might also refer to a specific bell used to call for prayer.

Another of Jonas' insertions is a short description of what the *opus Dei* actually entails, which connects this chapter to the previous chapters: *ad intonandam gloriam maiestatis eius et piaetatis eius gratias referendas* (to sing the glory of his majesty and to give thanks for his love). Prayer means to give thanks to God for his love as part of the endeavour of mutual intercession laid out in the chapters on love and confession (c. 5–7). Jonas continues:

> [4] Quod si morose et segniter ueniens post primi psalmi qui in cursu canitur finem, nouerit se a suo ordine, dum cursus expletur, reuocari, [5] ut in loco ultimo posita, id est in eo loco qui talibus neglegentibus fuerit deputatus, adstare et ibi cum uerecundiae metu expectare, [6] et post inpletum cursum prolixa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium satisfacere.
>
> [[4] But if someone comes slowly and sluggishly after the end of the first Psalm that is sung in the service, she should know that she is recalled from her rank until the service is completed. [5] Put in the most distant place, that is in that place which is assigned to such negligent nuns, she should stay there and wait with the fear of shame. [6] After the completion of the service she should give satisfaction through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave.]

Where Benedict simply states that latecomers have to give satisfaction, Jonas refers to a form of satisfaction he had already described in the chapter on confession: nuns who do not arrive in time need to ask for forgiveness when their sisters leave the church: *prolixa uenia ante coetum sororum egredientium* (through extended prostration in front of the group of the sisters as they leave).[383]

> [7] Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio. [8] Intus etenim posita nec totum perdit quod coeperat, et uerecundia ac metu frangitur, dum ab omnibus uidetur.

(383) *RcuiV*, c. 6.26–27.

[7 For they should by no means be set apart outside, lest they sleep because they were kept from sleep, or an opportunity is given to the enemy to approach them with something malign. 8 Because the one who is placed inside does not lose the entirety of what she had begun, and she is crushed by shame and fear, while she is being watched by everyone.]

To Benedict's provision that latecomers may not remain outside the church,[384] Jonas adds another detail that also resonates with the rest of his Rule. Nuns may not stay outside in order that the devil has no opportunity to approach them (*hosti adeundi detur occasio*). The devil is, as we already have seen, much more present in Jonas' Rule than in the *Regula Benedicti*.[385] The role of the dichotomy of inside and outside (*intus – foris*) is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

9 Et quando caeterae expleto officio foras egrediuntur, illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita duodecim psalmos supra cursus seriem cantet. 10 Si uero ex toto cursum suum perdiderit, praecipuae nocturnis horis in quibus nullum aliud opus inpedit, superpositione damnetur.

[9 And when the others go outside after completing the service, she, who is placed in the church because of her tardiness, should sing twelve Psalms on top of the series of the service. 10 But if she misses her service entirely, especially during the Hours of the night, at which nothing else constrains the work [of God], she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.]

This set of sanctions shows no parallels with the *Regula Benedicti*. It is one of the few passages in which Jonas imposes a tariffed penance following to the model of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, which requires singing additional Psalms for various, usually smaller, transgressions.[386]

We cannot know for sure what Jonas means with *superpositio*. The expression appears exclusively in early penitential handbooks, including Columbanus' *Paenitentiale* and his *Regula coenobialis*, in quotations from this Rule in the *Regula Donati*, and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Scholars have proposed various translations, varying from "imposition" and "supposition" to "special fast", or "imposing charges".[387] At a number of points, Columbanus

(384) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 43.7–9, *SC* 182, p. 588: *Ideo autem eos in ultimo aut seorsum iudicauimus debere stare ut, uisi ab omnibus, uel pro ipsa uerecundia sua emendent;* 8 *nam, si foris oratorium remaneant, erit forte talis qui se aut recollocet et dormit, aut certe sedit sibi foris uel fabulis uacat, et datur occasio maligno;* 9 *sed ingrediantur intus, ut nec totum perdant et de reliquo emendent*.

(385) See pp. 224–226 and 298–299.

(386) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 154, l. 26–156, l. 2: *paenitentia psalmorum* for nocturnal emissions; c. 10, p. 160, l. 3: for slandering; c. 11, p. 160, l. 8: for talking to a lay person; etc. Arriving late at prayer, though, is not punished with extra prayer but with fifty lashes: c. 14, p. 162.

(387) de Vogüé, 'La règle de Donat', p. 253, no. 8 follows Walker, *Columbani Opera*, p. 149, n. 2, assuming that *superpositio* means an "intensified or prolonged form of the penance involved." Walker translates *superpositio* in his translation of Columbanus' work with "imposition"; McNamara in her translation of the *Regula Donati* with "supposition"; Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* and McNeill, John Thomas and Helena Margaret Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance. A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales*, New York: Columbia University Press 1990 with "special fast"; Niermeyer, Jan Frederik, C. van de Kieft, G. S. M. N. Lake-Schoonebeek, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 2002, p. 1006 with "imposing charges."

specifies *superpositio* as *superpositio silentii*,[388] at other points he states that a monk can receive more than one *superpositio*.[389] Since Columbanus does not use the term *excommunicatio*, it is likely that *superpositio* refers to an equivalent to monastic *excommunicatio*, which is, as I will discuss in the commentary to the chapter of Jonas' provisions on *excommunicatio* (c. 18–20), a term that is equally difficult to pin down.

The remainder of chapter 8 paraphrases the first sentence of chapter 47 of the *Regula Benedicti* on how to announce the liturgical Hours:[390]

> [11] Horas uero ad cursum procurare iuxta dispensationem abbatissae debet cuicumque ordinatum fuerit, id est quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit ad hoc opus idonea inuenta, ut opus Dei non tardetur. [12] Si uero qualibet occasione a iusto ordine deuiatum fuerit ut non secundum suum ordinem horae custodiantur, superpositione damnetur.
>
> [[11] A nun who has been appointed by the arrangement of the abbess, that is, who has been found suitable for this work because of her attentive and energetic mind, must make provisions for the Hours of the service, so that the work of God is not delayed. [12] But if for whatever reason a digression from the just order occurs, so that the Hours are not kept according to their order, she is to be condemned to *superpositio*.]

Again, Jonas inserts a reference to the necessary inner disposition and motivation of the person to whom this task is assigned: *quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit* (who is passionate and has an energetic mind) and imposes the same strict yet obscure punishment of *superpositio* if the person in charge deviates from the right order. The reference to the *mens sollicita* can be linked to three other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Both the waking nun and the *portaria* are qualified by the state of their *mens*.[391] According to Jonas' chapter on confession, it is the *mens* that commits faults during the night.[392] The *mens* should always be prepared but fails to be so at night.[393] It is logical that Jonas emphasizes that the nun who awakens the others should be *mente sollicita*.

Chapter 8 is, in sum, another example of Jonas inscribing several central themes of his Rule into his revision of Benedict's text: the idea that *opus Dei* encompasses much more than prayer; the choreography of bodily movements, the concern about the *mens* (both of the nuns proceeding to prayer and the person qualified to announce the Hours), the matter of urgency expressed in the devil preying on nuns outside the oratory, and a ritual of satisfaction in

(388) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 26: as punishment for idle talk; c. 5, p. 150, l. 4, l. 6–7 and l. 21: for shouting, criticizing, and reproaching the porter.

(389) For example, Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 7, p. 150, l. 25, l. 27, l. 29, and p. 152, l. 1: three *superpositiones* for slander, talking back on a reproach, chiding, and withholding a transgression from a superior.

(390) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 47.1, *SC* 182, p. 596: *Nuntianda hora operis Dei dies noctesque sit cura abbatis: aut ipse nuntiare aut tali sollicito fratri iniungat hanc curam, ut omnia horis competentibus compleantur.*

(391) *RcuiV*, c. 3.4: *Sint ergo mentis suae statu firmissimae…*

(392) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20: *Quicquid post completorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit…*

(393) *RcuiV*, c. 14.1–2: *Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, [2] ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat…*

front of the entire community. Furthermore, Jonas expands Benedict's Rule with sanctions taken from Columbanus' Rule: additional prayer and *superpositio* – whatever that may be.

There are three roughly contemporary hagiographic works that address themes discussed in chapter 8. Book 2 of Gregory's *Dialogi* contains an episode about a monk who gets possessed by a demon while wandering around outside during the time of prayer, which might have inspired Jonas to give the devil an appearance in his chapter on liturgical discipline.[394] In the *Vita Iohannis*, Jonas himself tells about a monk who, while watching the harvest at night, gets anxious whether his fellow monks would arise in time for the nightly prayer. Suddenly he sees a golden globe illuminating the entire world and right at this moment the community enters the church to fulfil their liturgical duties. With the slightest delay the monks' prayer would have missed this crucial moment.[395] The *Vita* of Austreberta, abbess of Pavilly (another seventh-century monastic foundation within the orbit of Luxeuil), tells a story with a similar message: a nun almost failed to awaken the community for their nightly prayers. At the moment the nuns gathered in the church, the dormitory collapsed and only due to their timely arrival no nun was harmed.[396] Liturgical discipline is, as we see here as well, a matter of life and death.

Silence and Speaking (Chapter 9)

There is a consensus among authors of monastic rules that silence is an essential part of monastic life.[397] Almost every one of them addresses *silentium* and *taciturnitas* in one way or another. Many of them use one specific biblical verse, Matthew 12, 36, as a point of reference:[398]

> Dico autem uobis: Omne uerbum otiosum, quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii.
>
> [But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement.]

(394) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 4, *SC* 260, pp. 150–152.

(395) *VIoh*, c. 16, p. 339.

(396) *Vita Austrebertae*, c. 16, *AASS* Feb., vol. 2, p. 422E–423A.

(397) Bruce, Scott G., 'The tongue is a fire: the discipline of silence in early medieval monasticism (400–1100)', in: Edwin D. Craun (ed.), *The Hands of the Tongue: Essays on Deviant Speech*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications 2007, pp. 3–32 provides a comprehensive overview of sources on different manifestations of silence in normative and narrative texts. Furthermore, Bruce describes how in the Carolingian and Cluniac periods different restrictions of the spoken word were inscribed into monastic space and time.

(398) On the use of Matth. 12, 36 in monastic rules, see Diem, Albrecht, 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools. The Role of Alcuin', in: Luuk A. J. R. Houwen and Alasdair A. McDonald (eds.), *Alcuin of York. Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, Groningen: Forsten 1998, pp. 27–44. For an overview of references to silence in the work of John Cassian and in monastic rules written before the *Regula Benedicti*, see Wathen, Ambrose, *Silence in the Rule of St Benedict*, Washington, DC: Cistercian Publications 1973, pp. 119–157.

Silentium and *taciturnitas* have, however, various spiritual meanings and are based on different theological rationales. Consequently, they are implemented in various ways and the extent of required silence differs in each rule. As soon as we differentiate the various monastic "silences" rather than synthesizing them into one amorphous imperative, the history of restraining and disciplining communication becomes an essential part of the history of monasticism. Ambrose Wathen has shown this in an exemplary manner in his study on silence in the *Regula Benedicti* and its sources.[399]

Silence appears, for example, as an ascetic achievement,[400] as a means for avoiding sins of the mouth and idle talk,[401] as an act of humility,[402] as a way of escaping the world,[403] as a tool for avoiding quarrels and discontent,[404] as a marker of hierarchy,[405] as an element of liturgical discipline,[406] as a means to increase focus on different com-

(399) Wathen, *Silence*. See also Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 120–122; Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 334–336 (on silence in monastic rules); Miquel, Pierre, 'Silence: De l'antiquité au moyen âge', in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vol. 14, Paris: Beauchesne 1990, col. 829–842, at col. 837–840; Schürer, Markus, 'Das Reden und Schweigen der Mönche. Zur Wertigkeit des silentium im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum', in: Werner Röcke and Julia Weitbrecht (eds.), *Askese und Identität in Spätantike, Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin: De Gruyter 2010, pp. 107–129.

(400) Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 4.1, *SC* 109, p. 194. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 124–127.

(401) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta et instituta*, c. 18, ed. Boon, p. 59; *Regula Basilii*, c. 40, *CSEL* 86, pp. 85–86; c. 136, pp. 165–166; Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 47, ed. Jean Leclercq, 'L'ancienne version latine des sentences d'Évagre pour les moines', in: *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), p. 207; c. 94, p. 211; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.2–6, *SC* 297, pp. 202–204; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 2.11–12, *SC* 297, p. 276; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 29, ed. Desprez, pp. 139–140; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 37, ed. Vilanova, pp. 122–123; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.27–51, *SC* 105, pp. 412–416; c. 11.29–34, *SC* 106, p. 14; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6, *SC* 181, pp. 470–472; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 8.1, ed. Villegas, p. 16; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 23, *SC* 206, pp. 204–210. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 161–165.

(402) Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 27, *SC* 109, pp. 488–492; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.1–26, *SC* 105, pp. 406–412; c. 10.75–79, pp. 434–436; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.58–61, *SC* 181, pp. 486–488.

(403) For example, Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* II, c. 3, *PL* 73, col. 858A–B. See also Gehl, Paul F., '*Competens silentium*: Varieties of monastic silence in the Medieval West', in: *Viator* 18 (1987), pp. 125–160, at pp. 134–138. Various episcopal privileges for monasteries grant rights that should ensure the *quies* of a monastic community. See, for example, Privilege for Rebais, *PL* 87, col. 1136A–B: *Et si ab eis illic pontifex postulatus pro lucranda oratione vel eorum utilitate accesserit, celebrato ac peracto diuino ministerio, statim absque ullo requisito dono studeat habere regressum, quatenus monachi qui solitarii nuncupantur, de perfecta quiete ualeant, duce Domino, per tempora exsultare, et sub ipsa sancta regula uiuentes et beatissimorum Patrum uitam sectantes, pro statu Ecclesiae et salute regis et patriae ualeant plenius Deum exorare.*

(404) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 10, ed. Boon, p. 67; *Regula Basilii*, c. 130, *CSEL* 86, p. 160; *CaesRV*, c. 9.3, *SC* 345, p. 188; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 37, ed. Vilanova, pp. 122–123; *Regula Leandri*, c. 8, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 45–46; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.3, p. 93; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 6, pp. 146–147. For more sources: Bruce, 'The Tongue is a Fire', p. 6.

(405) *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 2.12, *SC* 297, p. 276; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 29, ed. Desprez, pp. 139–140; *Regula Magistri*, c. 9.1–26, *SC* 105, pp. 406–412; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.57–59, *SC* 181, p. 486; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 146. On silence and hierarchy, see also Coon, Lynda L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West*, Philadelphia, PA/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press 2011, pp. 69–97.

(406) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 8, ed. Boon, p. 15; *Regula Basilii*, c. 137, *CSEL* 86, pp. 166–167; Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 47, ed. Leclercq, p. 207; *CaesRV*, c. 10, *SC* 345, p. 188; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 8, *SC* 398, p. 208; *Regula Magistri*, c. 47, *SC* 106, pp. 212–216; c. 68, p. 296; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 52.1, *SC* 182, p. 610; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 16.1, ed. Villegas, p. 23. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 123–124.

munal activities, especially work,[407] reading,[408] and meals,[409] as a meditative practice and way of internalizing the solitude of the desert,[410] as a requirement for nightly hours,[411] as a measure to maintain purity,[412] as a penance and punishment,[413] as a practice of self-control, especially the avoidance of laughter,[414] and as an exercise in listening and learning.[415] It entails not communicating with outsiders,[416] avoiding heresy,[417] preventing sexual transgressions,[418] and preventing the spread of gossip from the outside world.[419] Practically, silence could refer to not speaking at all, not speaking at certain times, especially at night, not speaking out of one's own initiative, repressing what one would like to say, speaking low and restraining one's voice, avoiding any kind of noise, or not expressing emotions with one's voice, words, or bodily movements. Next to suppressing or controlling the individually spoken word, silencing could also consist of the requirement to speak in unison, or scripting what is to be spoken in specific situations.[420]

(407) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 60, ed. Boon, p. 32; c. 116, p. 44; *Regula orientalis*, c. 5, *SC* 298, p. 466; *CaesRV*, c. 19.2–5, *SC* 345, pp. 192–194; c. 20.1, p. 194; *Regula Magistri*, c. 50.19–26, *SC* 106, pp. 226–228. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 172.

(408) *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 6.39, *SC* 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 15.7–8, p. 378; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 8.10, ed. Villegas, p. 25; c. 9.5, p. 27; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, *SC* 182, p. 600.

(409) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 33–34, ed. Boon, p. 21; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, *SC* 109, pp. 142–144; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 7.46, *SC* 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 18, p. 380; *Regula orientalis*, c. 36, *SC* 298, p. 490; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 7, p. 536; *CaesRV*, c. 18.2–6, *SC* 345, p. 192; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 9, *SC* 398, p. 208; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 49, ed. Schmidt, p. 254; *Regula Tarnatensis*, ed. Villegas, c. 8.8, p. 25; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.5–7, *SC* 182, p. 574; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9.2, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 16.1, ed. Villegas, p. 23. See also Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, p. 66; Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 171–172.

(410) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 59, ed. Boon, pp. 31–32; *Regula orientalis*, c. 5, *SC* 298, p. 466; *CaesRV*, c. 18.3, *SC* 345, p. 192; c. 20.3, p. 194; Pelagius, *Verba seniorum* II, c. 5, *PL* 73, col. 858C. See also Holze, Heinrich, 'Schweigen und Gotteserfahrung bei den ägyptischen Mönchsvätern', in: *Erbe und Auftrag* 69 (1993), pp. 314–321.

(411) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39, c. 94, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, *SC* 298, p. 494; *Regula Magistri*, c. 30, *SC* 106, pp. 162–168; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42, *SC* 182, pp. 584–586; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 140. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 175.

(412) Cassian, *Institutiones* X, c. 3, *SC* 109, pp. 388–390.

(413) *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.2–3, *SC* 297, p. 202. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 176 and my commentary on the chapters on *excommunicatio*, pp. 512–531.

(414) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.49–62, *SC* 106, pp. 18–20; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.59–61, *SC* 181, pp. 486–488. On laughter, Bruce, 'The Tongue is Fire', pp. 6–7; Le Goff, Jacques, 'Le rire dans les règles monastiques du Haut Moyen Âge', in: Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen-Âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, La Garenne-Colombes 1990, pp. 93–103, at pp. 97–100; Resnick, Irven M., '*Risus monasticus*. Laughter and Medieval Monastic Culture', in: *Revue bénédictine* 97 (1987), pp. 90–100.

(415) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.6, *SC* 181, p. 470. On this aspect, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 165–169.

(416) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 59, ed. Boon, pp. 31–32. See also Wathen, *Silence*, p. 175.

(417) *Regula Basilii*, c. 12, *CSEL* 86, pp. 58–60; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 4.13, *SC* 297, p. 200.

(418) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39; c. 94, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, *SC* 298, p. 494; *CaesRV*, c. 51.3, *SC* 345, p. 238; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 35, ed. Schmidt, p. 250; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13.2–3, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 140.

(419) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 86, ed. Boon, p. 38; c. 143, p. 52; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.4, ed. Villegas, p. 219.

(420) The last aspect plays a particularly important role in the *Regula Magistri*, which consists to a large extent of texts to be spoken at various occasions. See Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 229–235.

Monastic rules operate within the structural tension between the ideal and imperative of silence and the necessity to communicate in order to keep the community functioning, to integrate it into the outside world, and to share and transmit knowledge. This tension increases when monasteries become places of learning and teaching, which could privilege a part of the community and silence the rest.[421] Imposing silence therefore often includes defining exceptions, *allowing* to speak under certain conditions, and, as we will see in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, even *forcing* to speak in designated situations. Silence is rarely absolute and usually tied into the organization of time and space. Many rules imply that members of a monastic community have a natural desire to speak and communicate that needs to be controlled and restrained by a "hydraulic" system of opening and closing the mouth.

Donatus and Jonas are deeply concerned about silence. Donatus reproduces almost everything he found on this topic from the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and Columbanus' Rules. As a result, no fewer than twenty-one chapters of his Rule address various aspects of silence.[422] While Donatus creates importance through abundance, Jonas is more sophisticated and turns silence (or rather the restraint of speech) into a key element of his concept of monastic discipline. Only two monastic rules, the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, reflect extensively on the purpose and effect of restrained speech – and both rules come to strikingly similar conclusions.[423]

Before digging into Jonas' control of the spoken word, it is necessary to provide an overview of the provisions on silence in Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns, assuming that they were already in place in the community that would follow Jonas' Rule. Caesarius addresses silence at various places but without giving it a central role in his monastic programme. It seems that for him the enclosure of the space made the "enclosure of the mouth" less relevant. Silence appears primarily in the context of liturgical discipline, reading, work, and avoiding conflicts within the community. His nuns are not allowed to express discon-

(421) Diem, 'The emergence of monastic schools'; Gehl, '*Competens silentium*', pp. 138–143.

(422) *Regula Donati*, c. 3.51–54, *CSEL* 98, p. 148 (from *Regula Benedicti*): avoiding loquacity and laughter as one of the *instrumenta bonorum operum*; c. 4.1, p. 148 (from *CaesRV*): *murmuratio*; c. 16.4, p. 156 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no noise in the oratory; c. 17.8, p. 261: no chatter during prayer; c. 17.10, p. 157 (from *CaesRV*): no laughter during the Offices; c. 18.3, p. 157 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no loquacity in prayer; c. 19.1–2, p. 157 (from *Regula Benedicti*): silence at all places and at all times; c. 20.2–6/11/16, pp. 158–159 (from *CaesRV*), no chatter and no *murmuratio* during work; c. 21.6–7, p. 159 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no *murmuratio* about received goods; c. 25.3, p. 160 (from *Regula coenobialis*): no speaking during meals; c. 28, pp. 161–162 (from *Regula coenobialis*): no idle chatter; c. 32, p. 163 (from *Regula coenobialis*): times at which young nuns may not speak to each other; c. 33, p. 164 (from *CaesRV*): silence at table; c. 35, p. 165 (from *CaesRV* and *Regula coenobialis*): no swearing; c. 37.17, p. 167 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no *murmuratio*; c. 45, p. 169 (from *Regula Benedicti*): silence as ninth *gradus humilitatis*; c. 46, p. 169 (from *Regula Benedicti*): no laughter as tenth *gradus humilitatis*; c. 49, p. 170 (from *Regula Benedicti* and *Regula coenobialis*): on silence in general; c. 52, pp. 172–173 (from *CaesRV*): on arguments; c. 71, p. 183 (from *Regula Benedicti*): speaking with excommunicated nuns; c. 75.14–16, p. 186 (from Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*): silence during prayer. On the role of silence in monastic discipline, see also Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 334–336; id., 'Das Ende des monastischen Experiments', pp. 98–105; id., 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 31–32.

(423) See especially *Regula Magistri*, c. 8–9, *SC* 105, pp. 398–416. On silence in the *Regula Magistri*, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 79–93.

tent or shout at each other.[424] He imposes silence during liturgical Hours, meals, and collaborative work implying that silence increases the focus on prayer and attentiveness to the *lectio* that takes place during work hours.[425] Moreover, the nuns are not allowed to speak to visitors without a witness.[426] Jonas elaborates on the prohibition from communicating with outsiders in order to adjust it to the different circumstances in his monastery, but does not address any of Caesarius' other provisions on silence, which supports the assumption that Jonas wrote his Rule as an extension of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

The *Regula Benedicti* devotes two complete chapters to silence (using both *taciturnitas*/*tacere* and *silentium*/*silere*) and returns to the topic several times in other parts of the Rule. Chapter 6, which is part of the theological core of the *Regula Benedicti*, describes silence (*taciturnitas*) as a form of *custodia* that prevents sinning through the mouth. Benedict recommends that monks should abstain even from good speech for the sake of silence and speak as little as possible. He states, moreover, that it is the task of the master to speak and to teach and the task of the disciple to be silent and to listen: speaking and silence becomes a marker of hierarchy. Only in this particular context does Benedict use the term *clausura* – as "enclosure" of the mouth.[427] A monk should address his prior with all humility and reverence of submission and to avoid *scurrilitates* (buffoonery), *uerba otiosa* (idle talk), and laughter. Silence appears, moreover, as the ninth and tenth grade of humility: avoiding loquaciousness, not opening one's mouth until one is asked to speak, and avoiding laughter.[428] Chapter 42 of the *Regula Benedicti* demands that the monks keep silence at all times, especially after Compline, unless the arrival of guests requires them to speak. Benedict also demands strict silence and the avoidance of any sound during lectures at table and requires that the monks at table communicate in a special sign language.[429] They also have to stay silent during the afternoon hours dedicated to rest and reading.[430] After prayer, they need to leave the church in full silence.[431]

(424) *CaesRV*, c. 9.2, *SC* 345, p. 188.

(425) *CaesRV*, c. 10, p. 188; c. 18.2–6, p. 192; c. 19.2–20.3, pp. 192–194.

(426) *CaesRV*, c. 51.3, p. 238.

(427) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6, *SC* 181, pp. 470–472: *Faciamus quod ait propheta: Dixi: Custodiam uias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea. Posui ori meo custodiam. Obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis.* (Ps. 38/39 2–3) $_{2}$*Hic ostendit propheta, si a bonis eloquiis interdum propter taciturnitatem debet taceri, quanto magis a malis uerbis propter poenam peccati debet cessari.* $_{3}$*Ergo, quamuis de bonis et sanctis et aedificationum eloquiis, perfectis discipulis, propter taciturnitatis grauitatem rara loquendi concedatur licentia,* $_{4}$*quia scriptum est: In multiloquio non effugies peccatum* (Prou 10 19), $_{5}$*et alibi: Mors et uita in manibus linguae.* (Prou 5, 21) $_{6}$*Nam loqui et docere magistrum condecet, tacere et audire discipulum conuenit.* $_{7}$*Et ideo, si qua requirenda sunt a priore, cum omni humilitate et subiectione reuerentiae requirantur.* $_{8}$*Scurrilitates uero uel uerba otiosa et risum mouentia aeterna clusura in omnibus locis damnamus et ad talia eloquia discipulum aperire os non permittimus.* On chapter 6 of the *Regula Benedicti*, see Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 25–38.

(428) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7.56–58, *SC* 181, p. 486: *Nonus humilitatis gradus est si linguam ad loquendum prohibeat monachus et, taciturnitatem habens, usque ad interrogationem non loquatur,* $_{57}$*monstrante scriptura quia in multiloquio non effugitur peccatum* (Prou. 10, 19), $_{58}$*et quia uir linguosus non dirigitur super terram.* (Ps. 139/140 12).

(429) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38.6–8, *SC* 182, p. 574. On monastic sign language, see Bruce, Scott G., *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition c. 900–1200*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007. See also Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 171–172.

(430) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, p. 600.

(431) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 52.2, p. 610.

Thus, the *Regula Benedicti* produces various rationales and practices of silence: to avoid idle talk and loquaciousness, as a form of *humilitas*, as pedagogical tool, as implementation of hierarchy, as a part of liturgy and other rituals, particularly meals, to keep nights restful, and to avoid unrest within the monastery. The Rule integrates silence in the organization of space and time and defines it as a practice that should, in principle, be followed consistently. Nevertheless, silence has, for Benedict, no direct impact on the pursuit of salvation. Jonas picks up on some of Benedict's practical provisions, leaves out others, and eventually turns the control of speech, as we will see, into something much more crucial to monastic life than Benedict's silence.

Silence in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

There is something surprising about the title of Jonas' chapter: *Qualiter in monasterio silentii regulam uel diurno opere uel ad mensam debeant custodire, vel ad mensam quomodo sit legendum*. (How they should guard the rule of silence in the monastery both in daily work and at table, and how reading should be done at table).[432] We would expect a chapter on silence but what we get is a chapter on speaking.[433] The expressions *loqui* and *conloquium* appear eleven times throughout the chapter; *silentium* appears only thrice, *tacere* just once. The key is the term *qualiter*. It is a given that silence is essential, but Jonas explains *how* silence should be implemented through the correct way of speaking.

Chapter 9 belongs (along with the chapter on the prioress) to the few sections of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that is influenced by Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*. It appears to be a pastiche of allusions to Columbanus' short chapter on silence and Benedict's two chapters on this topic. Jonas reproduces, in his usual manner, words and phrases from his sources in order to say something new, and what he says expands more on Columbanus' *Regula monachorum* than on the *Regula Benedicti*. Both Columbanus and Jonas make the point that *taciturnitas*/*silentium* means avoiding false speech, but also entails saying what is rightfully to be said.[434]

Jonas' chapter consists of two parts, a general reflection about the purpose of avoiding wrong forms of speaking, which is built around three biblical quotations (c. 9.1–6), followed by a number of somewhat disjointed specific regulations. We find a similar structure (reflection followed by practical implementations) in chapters 3, 6, 14, and 22 and in

(432) For an alternative analysis of chapter 9, see Kardong, Terrence G., 'Notes on Silence from a Seventh-Century Rule for Nuns', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), pp. 395–412.

(433) Wathen, *Silence*, pp. 179–223 documents all references to speaking in the *Regula Benedicti*.

(434) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 124: *Silentii regula diligenter custodienda decernitur, quia scriptum est: Cultus autem iustitiae silentium et pax*. (cf. Is. 32, 17) *Et ideo ne reatus de uerbositate conquiratur, exceptis utilitatibus ac necessariis opus est ut taceatur, quia iuxta scripturam in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*. (Prou. 10, 19) *Idcirco saluator ait: Ex uerbis tuis iustificaberis et ex uerbis tuis condemnaberis*. (Matth. 12, 37) *Iuste damnabuntur qui iusta dicere noluerunt cum potuerunt, sed mala iniusta impia inania iniuriosa incerta falsa contentiosa contumeliosa turpia fabulosa blasphema aspera ac flexuosa loqui garrula uerbositate maluerunt. Tacendum igitur est de his et talibus et cum cautela et ratione loquendum est ne aut detractiones aut tumidae contradictions in loquacitate uitiosa prorumpant*.

De accedendo ad Deum. Like the other programmatic chapters, chapter 9 "radiates" into various other parts of the Rule that address the control of speech in their respective contexts.

Let us first look at Jonas' general reflection, which he might have phrased as an alternative to Benedict's theological remarks that define silence as a means of avoiding sinning with one's tongue.

> [1] Regulam silentii omni tempore seruandam sanctarum Scripturarum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *Cultus iustitiae silentium et pax*. (cf. Is. 32, 17) [2] Tacendum namque est ab otiosis et friuolis et scurrilibus et prauis et malitiosis fabulis, [3] de quibus Propheta orabat, dicens: *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala*. (Ps. 140/141, 3–4 [*LXX*]) [4] Cessandum quippe est a fabulis superfluis, ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat, [5] quia non solum de scurrili et iniurioso sermone, sed etiam de otioso iuxta Domini praeceptum rationem sumus reddituri.
>
> [[1] A series of Holy Scriptures has demonstrated that the rule of silence ought to be kept at all times, as it is said through the Prophet: *The service of justice is silence and peace*. (cf. Is. 32, 17) [2] For one ought to refrain from idle, silly, ludicrous, improper and malicious stories, [3] about which the Prophet used to say in prayer: *O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words*. (Ps. 140/141, 3–4 [*LXX*]) [4] Indeed, one has to cease from superfluous stories, lest the soul catches the fruit of damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind, [5] since we are to give account not only of ludicrous or unjust but also of idle talk, according to the precept of the Lord.]

The centre of this section is a paraphrase of the already mentioned verse Matthew 12, 36. One needs to refrain from *otiosis et friuolis et scurrilibus et prauis et malitiosis fabulis* (idle *and* silly *and* ludicrous *and* improper *and* malicious stories). In his usual fashion, Jonas makes sure that he covers any ground and leaves no space for exceptions. Improper speech has to be avoided *ne damnationis per ineffrenatae mentis ignauiam anima fructum capiat* (lest the soul catches the fruit of damnation through the idleness of an unbridled mind).

Every word in this half-sentence belongs to the set of key terms Jonas uses throughout his Rule, and the sentence itself expresses, as it were, the Rule in a nutshell: Jonas' primary object of concern is the *anima*, which is striving for salvation but is always at the brink of *damnatio* or, at least, of incurring *damnum* (harm). It is the *mens* that might cause the soul's damnation by suffering weakness, and this weakness is caused by being unrestrained. Throughout the Rule, sin is regularly addressed in terms of weakness: *fragilitas* (weakness), *imbecilitas* (weakness), *negligentia*, *segnitia* (slowness), *tepiditas* (lukewarmness), *topor* (idleness), *fessa* (feeble), *languens* (weak), *lasciuus* (wanton), *morosus* (slow), and *tepescere* (to grow lukewarm).[435]

The notion of weakness and the imperative of restraint applies to various contexts, but restraint of speech is particularly important – an idea that the *Regula Magistri* expresses in a strikingly similar way at the beginning of its main chapter on silence.[436] Silence has therefore to be observed *omni tempore* (at all times), which is just one of numerous references

(435) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 8.5; c. 12.29; c. 13.5; c. 14.4; c. 15.9; c. 15.10; c. 16.t; c. 16.1; c. 16.2; c. 16.4.

(436) *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.1–11, *SC* 106, pp. 398–400.

to ubiquitousness that appear throughout the Rule. *Omnis* is, as we already know, one of Jonas' favourite terms.

Jonas does not specify whether it is the *anima* of the speaker or of the listener that might suffer harm through an unrestrained mind. Most likely he had both in mind – in line with his idea of mutual responsibility that gives each nun a role in her fellow nuns' salvation and damnation. Misspeaking may harm the speaker just as much as the listener, which means that Jonas needs to take special precautions for the listener as well,[437] particularly the requirement that nuns have to purge through confession what they have heard.[438]

The potential harm of wrong speech explains why Jonas begins his chapter with a paraphrase of Isaiah 32, 17: *Cultus iustitiae silentium et pax*. (The service of justice is silence and peace). Silence is a matter of justice. Jonas takes this biblical verse from the chapter on silence of Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*, which develops a similar argument, though with less emphasis on the potential harm idle talk might cause to others.[439] The other biblical quotation Jonas inserts in this chapter comes from Psalm 140/141, 3–4: *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declines cor meum in uerba mala*. (O Lord, place vigilance before my mouth and a gate before the fence of my lips. May you not turn my heart aside into evil words). The *Regula Benedicti* uses a similar biblical quotation, from Psalm 38/39, 3–4: *Dixi: Custodiam uias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea. Posui ori meo custodiam. Obmutui et humiliatus sum et silui a bonis*. (I said, I will keep watch on my ways so that I do not offend with my tongue. I have set a guard over my mouth. I became mute, was humbled, and silently refrained from good words). Jonas probably decided to deviate from Benedict's text because of two thoughts we only find in Psalm 140/141: the concern about the *cor* (heart), which Jonas uses largely interchangeably with *mens*, and the stronger emphasis on the "enclosure of the mouth", the *ostium circumstantiae labiis meis*.

The guard over one's mouth blocks the dangerous connection between one's heart and the outside world.[440] It is therefore essential to Jonas' vision of a "triple enclosure".[441] Chapter 9 serves, as it were, as a counterpart to chapters 6–7. Jonas operates on the assumption that the mind (*mens*) inevitably attracts stain and filth. The only way of dealing with it is closing the gate of one's mouth at all time (*omni tempore*), but rigorously opening it in the safe setting of *confessio* to the privileged, discreet ears of those qualified to hear confession.

We see here another instance of proximity between Jonas' Rule and the *Regula Magistri*, which quotes Psalm 140/141 twice in similar contexts.[442] Like Jonas' Rule, the *Regula*

(437) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13–14 on not listening to gossip and not carrying it into the monastery; *RcuiV*, c. 14.7–9 on protecting the ears of the nun at night.
(438) *RcuiV*, c. 6.21.
(439) Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 2, ed. Walker, p. 124. See note 434.
(440) Compare this to *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.21–23, *SC* 106, pp. 400–402.
(441) See pp. 319–327.
(442) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.44, *SC* 106, p. 16; c. 30.12, p. 164.

Magistri considers uncontrolled speech as particularly dangerous and a potential act of pollution of the community.[443]

Jonas completes his general reflection about the imperative of silence with a rhetorical question similar to those we find in chapter 3 on the gatekeepers' renunciation of the world, chapter 17 on renouncing property, and chapter 23 on renouncing family ties:[444]

> 6 Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?
>
> [6 What else should a nun strive for, other than to devote herself, both with the speech of the mouth and the desire of the soul, only to God, to whom she once and for all directed her desire?]

With this rhetorical question Jonas develops a new thought which is, again, in line with the overall purpose of the Rule. As we have already seen, for Jonas the *opus Dei* is by no means limited to liturgical Hours. Since everything is *opus Dei*, every word is, as it were, liturgical and needs to be spoken in his praise and strictly guarded. In a setting in which there is no differentiation of time and of space, speech cannot be a matter of time and space either. In so far, it is only logical that Jonas does not show interest in Benedict's reflections on silence and hierarchy or on silence as act of humility, aside from assigning to the abbess the monopoly to speak and to allow or require another monk to speak.[445]

Let us now analyze the practical implementation of Jonas' reflections on silence, as we find them in this chapter but also at other places in the Rule. Some of them are inspired by the *Regula Benedicti*, others not. It is important to notice that many of the key terms and concepts of the introductory part of chapter 9 resurface in the second part. *Anima* and *omnis* appear in both parts; the *fabulae* return as *confabulatio*; the *mens* returns as *animus*; *damnatio* as *damnum*; *gratia* and *frui* as *laetitia*; *sermo* as *conloquium scripturarum*; *scurrilis* as *garrulus*; and *fructus* as *lucrum*. We should, thus, read chapter 9 as a kind of diptych that juxtaposes theory and practice.

> 7 Omnibus ergo horis diurnis praeter ad mensam ab hora secunda usque ad conpletam, quicquid utilitas sacrae regulae poposcerit, per abbatissae commeatum loquendum est. 8 Ab hora uero conpletionis, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, nulla omnino loqui praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit. 9 Cui ab abbatissa fuerit ordinatum, loqui studeat, uel etiam a praeposita quae curam aliorum portat.

(443) *Regula Magistri*, c. 8, *SC* 105, pp. 398–406; c. 11.40–62, *SC* 106, pp. 16–20; c. 30, pp. 162–168. Only one other monastic rule, the *Regula Ferrioli*, quotes Psalm 140/141, though in the context of slander. See *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 22.2, ed. Desprez, p. 135.

(444) *RcuiV*, c. 3.3; c. 17.2–5; c. 17.8; c. 23.2–5.

(445) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1–6: the abbess speaks to her nuns; c. 6:23: the abbess controls confession; c. 7.1–4: the abbess or prioress hear confession; c. 9.7–13: the abbess or prioress order and allow to speak; c. 10.15: the abbess speaks prayer at meals; c. 12.9: the abbess or prioress enforce the prohibition to chat at work; c. 16.5–9: the abbess or prioress hear confession of accidents; c. 19.10: the abbess decides who may speak with those who are excommunicated; c. 22.17: the abbess or prioress hear confession; c. 22.19: nuns have to ask the abbess for permission to speak; c. 22.20: nuns should speak to the prioress first; c. 22.23: the abbess decides who may speak with priests.

> [7 Therefore, during all the daily hours, from the Second Hour until Compline, except at the table, whatever the usefulness for the sacred rule demands should be said by permission of the abbess. 8 But from the Hour of Compline, when prayer is given in order to obtain sleep, no one should dare to speak at all, unless a major need of the monastery demands it. 9 Whoever is ordered by the abbess – or also by the prioress, who takes care of the others – should be eager to speak.]

Jonas takes the provision of speaking only with permission of the abbess and the requirement of complete silence after Compline from chapter 42 of the *Regula Benedicti*.[446] Elsewhere, however, Benedict states that a monk should speak rarely, avoiding even edifying conversations. He should speak only when addressed and *strive* for silence all the time. These provisions somewhat mitigate his imperative of silence.[447] Benedict's call to strive for silence has, therefore, few practical consequences, while Jonas' imperative of controlling speech is implemented throughout the Rule. Work has to be organized in a way that there is always a third person present as a witness. Those working overnight, for example, need to have a *praeposita* among them who is authorized to speak. Nuns have to sleep in a way that prevents them from speaking to each other and breaking silence after Compline. They are not allowed to speak to visiting priests unless the abbess tells them to do so.[448]

The next set of practical implementations is structured in an odd way, possibly because a copyist has tampered with the original text. There is a lengthy coherent section on silence, reading, and conversation at table, which is interrupted by a regulation that exempts the *portaria* from asking the abbess for permission to speak with outsiders (c. 9.12). It would make much more sense to place the reference to the *portaria* towards the end of the chapter after the prescription that no one may have a conversation without at least one witness present.

This is Jonas' provision on silence at the table (omitting the reference to the *portaria*):

> 10 Ad mensam uero nulla penitus praeter abbatissam uel cui abbatissa praeceperit pro communi necessitate sororum loqui praesumat, 11 sed omnes intento animo gratias reddentes creatori in cordibus suis, cibi ac potus solidae mensurae largitione fruantur. (…) 13 Ante mensam uero semper capitulus regulae unus aut amplius, si abbatissae placuerit, legatur, 14 ut, cum cibus carnem reficit, lectio animam satiet. 15 Haec omnia cum grauitate animi et moderatione leni fiant, quatenus in his omnibus Dominus delectetur.
>
> [10 But at table no one should dare to speak at all except the abbess, or one whom the abbess orders to speak on behalf of the common necessity of the sisters, 11 but with attentive mind all should give thanks to the Creator in their hearts and enjoy the dispensation of a substantial quantity of food and drink. (…) 13 But let one chapter of the rule always be read before the table, or more if it pleases the abbess, 14 so that reading may satiate the soul while food feeds the flesh. 15 All this should happen with a dignity of the mind and gentle moderation, to the extent that in everything the Lord may be pleased.]

(446) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42.1, *SC* 182, p. 584: *Omni tempore silentium debent studere monachi, maxime tamen nocturnis horis*.

(447) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 6.3–7, *SC* 181, pp. 470–472; c. 7.56–58, p. 486.

(448) *RcuiV*, c. 12.18–19; c. 14.6; c. 22.23.

Here Jonas moves away from the topic of speech and focuses on the rituals pertaining to meals. It seems that the table is the designated place of controlled and permitted communication about necessary matters. Aside from that, the nuns should direct their mind (*animus*) towards thanking God and enjoying their meal which may be copious. Eating turns thus from a concession to human weakness to a deliberately joyful activity – as I will discuss in the commentary on the next two chapter of Jonas' Rule.

One important practical difference between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule applies to the *lectio* at the table. Jonas' retains the idea of the *lectio* as spiritual nourishment accompanying the bodily nourishment but only refers to reading a chapter of the Rule *before* mealtimes, as if it were spiritual appetizer. Benedict also requires the *Regula* to be read at the table but uses meals for much more extensive readings (for example from Cassian's *Collationes*) performed by a specially appointed weekly reader whose tasks are described in detail.[449] Jonas does not refer to a weekly reader and it is possible that Jonas' nuns did not listen to readings during meals at all.

The last point in this section ties into the performative aspect of Jonas' monastic discipline. Everything (*omnia*, again), thus probably both speaking at table and reading the Rule, has to happen with dignity and moderation, so that in everything (*omnia*, for the sixth time in this chapter) the Lord may be pleased. Jonas takes the terms *grauitas* and *moderatio* from the *Regula Benedicti*, where they appear in a different context,[450] but he gives them a much broader spiritual meaning, pleasing God, and he adds two important qualifiers: it is the *grauitas animi* (dignity of the mind) and the *moderatio lenis* (gentle moderation). Jonas uses *animus* largely interchangeably with *mens*,[451] which brings us back to the *ineffrenatae mentis ignauia* (idleness of an unbridled mind) mentioned at the beginning of chapter 9. *Moderatio lenis* echoes various places referring to the soft and friendly voice throughout the Rule.[452] Jonas picks up this idea in the next section which describes exceptions at certain feast days:

> 16 Festis uero Domini diebus, id est natiuitate Domini uel pasche sollemnitate ac theufaniae uel pentecostes, uel si qua sunt alia Domini uel sanctorum martyrum praecipua sacra celebranda, 17 si ex permisso abbatissae fuerit, ad mensam loqui non negamus, 18 sic tamen, ut praessa, non dissoluta uoce loquantur, ne garrula uoce in sonum prorumpentes magis desidia quam letitia iudicetur. 19 Et ipsa confabulatio talis sit ex conloquio Scripturarum quae animae lucrum faciat, non damnum.
>
> [16 But on the feast days of the Lord, that is at the day of the birth of the Lord, the feast of Easter and of Epiphany, and at Pentecost, or if there are any other special sacred feasts of the Lord or of holy martyrs are to be celebrated, 17 we do not forbid to speak at table if it happens by permission of the abbess, 18 but in such a way, that they speak with a lowered voice and not

(449) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38, *SC* 182, pp. 572–576. On the weekly reader: Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, pp. 69–97.

(450) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 42.9–11, p. 586: *…quod si inuentus fuerit quisquam praeuaricare hanc taciturnitatis regulam, graui uindictae subiaceat –, 10 excepto si necessitas hospitum superuenerit aut forte abbas alicui aliquid iusserit, 11 quod tamen et ipsud cum summa grauitate et moderatione honestissima fiat.*

(451) See *RcuiV*, c. 1.16; c. 9.11; c. 9.15; c. 13.2; c. 16.10; c. 22.4.

(452) *RcuiV*, c. 1.12: *increpatio lenis*; c. 3.7: *ut omnis pacientiae blandimenta ex conloquio affabili ostendant*; c. 2.11: *responsio lenis*; c. 2.19: *sermo lenis*; c. 20.4: punishment as *unguenta lenitatis*.

with an unrestrained one, lest for those who burst out in noise with a garrulous voice their idleness rather than their happiness is judged. [19]And it should be such a conversation on the basis of a discussion of the Scriptures that it creates profit and not harm to the soul.]

There are various remarkable aspects to this provision. Jonas assumes that having the opportunity to speak is considered something like a special treat. Jonas gives leeway here to the abbess to determine to what extent the nuns may receive this favour under the condition that it benefits the soul and causes no damage. The main concern is, again, the *anima* – not that of an individual nun, but of everyone. Jonas returns, thus, to the concern about potential damage to the soul he expressed in the programmatic section of this chapter. One could have expected that the feast days and saints' days were especially "ritualized" and that meals were occasions to read from the *Vitae* of the respective saints and martyrs, but this was not the case. The nuns were allowed to converse – albeit on Scriptural matters.

Jonas emphasizes here that voice and sound matters just as much as the words and that restraint applies even more to sound than to content – which is a theme addressed throughout the Rule: on the voice of the abbess,[453] the friendly voice of the cellararia,[454] the silent voice of the nuns addressing visiting priests,[455] greeting each other with *sermo effabilis*,[456] avoiding clatter while serving,[457] and several references to acting, moving and speaking with *dignitas*, *grauitas*, and *moderatio*.[458]

Three other chapters (c. 1, 3, 14) end with a reference to the reward nuns may expect (*lucrum* and *merces*). It is therefore possible that the chapter in an earlier version ended here, leading up to chapters 10–11 which return to the theme of food. The rest of the chapter on silence may have been an afterthought that was inserted later. The next statement has, in any case, nothing to do with the previous, although it picks up the term *fructus*. This time it is a good *fructus*.

[20]Silentium uero in paenitentia accipientes omnimodis studeant costodire, ut de uera mortificatione mereantur fructum recipere.

[[20]Those who receive silence as a penance should altogether be eager to keep it, so that they deserve to obtain the fruit through genuine mortification.]

It is, at first sight, strange that within a chapter on the imperative of silence and controlled conversation *silentium* suddenly appears as a form of penance. This can only be explained if Jonas has in this context a different kind of silence in mind: not the prohibition to speak but the punishment of being excluded from any kind of interaction with others, as it is described in the chapters on excommunication.[459] The same appears in the chapter on manual labour, which sanctions gossip with the punishment of silence (*silentii*

(453) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1–6.
(454) *RcuiV*, c. 4.19/22; c. 10.14–15.
(455) *RcuiV*, c. 2.22.
(456) *RcuiV*, c. 22.5.
(457) *RcuiV*, c. 11.5.
(458) *RcuiV*, c. 7.3; c. 8.3.
(459) Especially *RcuiV*, c. 17.9–10.

poena).[460] Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* refers to a *superpositio silentii* as punishment for idle talk, shouting, talking back, and scolding the gatekeeper.[461] It is likely that Jonas' *paenitentia* of silence, his *silentii poena*, and Columbanus' *superpositio silentii* refer to the same type of sanction.

At the end of chapter 9, Jonas moves away from the topic of *paenitentia* to another practical issue. I take the liberty to insert here the provision on the *portaria* that seemed to be so out of place in the context of meal regulations:

> 21 Duae uero, in quocumque loco fuerint positae, nullatenus sine tertia teste loqui praesumant, sed tres semper positae necessaria conloquantur. 12 Portaria uero, quae pro necessariis causis ad eloquium expetierit, abbatissae loqui permittatur, quia forsitan talis superuenit necessitas quae moram habere non debeat.
>
> 21 But two [sisters] who are stationed at whatever location, should by no means dare to speak without a third one as witness, but they should always speak what is necessary when they are put together [in groups of] three. 12 But the porter, who for necessary reasons asks to speak, should be allowed by the abbess to do so, because perhaps such a necessity arises that should have no delay.

Jonas addresses both topics elsewhere in his Rule. Tasks are, according to the chapter on manual work, to be organized in a manner that two nuns never work alone, in order to avoid conversations.[462] The chapter on the gatekeepers regulates in detail how a *portaria* has to speak to visitors and guests, possibly even in a pastoral function.[463]

In his chapter on silence Jonas places his concern with disciplining and controlling speech and voice in the foreground, but in the background remains his aim of disciplining and controlling the mind (*mens*, *animus*) by way of restraining speech and voice. The ultimate goal is keeping harm away from the *anima*. With this in mind, we need to add another aspect to speech and silence that is not directly addressed (though somehow implied): speaking non-verbally through one's body, one's *grauitas* and *moderatio*. Verbal and bodily silence beautifully overlap in the chapter on the topic of secrecy of confession:

> Chapter 7: 3 Ea uero senior quae recipit cum grauitate et moderatione, penes se occultando honestissime teneat, ne dum alterius uulneri medicinam infundit, suae mentis conrumpat nitorem.
>
> [3 But the elder should keep with herself what she receives with dignity and moderation by hiding it most faithfully, lest while she pours remedy into the wound of the other, she destroys the splendour of her own mind.]

Jonas implies, as we see in this chapter, that the nun authorized to hear confession is not only required to keep its content secret, but, also for the sake of her own *mens*, her body may reveal nothing of what she heard. Whatever she hears, she needs to keep enclosed in her own body through *grauitas* and *moderatio*. The penultimate chapter of Jonas' Rule, on

(460) *RcuiV*, c. 12.12.
(461) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 24–27; c. 5, p. 150, l. 3–4, c. 6, l. 20–22.
(462) *RcuiV*, c. 12.18–20.
(463) *RcuiV*, c. 3.8–9.

not defending kin (c. 23), expresses a similar thought, which could also be seen as part of the imperative of silence and the silent body as a "third enclosure". No nun is allowed to speak in defence of another nun. Instead, she should keep her love enclosed in her heart – in order to prevent herself from causing harm to the other nun:

> Chapter 23: $_{7}$Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, $_{8}$ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.
>
> [$_{7}$Let therefore in all nuns love remain enclosed in the heart, and [this love] should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the guidance of punishment, $_{8}$lest she send out the vice of defending to others.]

In sum, chapter 9 is not so much a chapter on the rule of silence (*regula silentii*) but rather a chapter that explains how (*qualiter*) Jonas' Rule manifests itself in the context of silence and speech. Just as much as Jonas is not really interested in fasting (which will be discussed in the next section), he is not really interested in silence as such. Much of the long list of practices of silence that I laid out at the beginning of this chapter, somehow makes it into the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but none of it as an end in itself. Jonas' main concern is how to speak, not how to not speak – and he will return to this topic in the chapter on humility and mutual interaction (c. 22). Controlling speech (and controlling the body) is a way of controlling the mind (*mens*) for the purpose of avoiding any form of harm to the *anima* (of oneself and of the other) – and the soul is what Jonas really cares about.

Food (Chapters 10–11)

Virtually every monastic rule contains provisions on food and on mealtimes – for obvious reasons. The physical survival of a community depended entirely on regular food supply; its social survival to a large extent on how food was distributed and meals were organized.[464] Mealtimes are, along with liturgical Hours, anchors of organizing the day. Shared meals are markers of both equality and hierarchy. Everyone holds his or her own place at table just as much as in church.[465] Food supply, cooking, and serving were probably the most important logistical challenges, which required the participation of the entire community.[466] It is symptomatic that several rules determine that the *cellararius* or *cellararia*, who presumably takes care of the food storage, may by no means cause discontent and unrest among the members of the community.[467]

(464) See, for example, *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 39.16–23, ed. Villegas, pp. 146–147; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 19–21, ed. Vilanova, p. 116; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 34, *SC* 182, p. 564; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 104–107.

(465) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 29–31, ed. Boon, pp. 20–21.

(466) For example *Regula Donati*, c. 67, *CSEL* 98, p. 181.

(467) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 38, ed. Boon, pp. 22–23; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7.2, ed. Schmidt, p. 243; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, *PL* 68, col. 401A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 10.6–8, ed. Villegas, pp. 29–30; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.17–19, *SC* 182, pp. 558–560; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16, *SC* 106, pp. 72–84; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183.

Food has also an important spiritual meaning.[468] The ascetic practice of excessive fasting and food deprivation, as we find it praised in the *Lives* of the desert fathers, is not feasible in permanent monastic institutions.[469] Monastic rules, therefore, redefine fasting as strictly regulated eating at determined times, abstinence from food and drink outside the mealtimes, abstinence from meat, and observing Lent.[470] They organize shared meals as community-creating ritual, often with liturgical components[471] and strict regulations of behaviour.[472] Arriving late at dinner is a transgression almost as severe as arriving late at prayer.[473] Eating and drinking secretly, outside mealtimes, or eating forbidden food belong to the most serious violations of the rule.[474] One of the nuns of Faremoutiers almost incurred eternal damnation for occasionally eating an apple secretly.[475] Eating may be a concession to human weakness,[476] but food is also described as a nourishment that is to be shared and blessed and often accompanied by a spiritual nourishment of listening to readings.[477] The spiritual meaning of eating together manifests itself also in the fact that monastic *excommunicatio* entails often an exclusion from common meals and from community prayer.[478]

Chapters 10–11 address various aspects of common meals in a somewhat haphazard way. They show some vague traces of the chapters in the *Regula Benedicti* on the measure of

(468) For an overview of the history of fasting from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages, see Walker Bynum, Caroline, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: The University of California Press 1987, pp. 31–69.

(469) *Regula Basilii*, c. 88–90, *CSEL* 86, pp. 122–124; c. 181, pp. 202–203; Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 4–5, *SC* 109, pp. 194–198; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 124–126; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 105.

(470) It is noteworthy how Cassian develops this argument in book 5 of the *Institutiones*, *SC* 109, pp. 190–258. He slowly moves from a praise of individual fasting (without praising excessive behaviour) to discussing organized eating.

(471) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 36–37, ed. Boon, p. 22; *Regula Basilii*, c. 57, *CSEL* 86, p. 96; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 16, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 141–142.

(472) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 30, ed. Boon, p. 20; *Regula orientalis*, c. 36, *SC* 298, p. 490; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, pp. 141–142.

(473) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 32, ed. Boon, p. 21; *Regula Basilii*, c. 97, *CSEL* 86, pp. 128–129; *Regula orientalis*, c. 37, *SC* 298, p. 490; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 52, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 36, *PL* 68, col. 403B; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. *Campos*/Rocca, p. 104.

(474) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 35, ed. Boon, pp. 21–22; c. 41, p. 23; c. 54, pp. 29–30; c. 64, p. 33; c. 73–80, pp. 34–36; *Regula Basilii*, c. 91, *CSEL* 86, pp. 124–125; c. 128, pp. 158–159; Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*, c. 8, ed. Verheijen, p. 151; *Regula Macharii*, c. 29, *SC* 297, p. 386; *Regula orientalis*, c. 38, *SC* 298, pp. 490–492; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7, ed. Schmidt, pp. 242–243; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, *PL* 68, col. 401A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 9.14–15, ed. Villegas, p. 29; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 27, ed. Desprez, p. 138; c. 35, pp. 142–143; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 17, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 51, *SC* 182, p. 608; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 8, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 3–4; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 51; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, pp. 104–105; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, p. 142.

(475) *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277–279.

(476) *Regula Basilii*, c. 9.22, *CSEL* 86, p. 49; Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 7, *SC* 109, p. 200; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 50–52.

(477) Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.2, ed. Verheijen, p. 421; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 49, ed. Schmidt, p. 254; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 8.8–13, ed. Villegas, pp. 25–26; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18, ed. Vilanova, p. 115; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 38, *SC* 182, pp. 572–576; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 104–105.

(478) See p. 512–531.

food and on mealtimes (c. 39 and 41). Chapter 40 of the *Regula Benedicti* (on drinks) does not leave traces in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* even though Jonas addresses this topic. The main theme of chapter 10 is the amount and variety of food to be served in different seasons. Chapter 11 deals predominantly with mealtimes, but Jonas adds to both chapters sections on several other topics, particularly on the question of *how* meals are to be consumed and served.

If Jonas wrote his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* for a community that already used Caesarius' Rule, Caesarius' provisions on food and meals need to be taken into account as well. Caesarius refers twice to exclusion from meals as a punishment for specific transgressions.[479] The cooks receive an extra glass of wine for their labour and the entire community has to do kitchen duties in turns.[480] Caesarius' Rule for Nuns explicitly forbids holding *conuiuia* (festive meals) for outsiders (bishops, abbots, priests, laymen and laywomen, the family of the abbess, religious women, and the monastery's *prouisor*). An exception can be made only for local religious women of highest repute.[481] The abbess may not eat outside the monastery.[482]

Caesarius very nervously reminds the abbess, the prioress, and the nuns responsible for the care of the sick, the choir leader, and the novice mistress that they should most vigilantly ensure that nuns who were brought up delicately or who suffer from stomach pain and who fast stricter than they should, receive everything they need, and that they consume what is provided to them.[483] It is likely that Caesarius is concerned about the manifest danger that nuns starve themselves to death.[484]

Moreover, Caesarius dedicates two extensive chapters of his liturgical section to meals. In his chapter on fasting, he provides a rather loose definition of fasting as a form of self-imposed austerity that needs to be approved by the abbess. He also lists the days of the week at which nuns must fast.[485] From Pentecost to the beginning of September the degree of fasting is determined by the abbess. From the beginning of September to the beginning of November the nuns have to fast on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. From the beginning of September until Christmas, they have to fast daily except on Saturdays and feast days. Until Epiphany they have to fast daily. From Epiphany to Lent, fasting is limited to Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. In his chapter on the order of the meal (*ordo*

(479) *CaesRV*, c. 12.2, *SC* 345, p. 188: lateness; c. 13.2, p. 190: disobedience.

(480) *CaesRV*, c. 14, p. 190. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.1–5, *SC* 182, pp. 564–566.

(481) *CaesRV*, c. 39, pp. 220–222. See also *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 104. Compare to *Regula Donati*, c. 68, *CSEL* 98, p. 176.

(482) *CaesRV*, c. 41, p. 222. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 56, *SC* 182, p. 622.

(483) *CaesRV*, c. 42, p. 224. See also *Regula Basilii*, c. 88, *CSEL* 86, pp. 122–123; *Regula Leandri*, c. 18, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 56–57.

(484) Caesarius himself was forced to leave the monastery of Lérins after his excessive fasting had caused serious health problems. See *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 7, *SC* 536, pp. 156–158. On the problem of self-starvation, especially in female communities, see Bell, Rudolph M., *Holy Anorexia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1985.

(485) *CaesRV*, c. 42.1–5, *SC* 345, p. 224; c. 67, p. 258; c. 71, p. 268. Similar: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 49, *SC* 182, pp. 604–606. Benedict also allows his monks to determine what fasting entails. See also *Regula Donati*, c. 36, *CSEL* 98, pp. 165–166.

conuiuii) Caesarius determines the number of dishes to be served at different meals: three dishes during fasting and two at times when two meals are served. On feast days more dishes and a dessert may be added. He also specifies the amount of warm drinks for different times. Fowl may only be eaten by the sick, while meat is generally forbidden, unless in cases of very serious illness.[486]

Jonas moderates Caesarius' provisions and fills in a number of aspects Caesarius did not address. As we already saw in the chapter on the gatekeepers, Jonas waters down the strict prohibition of admitting guests to community meals and serving guests outside the inner space.[487] Jonas allows, moreover, that the amount of drink and the times of meals may be adjusted if guests arrive, which implies that it was not uncommon that guests were welcomed to the nuns' table.[488] Caesarius determines the weekdays of fasting during different seasons, without giving a clear definition of what the nuns are allowed to eat. Jonas does not talk about fasting (*ieiunare*) but about eating (*manducare*) and he determines at which hours of the day the nuns are supposed to eat during different seasons.[489] This approach is similar to that of the previous chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* which supposedly addresses silence but, in fact, mainly deals with speaking. Caesarius regulates how many dishes are to be served at meals; Jonas establishes *what* the nuns have to eat: legumes, vegetables, a dish of dough, and fruit. Caesarius regulates how much wine his nuns are allowed to drink; Jonas focuses on beer. Caesarius is concerned about excessive fasting; Jonas emphasizes that all nuns have to receive equal portions and that no nun is allowed to receive food from a fellow sister or give away her own food.[490]

Aside from modifying and expanding what Jonas found in Caesarius' Rule, he adds various aspects that are addressed neither in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns nor in the *Regula Benedicti*. These additions largely circle around three topics that play a role throughout his Rule: monastic life is determined by mutual service (*ministrare*; *administrare*). Every aspect of monastic life contributes to the *opus Dei* and needs to be choreographed and liturgized. Motivation and the internal attitude play a crucial role and are therefore the primary target of monastic discipline.

Chapter 10 has, moreover, a theme that is not directly related to the topic of food itself: the authority of the abbess, whose *scientia*, *iudicium*, and *uoluntas* replace, at least in the context of meals, the strict guidelines of the Rule. The abbess appears no fewer than

(486) *CaesRV*, c. 71, p. 268. On vegetarianism, e.g. Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 38–39, ed. Leclercq, p. 207; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 39.11, *SC* 182, p. 578; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 51, ed. Schmidt, p. 254; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 34–35, *PL* 68, col. 403A–B; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 142.

(487) *RcuiV*, c. 3.21–24.

(488) *RcuiV*, c. 10.7; c. 11.3. See also *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 15, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 58–59; c. 20, p. 61; c. 23, p. 63.

(489) On mealtimes, see also *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.1–4, *SC* 297, pp. 192–194; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11, ed. Villegas, pp. 18–19; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 106.

(490) Compare *Regula Pachomii. Praecepta*, c. 39, ed. Boon, p. 23; c. 98, p. 40; c. 106, p. 42; *Regula Basilii*, c. 30, *CSEL* 86, p. 77; c. 105, p. 133; *Regula orientalis*, c. 9, *SC* 298, p. 468; c. 39, p. 492.

seven times in chapter 10. Benedict does not refer to the abbot in any of his chapters on meals. Conversely, meals are not only addressed in chapters 10–11 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but appear in various other chapters, most notably in the descriptions of the tasks of the *portariae* who are supposed to serve outside the *septa*, in the context of silence at table,[491] the tasks and responsibilities of the cooks, special food regulations for the sick,[492] excommunication as exclusion from meals, and mealtimes for children.[493]

So much about the place of Jonas' food and meal regulations in the intertextual web of Caesarius' and Benedict's provisions. Now let's have a look at the text itself. Chapter 10 begins with emphasizing the importance of equality and soberness of meals:

> [1] Mensae administratio uel obseruatio quanta aequalitate uel sobriaetate percurrere debeat, abbatissae scientia est trutinandum, [2] ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes. [3] Ministrandum namque est omnibus aequa libratione tam potus quam cibus, prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint.
>
> [[1] It should be pondered by the wisdom of the abbess with how much uniformity and austerity the organization and the observance of the table should proceed, [2] so that the tinder of piety is strong in all [sisters], as it behoves the servants of God. [3] In fact, all are to be served both drink and food in equal measure, as the season, feast days, [days of] abstinence, or the daily practice requires.]

Jonas' use of the term *quanta* (how much) poses some challenges because it implies that the wisdom of the abbess determines the degree to which *aequalitas* and *sobrietas* are to be followed, while one would expect that *aequalitas* and *sobrietas* are absolute goods that allow no "more or less". Reading *quanta* as "how much" works if we understand *aequalitas* simply as "uniformity" rather than "equity" and *sobrietas* as "austerity" rather than "moderation". There are, as we will see, instances in which the abbess may deviate from uniformity and allow meals to be more festive and less austere. The explanation *ut in omnibus, sicut decet Dei ministras, relegionis uigeat fomes* (so that the tinder of piety is strong in all, as it behoves the servants of God) would allow for such a reading: it is not uniformity or austerity that matters but the "tinder of piety" kindled by whatever the abbess decides.

In omnibus is one of the key terms that Jonas uses to express his idea of monastic life as unceasing *opus Dei* that covers all daily activities. I suggest that Jonas is deliberately ambiguous in his use of *in omnibus*, which could relate either to "all nuns" or "all things". The expression appears no fewer than eleven times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. In some cases, it clearly refers to things and could best be translated with "in any regard"

(491) On silence at the table, see also *Regula Pachomii*, c. 33–34, ed. Boon, p. 21; *Regula Donati*, c. 33, *CSEL* 98, p. 164.

(492) Special food regulations for the sick, see also: *Regula Pachomii, Praecepta*, c. 40, ed. Boon, p. 23; c. 42–46, pp. 23–25; Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.3–5, ed. Verheijen, pp. 421–423; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 53, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 37, *PL* 68, col. 403B; *Regula Magistri*, c. 26.14, *SC* 106, p. 138; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 13, ed. Walker, p. 144; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11.2–3, ed Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Leandri*, c. 18, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 56–57.

(493) *RcuiV*, c. 3.18–19; c. 3.21; c. 3.23–24; c. 9.4; c. 9.10–19; c. 11; c. 12.18–29; c. 15.7; c. 19.4–9; c. 24.7–11.

or "constantly", in other cases it clearly refers to "all sisters". At several places, however, Jonas could (and probably does) mean all things *and* all sisters.[494] The statement *prout tempus siue sollemnitates siue abstinentiae siue cotidiani usus poposcerint* (as the season, feast days, days of abstinence or the daily practice requires) could be read as a reference to Caesarius' Rule that indeed determines at which days in the week the nuns have to fast. Jonas continues:

> [4] Cotidianis etenim diebus sufficere decernimus duo fercula, exceptis pomorum donis, de leguminibus uel de holeribus conferta seu farinae qualibet consparsione.
>
> [[4] Indeed, we decide that on regular days, aside from the gifts of fruit, two dishes suffice, which are filled with legumes or vegetables and some sort of pastry of flour.]

This is one of the instances in which we hear the author's voice (*decernimus*) with a provision that deviates from Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Caesarius states that on ordinary days his nuns may receive three dishes. Jonas decides that two are sufficient. Expanding on Caesarius, he specifies the nuns' diet, which would make most modern dietitians happy (presuming that Jonas means unbleached wholewheat flour).[495] Similar diets appear in several hagiographic texts.[496]

> [5] Omnibus etenim aequa mensura ministrandum, praeter si aetas infirmior, quae sustinere non ualeat, aut egritudo corporis aut nouellae conuersionis nouitas inprobata sufferre non queat, quod abbatissae iudicio pensandum est.
>
> [[5] For everyone is to be served with equal measure, unless a weaker age, which does not have the strength to sustain, or a sickness of the body, or the untrained novelty of a recent conversion cannot endure [this]. This has to be considered by the judgement of the abbess.]

Jonas emphasizes here for the second time that the abbess (or, in this case, the *iudicium abbatissae*, the judgement of the abbess) is allowed to adjust portions to age, health, and experience. The abbess is allowed to deviate from the ideal of *aequalitas*, if necessary.[497]

> [6] Potus uero, si sycerae liquoris, id est ceruisae, mensura solita tribuatur. [7] Si uoluntas abbatissae fuerit, si labor uel festus dies uel hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitauerit, uini potio augenda est. [8] Et si duabus uicibus reficiendum sit, praeter uini potionem similis regula seruetur. [9] Festis uero diebus pro reuerentia sacrae sollemnitatis pluribus cibis, id est ternis uel quaternis ferculis, sunt corpora reficienda, [10] sic tamen, ut si pluriora sunt cibaria, numero sint minora, [11] ut corpora necessario cibo reficiantur, non nimia saturitate damnentur.

(494) We find the same ambiguous *in omnibus* in c. 1.17 (abbess): *Tanta sit in omnes prouidentia, ut ne pietas disciplinae neque disciplina pietati locum tollat*. c. 3.25 (gatekeepers): *Sic semper ostiariae agant, ut in omnibus zelum dei habentes regulae tenorem conseruent*. c. 4.16 (*cellararia*): *Sic in omnibus curam agat, ut in nullo neglegentiae damna incurrat*. c. 15.2 (care of the sick): *Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum*. c. 22.23 (interaction with priests): …*ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur*. c. 23.7 (punishing): *Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus*. c. 24.11 (children): …*ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur*. See also *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 4: *ut in omnibus paratam habeat*; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 26–27: …*ut in omnibus sancti Spiritus gratia in ea uideretur flagrare*.

(495) Similarly detailed: Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 124–126; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 105–107; c. 10–11, pp. 107–108; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 3, p. 142.

(496) See *Regula Pachomii*, *Praeceptum*, c. 116, ed. Boon, p. 44; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 4, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 366; c. 15, p. 369; c. 21, p. 371; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 62.

(497) *CaesRV*, c. 42, *SC* 345, p. 224.

> [6 But drink, if it is of fermented fluid, that is to say beer, should be given according to the accustomed measure. 7 If it is the wish of the abbess, the drink of wine is to be increased if work or a feast day or the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this. 8 And if there must be two meals eaten, the same rule should be observed, aside from the drink of wine. 9 But on feast days the bodies are to be nourished with more food, that is to say, with a third or fourth dish, out of reverence for the sacred feast, 10 but in such a way that if there are more dishes, they should be smaller in size, 11 so that the bodies are fed with necessary food and not condemned by too great a satiety.]

Jonas and his nuns probably knew exactly what his *solita mensura* of beer or Benedict's *hemina* of wine entailed, but unfortunately this knowledge is lost to us.[498] Beer is mentioned in chapter 12 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well as in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Vita Sadalbergae*; it was probably be considered a nutritious and safe alternative to water.[499] The phrase *si (…) hospitis aduentus pia precacio exagitauerit* (if the loving request of the arrival of a guest incites this) sounds a bit inflated. It remains unclear whether *praecacio* (or *precatio*) is meant in a liturgical sense. Maybe Jonas just seized an opportunity to integrate the ubiquitous imperative of love (*pietas*) into this topic. Jonas allows more dishes than Caesarius at feast days while trying to keep the amount of food the same in order to avoid satiety. The idea that satiety is to be avoided can be found in various monastic rules.[500] Jonas combines it with his preferred term *damnare*. It is, like everything else, a matter of life and death.

The second part of chapter 10 moves to a different topic, the procedure for meals. It belongs to the parts of the Rule in which Jonas addresses the choreography of monastic life:

> 12 Sedentes uero ad mensam sorores, nulla alteram comedentem sublimatione oculorum respiciat, nec alterius mensuram cibi uel potus iniqua consideratione intueatur.
>
> [12 When the sisters sit at the table, no one should lift up her eyes and look at another when she is eating, nor should she gaze at the share of someone else's food or drink with hostile consideration.]

Here we have the disciplining of the gaze, which we also find in the chapter on the *portaria* who is not allowed to look at those coming to the gate.[501] Jonas continues:

> 13 Quando in mensam cibus administratur, nulla prius cibum comedat, quam signum ad benedicendum insonet. 14 Abbatissa uero uigilet ut confestim cum cibus ministratus fuerit signum tangere procuret. Et omnes, cum signum audierint, una uoce benedictionem rogent. 15 Quarum

(498) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 40.3, *SC* 182, p. 578. See also commentary, p. 105.

(499) See also Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 146–148; *VCol* I, c. 16, pp. 179–181; I, c. 17, p. 183; I, c. 27, p. 213; II, c. 22, p. 278; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 20, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 61. On brewing beer in early medieval monasteries: Unger, Richard W., *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 2004, pp. 26–30; O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, pp. 128–129, footnotes 192–197.

(500) *Regula Basilii*, c. 48, *CSEL* 86, p. 91; Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 97, ed. Leclercq, p. 211; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 39.7–9, *SC* 182, pp. 576–578; c. 40.6–7, p. 580; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 124–126; *Regula Leandri*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 50–52; *Regula Isidori*, c. 9, p. 105. See also Cassian, *Institutiones* V, c. 6, *SC* 109, pp. 198–200; V, c. 9, pp. 202–204.

(501) *RcuiV*, c. 3.9. On disciplining the gaze at eating, see also Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, *SC* 109, pp. 142–144; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 39.16–23, ed. Desprez, pp. 146–147.

uocem abbatissa subsequatur dicens: Dominus dignetur benedicere. 16 Hoc ad omnia fercula uel pomorum ac potus administrationem obseruandum est.

[13 When food is served at the table, no one should eat food before the sign for the blessing resounds. 14 But the abbess should be watchful that she goes ahead with striking the sign immediately when the food is served. And all the sisters should ask for the blessing with one voice when they hear the sign. 15 The abbess should follow their voice with the words: "May the Lord deign to bless". 16 This is to be observed for all dishes and the serving of fruit and drink.]

The blessing of food and the ritualization of the shared meal resonates with various references in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* which imposes penances for omitting blessings.[502] We find this topic also addressed in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* where Eusthasius defends the practice of blessing the cup against Agrestius' accusation of heresy and deviation from common practice.[503] The section presents the abbess in her role as mistress of time and liturgy.

Next Jonas returns to the topic of *aequalitas*: equal portions for everyone unless the abbess decides otherwise:

17 Illud praecipue decernimus, ut nulla alteri dare ex mensura sua uel accipere ab altera praesumat, praeter abbatissam uel prepositam cui ab abbatissa commissum est.

[17 We decide in particular that no one should dare to give to another from her share or to receive anything from another, except for the abbess or the prioress to whom it is enjoined by the abbess.]

At other places, Jonas prohibits the nuns from exchanging words, transferring objects, and doing favours to a fellow sister.[504] Here he applies this provision to the moment of eating together. This may also have been a preventive measure against individual excessive fasting. Every nun has to eat what she is served. Jonas ends this chapter like some others with a sanction.[505]

18 Si uero aut nouitate aut temeritate aliqua haec quae supra diximus, fuerit transgressa, disciplina regulae corrigatur pro praesumptae temeritatis audacia.

[18 But if anyone, on account of novelty or thoughtlessness, transgresses what we have said above, she should be corrected by the punishment of the rule in keeping with the boldness of having dared to be presumptuous.]

At this point Donatus would have identified a tariffed penance; Jonas, instead, imposes a *disciplina regularis*, a term he borrowed from the *Regula Benedicti*. Nuns violating the provisions on food are accused of *temeritas*, a term used only in one other monastic rule, the *Regula Basilii*, but at several places in the *Vita Columbani*. In classical Latin *temeritas* means

(502) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, ed. Walker, p. 146, l. 3–8; c. 14, p. 162, l. 10–11; *Regula Donati*, c. 25, *CSEL* 98, p. 160.

(503) *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250–251. On this passage, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 272–273.

(504) For example *RcuiV*, c. 3.11; c. 17.7.

(505) See also *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 7.6; c. 8.12; c. 12.29; c. 17.12; c. 18.5; c. 19.11; c. 20.13; c. 21.5; c. 23.9.

something like "thoughtlessness" or "rashness".[506] In his *Vita Columbani* Jonas combines the term with *arrogantiae* or *audacia*. Therefore, I would tentatively translate it with "presumptuousness", a translation that would also fit *temeritas* in the *Regula Basilii*.[507]

Now let's move to the short chapter 11, which belongs to the few sections of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that do not appear in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum*. It is likely that Benedict of Aniane omitted chapter 5 and large parts of chapter 14 because of its content; chapter 11 may have been omitted simply because it does not contribute a lot of new ideas. The chapter consists of two parts that are only vaguely related to each other. The first section (c. 11.1–4) regulates when the nuns should have their meals at different seasons (Lent, the period between Easter and Pentecost, and the rest of the year). It is closely modelled after the chapter on mealtimes of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 41) and covers a topic important to most monastic rules: the organization of time. The second section (c. 11.5–8) gives a detailed description of how to serve meals – which allows us some glimpses into the daily life of the community. Jonas' concern with rituals of serving distinguishes him from Caesarius and Benedict. His provision on proper serving is the only part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that shows parallels with the Italian *Regula Pauli et Stephani*.[508] It either means that Jonas knew this rule but considered it otherwise not of much use, or that both texts share the same source.

> 1 Ab aduentu sacratissimae sollemnitatis, id est ab introitu sanctae paschae, quo inmaculati agni resurrectio celebratur, usque ad sacratam sollemnitatem pentecostes qua Apostolis spiritus sanctus fuit diffusus, id est quinquaginta dierum spatio, ad sextam horam est reficiendum. 2 Similiter et uesperum erit caenandum, quia sacri temporis ratio exigit ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret. 3 A pentecosten uero, si grauis labor non exigat, aut hospitum non cogat aduentus, usque ad quadragesimae inquoationem ad nonam, id est semel, reficiant, exceptis magnarum sollemnitatum euentibus, aut si labor grandis exigerit ut duabus reficiant uicibus. 4 Ab inquoatione quadragesimae usque sacratissimam sollemnitatem pascae exceptis dominicis diebus ad uesperum reficiendum est, ut ante noctis inquoationem cum statione lucis refectionis impleatur hora.
>
> [1 From the arrival of the most sacred feast, that is from the beginning of holy Easter, at which the resurrection of the immaculate lamb is celebrated, until the sacred feast of Pentecost, at which the Holy Spirit has been poured forth on the Apostles, that is to say for the period of fifty days, one has to eat at the Sixth Hour. 2 Likewise one will also have to have a meal [at]

(506) Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *temeritas* suggest "rashness"; "heedlessness"; "thoughtlessness"; "hastiness"; "want of consideration"; "indiscretion"; "foolhardiness"; "temerity"; "a rash", or "inconsiderate, or unfounded opinion."

(507) *Regula Basilii*, c. 12.3, *CSEL* 86, p. 59: *…quis potest in tantum temeritatis progredi, ut audeat a se quicquam uel loqui uel cogitare?* c. 136.5, pp. 165–166: *Necessaria uero est taciturnitas usquequo uitia si qua illa sunt linguae uel sermonum temeritas resecetur.*

(508) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 11.5: *Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobriaetate ueniant, ut nullum* ***strepit****um* ***pedum*** *uel* ***uasorum*** *uel cuiuslibet* ***son****i excitent…* to *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 18.2, ed. Vilanova, p. 115: *Non cum contentione et murmuratione et indignatione et clamosis uocibus et* ***strepitu pedum*** *et* ***son****u* ***uasorum*** *donum Dei, sed cum caritate et quiete et dulcissimo disciplinae freno sumamus…* The expression *strepitus pedum* is extremely rare. It appears several times in the work of Boethius but nowhere else.

> Vespers, because the order of the holy season requires that no one who is part of the church should show [signs of] sadness. 3 But if heavy work does not require it, or the arrival of guests compels it, from Pentecost until the beginning of the forty days [of Lent] they should eat at the Ninth Hour, thus only once, except at the end of great feast days, or if heavy labour requires that they eat two times. 4 From the beginning of the forty days until the most sacred feast of Easter they should eat at Vespers except on the days of the Lord – so that the hour of the meal is completed before the beginning of the night while there is still light.]

There are some pragmatic variants between the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' Rule that can be explained by differences in climate and by the requirements of work (which will be discussed in the next chapter). The *Regula Benedicti* operates on the basis of four seasons: the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost (meals at Sext and Vespers); summer, until 15 September (meals at None on Wednesdays and Fridays and at Sext on the other days, unless heat or work determines otherwise), winter (meals generally at None), and Lent (meals at Vespers). The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* treats summer and winter equally and does not have specific regulations for Wednesdays and Fridays.

Unlike the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* adds special provisions on guests – a topic already addressed in chapter 10. Jonas assumes that guests may be present while Caesarius emphasizes that they are, in general, not allowed to join the meals of the community.[509] Jonas' provision may be the result of Faremoutiers being part of a monastic network with considerable mobility between monasteries that had been founded as affiliations of Luxeuil. Moreover, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* explicitly states that the strict rules of fasting (one meal which is served late in the day) are not applicable to Sundays and important feast days. Both rules agree that meals should be finished before dusk.

In line with the more explanatory character of Jonas' Rule, the chapter contains descriptions of the meaning of the major Christian holidays, Easter and Pentecost. Jonas also explains why the nuns in the period between resurrection and assumption are allowed to eat two meals. His concern about the right motivation and the avoidance of *murmuratio* may have been in the back of his mind. *Tristitia* belongs, after all, to John Cassian's octade of capital vices.[510] Jonas writes here *ut nullus in ecclesia positus tristitiam demonstret* (that no one who is part of the church should show sadness), using the male instead of the female form (*nulla posita*). There are a few other instances of Jonas using the male form. Here it might either indicate that this chapter originally addressed monks or that Jonas makes here a general statement applying to *anyone* being part of the church.

Here follows the second part:

> 5 Quando uero administrandum est, singulae ex singulis mensis adsurgant et sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobriaetate ueniant, ut nullum strepitum pedum uel uasorum uel cuiuslibet soni excitent. 6 Et primum ad seniorem mensam simul omnes ministrent. 7 Sic demum ad suam mensam qua sederint, deferant fercula. 8 Praeposita mensae gubernet quomodo ex ipsa mensa mutuatim uicibus uel aetate iuniores, si fuerint, debeant ministrare.

(509) *CaesRV*, c. 36.1–2, *SC* 345, p. 218.
(510) Cassian, *Institutiones* IX, *SC* 109, pp. 370–380.

> [5 But when [the meal] is to be served, from each table one [sister] should rise, and they should come to the window of the kitchen with such moderation that they do not incite any clatter of feet or dishes or any sound whatsoever. 6 And all of them together should first serve at the table of the elders. 7 Afterwards they should carry the plates to their table where they sit. 8 The prioress of the table has to direct how they ought to serve each other in turn at that table, or (whether) the younger, if there are any, ought to serve.]

Jonas' provisions on serving show a concern specific to him (but shared with the *Regula Magistri*): that of proper procedure and the "choreography" of a monastic life as unceasing *opus Dei*. This section provides us some information about the organization of space in the community: the kitchen and the refectory are linked through a window. We read in the next chapter that the weekly shifts of the cooks begin and end with a protective prayer and that the cooks are submitted to stricter disciplinary standards,[511] which might indicate that the kitchen was situated outside the protective inner space of the monastery. This could also have been the reason why Jonas, differently from Benedict, did not assign the task of serving to the cooks (who operate outside the *septa monasterii*) but to nuns who sit at the table.

Serving guidelines also reveal the hierarchies in the monastery and how they are to be acted out: there is a table for the senior nuns (who seem to form a defined group). This is the only indication in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that Jonas follows Benedict in using the terms *senior* and *iunior* in an absolute *and* in a relative sense: there is a group of *seniores* and there are individual nuns that are *senior* to each other, based on age or moment of entry. The same applies to the *praeposita*: there is a person holding the office of prioress, as we know from chapter two, but Jonas uses the term *praeposita* also for superiors in various constellations: at the table and, as we will see in the next chapter, in groups of nuns fulfilling tasks together.[512]

The most fascinating aspect of chapter 11 is Jonas' description of *how* the nuns are supposed to serve – a detail we find rarely elsewhere. The nuns have to avoid unnecessary noise, in line with several other references to a quiet and restrained voice, and they have to perform their correct attitude through their bodily movements: no stamping one's feet. A key term, which reappears several times in Jonas' Rule, is *sobrietas* (elsewhere combined with *modestia* or *humilitas*). The *prioress* has to be *moribus sobria*; the *cellararia* has to be *sobria*; the serving at the table has to be with *sobrietas*; the nuns have to speak to visiting priests *cum modestia ac sobrietate* in order to express their *humilitas* and *sobrietas*.[513] Jonas shares his concern about *sobrietas* with the *Regula Magistri* but not with the *Regula Benedicti*.[514] His primary concern is, here again, not what his nuns do, but *how* they do it.

(511) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 41, ed. Boon, p. 23.

(512) Columbanus also refers to a *praepositus mensae* in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 154, l. 24; *Regula Donati*, c. 33.7–8, *CSEL* 98, p. 164.

(513) *RcuiV*, c. 2.4; c. 2.6; c. 10.1; c. 11.5; c. 22.23. See also *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 19–22.

(514) Benedict uses the terms *sobrius* only twice, in the context of the *cellararius* and of the abbot: *Regula Benedicti*, c. 31.1, *SC* 182, p. 556 and c. 64.9, p. 650. The *Regula Magistri*, c. 4.7, *SC* 105, p. 376 lists *sobrietas* as one of the *instrumenta spiritalia*. The Rule requires that the monks take their meals with *temperantia* and *sobrietas*:

Manual Work (Chapter 12)

The diversity of "monasticisms" in the late antique and early medieval world manifests itself also in a diversity of economic models, ranging from monasticized aristocratic estates, thriving martyr shrines with adjacent monastic communities urban domestic communities, to humble self-supporting crowds of followers of a charismatic individual settling in the wilderness.[515] Within this diversity we can observe a general shift from models of self-supporting communities that depend on agricultural work or the production of tradable goods (rope weaving, producing mats or baskets, copying manuscripts), to communities that sustained themselves through the revenues of their estates, through gifts, or through the wealth brought into the monastery by converts.[516] This was no linear development since even the earliest ascetic individuals and communities received gifts and we find communities of monks working in the fields throughout the Middle Ages. Moreover, later monastic reform movements aimed at restoring a perceived ideal of self-supporting monastic communities. In his recent work, Peter Brown describes the transition from late Roman civic engagement to almsgiving and eventually to a support of the "holy poor", i.e. individuals and communities living an ascetic life in voluntary poverty.[517]

Monastic rules reflect the diversity of economic models and the shift towards dependence on outside support to a certain extent.[518] The *Regula Pachomii* refers several times to quasi-industrial work;[519] the *Regula Benedicti* still assumes that monks work in the

c. 23.40, *SC* 106, p. 118. The monks should celebrate feast days with *sobrietas*: c. 27.46, p. 148; they should be *sobrius* when raising for prayer: c. 29.1, p. 160; c. 33.15, p. 178; c. 50.59, p. 234. *Sobrietas* is also a requirement of abbatial authority: c. 92.16, p. 412; c. 92.81, p. 422.

(515) On early medieval monastic economic models, see, most recently, Kaplan, Michel, 'The Economy of Byzantine Monasteries', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 340–362; Devroey, Jean-Pierre, 'Monastic Economics in the Carolingian Age', in: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 466–484; Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 190–198.

(516) Figuinha, Matheus Coutinho, 'Pro qualitate loci et instantia laboris: Monasteries and their Human and Natural Environments in Late Antique Gaul', in: *Medieval Worlds* 9 (2019), pp. 82–111 describes this development for Martin's communities, Lérins, and the Jura monasteries. See also Hummer, *Visions of Kinship*, pp. 181–185 on the impact of aristocratic patronage on the role of manual labour on monasteries; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 109–190.

(517) Brown, Peter, *Treasure in Heaven. The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*, Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press 2016.

(518) For an overview of chapters on manual labour in monastic rules, see Bonnerue, Pierre, 'Opus et labor dans les règles monastiques anciennes', in: *Studia Monastica* 35 (1993), pp. 265–291. Réal, Isabelle, 'Nuns and Monks at Work: Equality or Distinction between the Sexes? A Study of Frankish Monasteries from the Sixth to the Tenth century', in: Beach, Alison I. and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 258–277 provides an overview of references to manual and intellectual work in monastic rules and hagiographic texts and comes to the conclusion that monastic work was largely determined by gender differences. On the role of manual labour in Cassian's work, see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 198–200.

(519) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 26–27, ed. Boon, pp. 19–20; c. 58–72, pp. 31–35; *Praecepta ac leges*, c. 1–3, p. 71.

fields,[520] while neither Augustine nor Basil imply in their Rules that their monks were engaged in agricultural or revenue-creating manual work. Ferriolus' Rule indicates that his monastery owned slaves; Isidore's Rule assigns important tasks to lay servants,[521] but the *Regula cuiusdam patris* places manual labour at the centre of monastic life and implies that monks are engaged in various economic activities, which may even include contractual labour. According to this rule, monks are supposed to use all the revenues to support the poor aside from those that they need to clothe and feed themselves.[522]

More than rules, narrative texts put an emphasis on self-sufficiency and praise suffering the hardship of agricultural work and living in collective poverty as ascetic achievements of pioneering monastic communities. This certainly applies to the corpus of hagiographic texts documenting the lives of the Egyptian desert fathers,[523] but also can be seen in, for example, the *Vita Martini* or in various episodes of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*.[524]

If their scope is wider than just depicting the generation of founders and pioneers, hagiographic texts tend to describe the shift towards living from revenues and gifts as a sign of divine favour. We see this especially in the *Vita Columbani*[525] and the *Vita Iohannis*,[526] but also in the *Vita patrum Iurensium*, whose first two books contain numerous references to manual work. Its third book describes the reforms under Abbot Eugendus who turned the Jura communities into a professionally organized monastic network. Manual labour hardly appears in this book any more.[527] A later and particularly striking example of this transition is the *Vita* of Benedict of Aniane, which describes in the form of a diptych the monastery of Aniane first as a community of poor monks living in humble dwellings at the verge of starvation and then as a splendid royal monastery with lavishly adorned churches. Ardo stresses the point that this shift did not have an impact on the essence of monastic life in Aniane or the ascetic discipline of Benedict of Aniane himself.[528]

(520) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 41, *SC* 182, pp. 580–582: on mealtimes when the monks have to work in the fields; c. 46.1–4, pp. 594–596: working on the garden; c. 48.7–9 p. 600: Monks should harvest "if the circumstances of the place or poverty demand"; c. 50 p. 608: on monks working outside the monastery; c. 66.6–7, p. 660: on crafts performed within the monastic space.

(521) *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 36, ed. Desprez, p. 143; *Regula Isidori*, c. 5.7, ed. Campos Ruiz, p. 100. See also c. 20.1, p. 119. On slaves in the monastery, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Exclusion and the Rhetoric of Accessibility in the Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism', in: Sylvie Joye, Maria Cristina LaRocca, and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *La construction sociale du sujet exclu (IV^e^-XI^e^ siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2019, pp. 123–147, at pp. 129–131.

(522) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12–14, ed. Villegas, pp. 20–21. See also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 281–282.

(523) For example *Vita Antonii*, c. 4, *SC* 400, pp. 138–140; c. 44, pp. 252–254; c. 50, pp. 268–272; c. 53, pp. 276–278.

(524) Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 7, *SC* 133, pp. 266–268; c. 10, pp. 272–274; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* I, c. 3, *SC* 260, pp. 34–36; II, c. 6, pp. 154–156; II, c. 28, pp. 216–218; III, c. 14.6–7, pp. 306–308.

(525) *VCol* I, c. 12–13, pp. 172–174; I, c. 15, pp. 177–179 on manual labour; I, c. 14, pp. 175–177 on receiving gifts.

(526) *VIoh*, c. 7, p. 333.

(527) *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 10, *SC* 142, pp. 248–250; c. 22–24, pp. 262–264; c. 35–36, pp. 278–280; c. 57–58, pp. 300–302; c. 64, p. 310; c. 68–69, pp. 314–316; c. 73, pp. 318–320.

(528) Ardo, *Vita Benedicti Anianensis*, c. 3; c. 6; c. 17, *MGH Script*. 15, pp. 202–206. See also Diem, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', pp. 255–258; Kramer, Rutger, *Rethinking Authority in the Carolingian Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2019, pp. 185–198.

Between the lines of these texts we can read a certain unease or at least an urge to explain and legitimate the shift from collective poverty to an individual renunciation of private possession within a collectively wealthy community. One way of dealing with this tension, which we already observed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, consists of the sacralization of monastic property. Material possessions are integrated in the sacredness of time and space and defined as God's property. Alienating them becomes a sacrilege.[529]

The transition from self-sufficiency to reliance on revenues and external support took place as a shift of prevalent models. The diversity of options for establishing and organizing monastic communities shrank, at least in the Latin West, to an increasingly standardized processes of founding stable monastic institutions that were built and endowed by outsiders with no inclination to enter their communities themselves. An early, highly influential, example was Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, which was refounded in 515 as a royal-episcopal collaborative project to turn a popular Roman martyr shrine into the spiritual centre of the Burgundian Kingdom and a place of unceasing intercessory prayer performed by professional monks and clerics loyal to the new barbarian rulers.[530] Saint-Maurice became the prototype of the royal monastery and it had a deep impact on what would become in the aftermath of Columbanus the model of monastic foundations *ex regula Columbani*: collaborative projects of monks of Luxeuil, local bishops, aristocratic families, and Merovingian kings.[531]

It is possible that female models of monastic life played a crucial role in the shift away from agricultural or other revenue-creating manual work. There is no evidence of religious women working in the fields and, from the beginning, female religious communities relied on external support and legal constructions that protected their property.[532] A central – and controversial – aspect of Caesarius' project of a monastic community for sacred virgins, was to ensure that his virgins enjoyed perpetual economic support. He built their monastery; he sustained it through ecclesiastical property; he installed a *prouisor* to take care of their economic interests; he bequeathed his own property to the monastery; and, maybe most importantly, he tried to ensure economic independence in the future. He did so by obtaining a papal privilege and through his testament that, on the one hand, aimed at safeguarding economic support by his successors but, on the other hand, prevented future infringement into the economic matters of the monastery.[533] Founding and sustaining his

(529) *RcuiV*, c. 2.17–19; c. 3.22; c. 16; Diem, 'The stolen glove'.

(530) Diem, 'Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity', in: Gerda Heydemann and Walter Pohl (eds.), *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Turnhout: Brepols 2013, pp. 47–88; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'L'abbaye d'Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515–814)', in: Bernard Andenmatten and Pierre Alain Mariaux (eds.), *L'abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, 515–2015*, vol. 1: *Histoire et archéologie*, Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio 2015, pp. 111–133.

(531) Diem, 'Was bedeutet *Regula Columbani*', pp. 77–89.

(532) See also Réal, 'Nuns and Monks at Work'.

(533) See *CaesRV*, c. 64.1–3, *SC* 345, p. 250; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 28, *SC* 536, p. 184; I, c. 35, pp. 194–196; II, c. 47, p. 304; Caesarius, *Testament*, *SC* 345, pp. 380–396; Klingshirn, William E., 'Caesarius's Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition and Function of the 'Vita Caesarii", in: *Revue bénédictine* 100 (1990), pp. 441–481.

monastery was for Caesarius a legal and economic transaction and the papal privilege he obtained – with considerable effort – was one of the models for future monastic privileges that guaranteed economic independence and protection of monastic property. It is certainly not accidental that Benedict of Aniane incorporated this papal charter into his *Codex regularum* as part of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[534]

According to our extant monastic rules, the shift away from agricultural or revenue-creating manual work did not mean that members of monastic communities ceased to do manual labour – to the contrary. Almost all monastic rules give labour a prominent place in their regulatory system. It meant, however, that the meaning of work changed and diversified. Manual labour was not as much centred on sustaining the community, but rather on the question of organizing the day and finding a balance between prayer, reading, and work. It was tied to avoiding the spiritual dangers of *otiositas* (idleness) and turned, at least partly, into a strictly regulated occupational therapy or into a spiritual exercise entangled with liturgical activities.[535]

Jonas' chapter on manual work is an important case in point for this development because it shows a redefinition and spiritual reassessment of manual work. Faremoutiers emerged at the crossroads of economic models that became prevalent after Columbanus, and female monastic traditions. Both aspects play a role in the background of Jonas' provisions on manual labour and his engagement with older normative traditions, particularly the *Regula Benedicti* and Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.

If the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was indeed an expansion of Caesarius' Rule, we can assume that some variation of Caesarius' provisions on monastic entry and transfer of property was followed in Faremoutiers. Jonas assigns to the *portariae* the role of receiving gifts from outsiders and ensuring that the nuns provide intercessory prayer in return. Moreover, Jonas "sacralizes" monastic property at several places and legitimates the monastery's richness by calling it God's property. He ignores all of Benedict's references to manual labour outside the monastery and to the buying and selling goods.[536] In the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, manual labour is primarily domestic labour, though some of it is seasonal. It includes spending time for one's individual needs (e.g. repairing clothing) and working for the community. Labour can have a penitential character. It needs to be subordinated to prayer and it is integrated into a broader liturgical framework.

Chapter 12 can be divided into six sections that are not directly related to each other but address manual labour from various perspectives. Jonas decided to integrate the questions of the organization of time with the relationship between *opus*, *opus Dei* and *lectio*, the imperative of manual work, the imperative of silence, the internal organization of the community, the "ritualization" of work, the ascetic and penitential character of labour, the

(534) Hormisdas, *Letter to Caesarius*, *SC* 345, pp. 352–358. On the impact of Hormisda's letter, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 112–14.

(535) Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 3, *SC* 109, pp. 60–64 and c. 12, p. 80 provides a blueprint for this liturigization of manual work. See Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 198–200.

(536) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.7–8, *SC* 182, p. 600 on harvesting.

performance of domestic tasks, and, additionally, the particularly perilous role of cooks. As we will see, he embedded all these aspects into his broader theological programme.

Of all chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam*, chapter 12 is the most heterogeneous and, more than the other parts of the Rule, it rambles in style and grammar as if the author did not have an opportunity to give it a final round of revisions. Aside from providing a unique synthesis of different monastic traditions, it is similar to the chapter on the gatekeepers in providing access to a wealth of practical information about everyday monastic life. It also raises several questions that cannot be answered definitively.

The first section (c. 12.1–8) determines the times of manual work, reading, and periods of rest during different seasons. It forms a continuation of chapter 11 on mealtimes and is modelled after chapter 48.1–6 of the *Regula Benedicti*. The second section (c. 12.9–12) deals with silence at work and elaborates on Jonas' more extensive chapter on silence. It is vaguely inspired by chapter 48.17–20 of the *Regula Benedicti*. The third section (c. 12.13–15) addresses the tasks of nuns who are in a state of penance, elaborating on references to penance at various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, particularly in the chapter on confession and the chapters on excommunication.[537] The fourth section prescribes which Psalm verses are to be prayed at the beginning and the completion of work (c. 12.16–17). The chapter ends with two sections on specific functions: the miller and the brewer (c. 12.18–21) and the cooks (c. 12.22–29). Chapter 35 of the *Regula Benedicti* inspired what Jonas had to say about the task of the cooks. Chapter 13 of Jonas' Rule (on tools and implements) forms a continuation of the final provisions of chapter 12 on cleaning and returning kitchen tools after the weekly shifts as cooks of the community.

Here comes the first provision:

> [1] Operandum namque est omni tempore praeter dies festos, ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium. [2] Sic tamen operi manuum insistendum est ut lectionis fructus non omittatur, sed statuto tempore operi detur intentio, ac deinceps lectioni diuinae uacetur. [3] Operatio manuum ab hora secunda sumat exordium et in horam nonam finem accipiat. [4] Ab hora uero nona lectio usitetur.
>
> [[1] One has to work at all seasons except for feast days, in order that enough capacity is obtained from which support can be given for their own need or for someone else's need. [2] But in such a way is manual work to be pursued that the profit of reading is not missed but, as determined by the season, attention is to be given to work and afterwards [time] should be made free for the divine reading. [3] Manual work should have its beginning at the second hour and receive its completion at the ninth hour. [4] But after the ninth hour, reading should be practised.]

This section is notable for its clumsy style that has little to do with Jonas' usual eloquence. It consists of a chain of passive constructions, nominal style, and gerundive structures: *habeatur usus*; *operi insistendum est*; *fructus non omittatur*; *intentio detur*; *lectioni uacetur*; *operatio sumat exordium*; *finem accipiat*; *lectio usitetur*; *opus faciendum*; *uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi*; *commeatum*

(537) *RcuiV*, c. 3.14–17; c. 6.24; c. 6.28; c. 7.4–6; c. 9.20; c. 16.7–8; c. 19.5–8; c. 19.11; c. 20.9–11; c. 21.2–4.

faciat; *opus superuenerit*,;*considerandum est*; *ab opere sit quescendum*; *sit operandum*.[538] This could either point to an incomplete revision or to a later interpolation – or maybe Jonas simply had spent the day marking undergraduate prose before writing this chapter.

Jonas' work schedule seems to be stricter than that of Benedict. His nuns are supposed to work all the time (*omni tempore*), while Benedict requires his monks to work at certain times (*certis temporis*). Benedict starts his chapter on work with the statement that *otiositas inimica est animae* (idleness is the enemy of the soul).[539] His monks therefore have to know at all times what they are supposed to do, but that does not mean that they have to work at all times. His work schedule is shorter and more flexible, which may be motivated by the fact that his monks were supposed to do agricultural work. Such work was seasonal and may have been more exhausting than domestic work within the monastery.

Jonas does not justify his requirement to work all the time with the danger of *otiositas* but gives the following explanation: *ut habeatur uel propriae necessitatis usus uel egentis, unde detur suffragium* (in order that enough capacity is obtained from which support can be given for their own need or for someone else's need).[540] It is not clear whether *propria necessitas* (one's own needs) refers to the individual nun or to the needs of the entire community and, consequently, whether the *egentes* (those in need) are other sisters within the monastery who need help (such as the sick, the weaker, the old, or children) or people outside of the monastery (for example the poor, strangers, and guests).

The question to what extent Jonas demands permanent work as mutual support within the community or in order to sustain outsiders has important implications. Internal support would imply that manual work largely consists of tasks of mutual service. Support of the poor would mean that the nuns were primarily occupied with the production of goods that could be given to the needy or traded for their benefit. Caesarius and Jonas briefly refer to the care of the poor but it seems that this care was primarily funded through the monastery's surplus of revenues rather than the community's manual labour.[541] I would therefore cautiously argue for understanding *suffragium* and the *egentes* more in the context of references to mutual support (*ministrare*) and care (*cura*) within the monastery that can be found elsewhere in the Rule

Both Benedict and Jonas require that time be divided between manual work and *lectio diuina*. From the context we can conclude that Benedict understood *lectio* as reading books, particularly biblical texts which are handed out to the members of the community.[542]

(538) On Jonas' style in general, see O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 136–154.

(539) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.1, *SC* 182, p. 598: *Otiositas inimica est animae, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione diuina*.

(540) *Suffragium* does probably not have its classical meaning (voting right, voice) but simply means "support". The term appears five times in the *Vita Columbani*. Caesarius uses it once in the prologue of his Rule for Nuns, but it appears in no other monastic rule.

(541) *CaesRV*, c. 21.4, *SC* 345, p. 196: Caesarius discourages nuns from giving their possessions to the poor because this might lead to *superbia*; c. 42.6–7, p. 224: The nuns should not engage in regular care for the poor, but whatever is not needed by the community should be distributed among the poor by the *prouisores* (stewards of the monastery).

(542) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.15–16, *SC* 182, p. 602.

In Jonas' case, however, it is not clear whether *lectio* indeed referred to individual reading or to listening to texts that are read out to the community, which would be in line with Caesarius' understanding of *lectio*.[543] Jonas talks about the *fructus lectionis*, emphasizing that reading produces its own spiritual reward, not only for the nun herself but possibly also for the entire community. *Fructus* appears regularly throughout the Rule. Everything the nuns do has an effect, ideally positive, potentially negative.[544] Jonas' phrasing *lectio usitetur* (should be used for *lectio*) echoes the chapter of his Rule on education (c. 24), which requires that young nuns should "have the habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may perform when they are brought to perfect age".[545] This points, in my view, to *lectio* as performative act rather than simply the ability to read books.[546]

Instead of just referring to *opus* and *labor* as Benedict does, Jonas uses the expression *operi intentio detur* (attention is to be given to work). His primary interest is not the work itself but the dedication to work. The expression *intentio* is a key term in *De accedendo ad Deum* which explains that approaching God through prayer only works in a state of permanent *intentio*.[547] All in all, we can observe that Jonas, compared to Benedict, puts a stronger emphasis on the spiritual side of both *opus* and *lectio*. He links them to two of his key terms, *fructus* and *intentio*.

The periods in which the nuns should occupy themselves with manual work cover the entire day, from morning to late afternoon, while reading is restricted to the short time span between afternoon and Vespers. Benedict gives his monks considerably more time to read: in the summer the monks have to work for three hours, if necessary. They read from the fourth to the sixth hour. Between the sixth and the ninth hour they are allowed to rest or read privately and afterwards they return to work until Vespers. In the wintertime they read from the first to the second hour, work from the second to the ninth hour, have their meal, and then read until Vespers. During Lent they read in the morning until the third hour and then work until the tenth hour.[548] Moreover, for Benedict the entire Sunday is dedicated to reading.[549] There is, however, the possibility that Jonas did not mention a first reading hour before the *Secunda* because it is already mentioned in Caesarius of Arles' Rule for Nuns.[550]

(543) *CaesRV*, c. 15, *SC* 345, p. 190; c. 18.2–3, p. 192; c. 22.1–2, p. 196; c. 66.3–6, p. 254.

(544) *RcuiV*, c. 1.5: *fructus uocis* (positive); c. 2.15: *fructus laboris* (positive); c. 6.17: *fructus* of the community resulting from confession (positive); c. 9.4: *fructus damnationis* resulting from idle speech (negative); c. 9.20: *fructus* out of *uera mortificatio* (positive); c. 12.23: *fructus murmurii* (negative). See also *VCol* II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 13: *fructus recipere*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 22: *laboris fructus reciperet*; *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 27, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 65: *fructus laboris*.

(545) *RcuiV*, c. 24.6: *Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant.*

(546) On the different meanings of *lectio* in early medieval monastic rules for nuns, see Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 92–100; on reading in monastic rules: Mundó, Anscari, 'Las reglas monasticas latinas del siglo VI y la "lectio divina"', in: *Studia Monastica* 9 (1967), pp. 229–255; Frank, Karl Suso, 'Lesen, Schreiben und Bücher im frühen Mönchtum', in: Ursula Schaefer (ed.), *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag 1993, pp. 7–18; Illich, Ivan, 'Lectio Divina', *ibid.*, pp. 19–35.

(547) See pp. 573–575. The term also appears ten times in *VCol* and three times in *VIoh*.

(548) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.2–12, *SC* 182, pp. 598–602.

(549) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.22, p. 604.

(550) *CaesRV*, c. 19, *SC* 345, pp. 192–194.

Benedict's stronger emphasis on reading is reflected in the fact that Jonas omitted the provisions in the *Regula Benedicti* on handing out books during Lent and on the *circatores* who walk around and control monks during their optional reading hours.[551] The absence of *circatores* could also be explained with Jonas' overall system of mutual surveillance. Just having a single person walking around and overseeing the nuns during their breaks would not be sufficient for upholding the total control over any spoken word that Jonas requires in the chapter on silence in his Rule (c. 9).

In the next section, Jonas moves to a different topic:

> [5] Et si aliqua proprium aliquod opus faciendum aut uestimenti consuendi uel lauandi aut quodlibet aliud opus per abbatissae uel praepositae commeatum faciat. [6] Et si forte opus fortius superuenerit, ut maturius arripiant operari uel propter feruentem aestum, hoc abbatissae arbitrio considerandum est, [7] ut secundum quod tempus exigit aut fortioris laboris pondus uel ad sextam, ut iuste iudicauerit, ab opere sit quiescendum [8] et post quietem uel refectionem usque ad uesperum sit operandum.
>
> [[5] And if [a sister] has to do any work for herself, either that clothes are to be sewn or washed or whatever other work, she may do so with the permission of the abbess or the prioress. [6] And if by chance heavier work comes up, so that they begin to work earlier, or because of the hot summer, the abbess has to consider with judgement [7] that according to what the season or the burden of heavier work requires, as she decides rightfully, one may rest from work until the sixth hour, [8] and after a rest or after meal they should work until Vespers.]

Instead of having a strict schedule for summer, winter, and Lent, Jonas leaves it to the abbess to determine whether the nuns are allowed to have a break due to hard labour or heat. This may respond to a somewhat milder climate. It also expands the range of decisions the abbess could make without having to take a strict provision of the Rule into account. *Maturius operari* (doing heavier work) indicates that the nuns had to do seasonal work nevertheless. The fact that the nuns have to repair and wash their clothes shows that, at least at this point, they did not have servants working for them. Caesarius explicitly forbids having private servants.[552]

Caesarius' Rule for Nuns provides some additional information about the nuns' manual work. They perform various activities, which may include artistic or artisanal work (*artificium*) but also, most likely, work with textiles.[553] They have to work together in one room and may only perform the tasks assigned to them. The requirement that the entire group works together would explain why Jonas imposes silence on them but does not refer to the requirement that a third person always needs to be present, which appears in the context of special tasks such as baking and brewing.

(551) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.15–21, *SC* 182, pp. 602–604. On the *circatores*, see Bruce, Scott G., '"Lurking with Spiritual Intent": a Note on the Origin and Functions of the Monastic Roundsman (*circator*)', in: *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999), pp. 75–89; Feiss, Hugh, '*Circatores*: From Benedict of Nursia to Humbert of Romans', in: *American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), pp. 346–379.

(552) *CaesRV*, c. 7.1–2, *SC* 345, p. 186. See also *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.35, *SC* 297, pp. 190–192. On monastic servants, see Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life', pp. 553–557.

(553) *CaesRV*, c. 8, *SC* 345, p. 186; c. 16, p. 190; c. 19, pp. 192–194; c. 29, p. 208; c. 57, p. 242.

Manual work, thus, includes more than just fulfilling domestic tasks. To what extent it contributed to the sustenance of the monastery by producing tradable goods, however, remains unclear. The nuns, are, in any case, required to produce their own clothing,[554] but they are, according to Caesarius' Rule, absolutely not allowed to clean, dye, repair, or store clothing for priests, laypeople, or family members – which indicates that their textile work was predominantly for themselves. Caesarius repeats this prohibition twice and refers to the potential scandals, which indicates that the practice of doing this kind of work for outsiders was not uncommon.[555]

The next section returns to the topic of silence that has already been addressed in chapter 9 and combines it with the recurrent theme of the unceasing *opus Dei*:

> [9] Illud inter omnia uel abbatissa, si praesens fuerit, coerceat, aut praeposita quae eius uice relinquitur, ut nullam paenitus monacham fabulis otiosis praeter necessariam interrogationem uacare permittat. Sed in ipso opere manuum operis Dei recordatio teneatur, [10] id est, ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur, [11] interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat. [12] Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae fabulatione delectetur, silentii poena castigetur.
>
> [[9] Above all, the abbess – if she is present – or the prioress who is left in her place, should enforce that she does not allow any nun to make time for idle conversation aside from asking what is necessary. But in manual work the remembrance of the work of God should be kept, [10] that is to say, that while on the outside the hands are occupied with works according to the opportunity of the season, [11] on the inside the mind becomes sweet through the tongue's meditation of the Psalms and the remembrance of the Scriptures. [12] For, if a violator of this rule should please [herself] in storytelling, she should be castigated by the punishment of silence.]

This passage provides, beyond just regulating manual labour, a wealth of details about life in the monastery addressed in his Rule. *Inter omnia* emphasizes, in the style of Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, the urgency of the matter of avoiding idle talk. Silence is, as we know from chapter 9, a matter of life and death and a central part of Jonas' system of enclosure. Jonas uses, again, the term *uacare*, which in the previous sentence appears in a positive sense: making time for lecture. Here it is about making time for idle conversation.[556] This would be only one of several cases in which Jonas uses important terms with a positive and with a negative connotation, emphasizing the fine line between reward and damnation.[557]

Jonas states explicitly that the *opus Dei* continues in the nuns' *mens* (mind) while their hands are busy with manual work. His main concern here is not so much work itself but the *mens*, which needs to be "sweetened" through prayer and meditation on Scripture. Also remarkable is the phrasing *meditatio linguae*: meditation through speaking.

(554) *CaesRV*, c. 28.1, p. 206.

(555) *CaesRV*, c. 46, p. 232; c. 51.2, pp. 236–238. See also Tilley, Maureen, 'Caesarius's Rule for unruly nuns: permitted and prohibited textiles in the monastery of St John', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 26:1 (2018), pp. 83–89.

(556) *Vacare* also appears at least six times in the *Vita Columbani*.

(557) *Amor*, *fructus*, and *desiderium* are also used in a negative and in a positive sense.

The next section may have originally appeared at a difference place in this chapter, because afterwards Jonas returns to the topic of the unceasing *opus Dei*. It elaborates on the specific work of penitents:

> 13 Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant. 14 Similiter ad caput sororum lauandum per singula sabbata uel balnearum usus per festas sollemnitates praeparent, 15 ut si sunt alia extrema facienda, penitentes faciant, ut dum mente humili et contrito corde haec propter timorem Domini faciunt, ab omnipotentis Dei misericordia celerius a suis delictis lauentur.
>
> [13 However, the penitents – if there are [penitents] – should make the fires in the common room in two pairs throughout the weeks. 14 Likewise they should prepare to wash the heads of the sisters each Saturday, and for each solemn feast [they should prepare] the use of the baths – 15 or, if other very mean things are to be done, the penitents should do them, so that while they do this with a humble mind and a contrite heart out of fear of the Lord, they are cleansed more quickly by the mercy of the Almighty God from their offences.]

Jonas talks here about *paenitentes*, penitent nuns, which shows that *paenitentia* is not just an act but that it could turn into a prolonged state. The fact that *paenitentes* are not necessarily present in the monastery implies, however, that not every imposed *paenitentia* turns nuns into *paenitentes* and that this disciplinary measure is limited to serious transgressions. Jonas gives three examples of dirty work the penitents should do: making fire in the *scola*, washing the nuns' hair, and preparing baths at feast days. It seems that that *scola* may be the only heated room (or, conversely, that all heated rooms are indicated as *scolae*), that the penitents work in weekly shifts as well, and that the nuns take a bath before feast days only.

The most important information, however, is hidden in the short rationale Jonas provides for his provision that penitents should do dirty work: doing this with a humble mind (*mens*), a contrite heart (*cor*), and out fear of the Lord (*timor Domini*) will lead to God's mercy (*misericordia*) cleansing the nuns' offences more quickly (*a suis delictis lauentur*). *Mens* and *cor* are key terms throughout the Rule and the primary target of monastic discipline. Jonas seems to be convinced that work (*opus*) has an impact on the *mens* rather than just *expressing* a certain *status mentis*. *Timor* is the main incitement for discipline. After all, the nuns are permanently on the brink of damnation because of their uncontrolled *mens*. To be saved, they fully depend on God's *misericordia*. As we know from chapter 6, confession is primarily an act of cleansing one's deficits (*lauare*). Jonas explains in *De accedendo ad Deum* in detail how preparing the *mens*, cleansing oneself, and inciting God's *misericordia* are dependent upon each other. Jonas, thus, concentrated some of his central ideas into this digression on penitents and the way in which performing heavy and dirty work was an act of redemption.

The next section of chapter 12 returns to the topic of *opus* and *opus Dei*.

> 16 Quando ad opera eundum est, iste capitulus psallatur: *Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos, et opera manuum nostrarum dirige super nos, et opus manuum nostrarum dirige*. (Ps. 89/90, 17, *LXX*) 17 Quando uero finitur opus, istud dicatur capitulum: *Benedicat nos Dominus Deus noster et benedicat nos Deus, et metuant eum omnes fines terrae*. (Ps. 66/67, 7–8, *LXX*)
>
> [16 When they go to work, this verse of the Psalms is to be recited: *May the splendour of the Lord God be over us, and guide above us the works of our hands, and guide the work of our hands*. (Ps. 89/90, 17

[*LXX*]) 17 But when the work is finished, this verse should be said: *May the Lord God bless us and may bless us God, and may all the ends of the earth fear him.* (Ps. 66/67, 7–8 [*LXX*])]

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not contain an *ordo psallendi*, an order of the liturgical Hours. Either Caesarius' Rule had already covered this topic or Faremoutiers followed the *ordo psallendi* laid out in chapter 7 of Columbanus' *Regula monachorum*.[558] We find in the Rule several references to Psalms to be recited outside the liturgical Hours at different moments during a largely ritualized day: at the moment of going to bed and waking up, before and after the meal, and at the beginning and end of work.[559] Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule require prayers at the beginning and the end of periods of manual work. We find them, however, in the *Regula Magistri* – another example of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* being closer to the *Regula Magistri* than to the *Regula Benedicti* in content, albeit not in wording.[560] Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* not only requires prayer at the beginning and end of work but imposes a penance of twelve lashes on those who forgot to do these prayers.[561]

The next section turns to specific tasks and mentions two functions within the monastery that do not appear in Caesarius' Rule (or in the *Regula Benedicti*), baking and brewing.

18 Pistrices uero alternatim per uices opus commune faciant, sic tamen, ut minus tribus non sint propter loquendi necessitatem. 19 Et si necesse fuerit ut ibidem maneatur, minus quattuor non sint, et una ex eis senior sit preposita, cuius religioni credatur, quae et loquendi licentiam habeat. 20 Et panem, quem faciunt per uices, senior quae ex eis est, cellarariae representet, ut omni custodia tutae in nullo reprehensibiles repperiantur. 21 Similiter et quae in bracisiatorium ad ceruisiam faciendam inhabitauerint, una ex eis senior sit preposita, quae secundum regulam pistricis omnia custodiat.

[18 But the bakers should do the common work alternating in turns, in such a way, however, that they are not less than three, because of the necessity to speak. 19 And if it is necessary that they stay there [in the bakery], they should be no less than four, and one elder among them whose piety should be trustworthy should be the prioress, who has the permission to speak. 20 And the elder among them should present the bread, which they make in turns, to the cellarer, so that they, entirely controlled by vigilance, be found reprehensible in nothing. 21 Likewise those who stay in the brewery in order to make beer, should have a senior among them as prioress, to guard everything according to the rule of the baker.]

The *pistrices* have already been mentioned in chapter 3 on the *portariae*. Under certain circumstances they may keep the key of the bakery overnight, which implies that the bakery is situated outside the enclosure.[562] Jonas repeats here (and below in the section on kitchen duties) the provision he made in the chapter on silence: no nun is allowed to communicate without a third person as witness and therefore all tasks need to be performed in groups of

(558) Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 115–120 assumes that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* expands upon Columbanus' liturgical *ordo*.

(559) *RcuiV*, c. 2.17–20; c. 6.26–30; c. 8.1–2; c. 9.8; c. 14.15; c. 20.7; c. 22.22.

(560) *Regula Magistri*, c. 50.42–52, *SC* 106, pp. 230–234. See also *Memoriale qualiter I* III, *CCM* 1, pp. 238–240.

(561) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 148, l. 2–3.

(562) *RcuiV*, c. 3.17–19.

at least three. If they have to stay in the bakery, presumably overnight, they need a reliable fourth person as supervisor who is allowed to speak without having received permission. All of this shows, again, that silence and complete surveillance are by no means trivial matters, and that the entire life of the nuns is organized around the ideal of controlling every single spoken word.

The term *praeposita* does not only refer to the prior who leads the monastery in the name of the abbess but seemingly to any senior nun of a group. Elsewhere Jonas refers to the *praeposita mensae* who keeps control over the table and, presumably, over table conversations.[563] The expression *bracisiatorium* exists exclusively in this text (just as *lanipendia* and *posticiaria* exist only in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns). It is probably an orthographic variant of *bracitorium* or *braxatorium*, which occasionally appear in later sources.[564] Jonas saw the need to explain the meaning of the *bracisiatorium*, which implies that his readership was not necessarily familiar with this term.

The final section of the chapter covers the weekly kitchen duties by summarizing the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* on the same topic (c. 35):

> 22 Cocae uero per ebdomadas cocinent, ut in unaquaque ebdomada tres uel amplius, si necesse fuerit, ad coquinandum deputentur, 23 ne inpositus sine discretione labor, unde mercedem mercari debuit, inde murmurii fructum reportet. 24 Ingredientes autem pro se orari rogent omnem coetum sororum, 25 orantes in oratione dicant: *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram*, (Ps. 123/124, 8, *LXX*) et *Adiuua nos Deus salutaris noster*. (Ps. 78/79, 9, *LXX*) 26 Exeuntes uero lauent omnium sororum pedes. 27 Et omnia uasa, quae ad necessarium usum habuerunt lauata praepositae repraesentent. 28 Similiter pro se orari rogent, et hunc uersum in oratione dicant: *Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me, et consolatus es me*. (Ps. 85/86, 17, *LXX*) 29 Propter singulas neglegentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussionibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiores repperiantur.
>
> [22 But the cooks should cook in weekly shifts, so that every week three or, if necessary, more are assigned to kitchen service, 23 lest work (*labor*) that is imposed without discretion bears the fruit of murmuring where it should earn reward. 24 But those who enter [the kitchen shift] should ask the entire group of sisters to pray for them 25 and reciting the prayer they should say: *Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth* (Ps. 78/79, 9, *LXX*), and *Help us, God, our Saviour*. (Ps. 78/79, 9, *LXX*) 26 But those who leave [the kitchen shift] should wash the feet of all sisters. 27 And they should present all vessels cleaned to the prioress, which they handled for necessary use. 28 Likewise they should ask that prayer be done for them, and they should say this verse in their prayer: *Because you, Lord, have helped me and you have comforted me*. (Ps. 85/86, 17, *LXX*) 29 For each negligence both the cook and the cellarer should be corrected with twenty-five lashes on the palm of the hand on ordinary days, lest those who care little for the smallest offences be found more prone to greater ones.]

In most other cases, Jonas' revision of the *Regula Benedicti* is longer and shows more theological depth than Benedict's text, but here Jonas just summarizes and shortens his source without adding much of his own ideas. Like Benedict, Jonas emphasizes that work should be assigned in a reasonable manner since kitchen duties, just as all other work for the com-

(563) *RcuiV*, c. 9.6; c. 11.8.
(564) See *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, col. 1561 (*bracitorium*). Another variant is *bracionarium*.

munity, are supposed to create *merces* (reward), presumably spiritual reward, which would turn into the opposite if it is carried out in discontent. Jonas follows Benedict by requiring that those entering and leaving the weekly service ask the community to pray for them – just as if they are leaving and returning to the monastery.[565] For Jonas, this may have been the case if we assume that the kitchen was situated outside of the *septa* of the monastery.

At the end of the week of kitchen service, the servers have to wash the feet of the entire community as a sign of humility or, maybe, as an act of penance. It is striking that Jonas and Benedict both seem to regard the kitchen as a dangerous space that requires a protective prayer at the beginning and a prayer thanking for protection and help at the end of each cooks' shift. Benedict uses Psalm 69/70, 2 as prayer at the beginning of the weekly duties. Jonas replaces it with Psalm 123/124, 8 and Psalm 78/79, 9, maybe because he uses *Deus in adiutorium intende* in the context of crossing the boundary between sleep and awakening.[566] Aside from assigning different Psalms, Jonas makes one substantial change: Benedict requires that the cooks present their tools to the *cellararius*; Jonas orders his nuns to present them in pristine state to the *praeposita* who stands one level higher in the hierarchy. This reflects, in line with the next chapter, the spiritual dimension of handling monastic property with care.

Jonas imposes on cooks and the *cellararia* a punishment of twenty-five lashes on the palms of the hand for every act of *neglegentia*. This is the only instance of a tariffed corporal punishment similar to those listed in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*.[567] The reason he provides is reminiscent of the beginning of the *Regula coenobialis* that requires the confession of the smallest offences because negligence in small things can lead to stumbling into greater offences.[568] It is a remarkably harsh verdict if we keep in mind that Jonas uses corporal punishment otherwise only as *ultima ratio* in the case of unwillingness to repent.[569] Benedict does not mention specific punishments for negligent cooks, but we find them in the *Regula Magistri*. Here cooks who do not serve punctually are to be excluded from meals. The *Regula Magistri* even uses in this context the strong term *excommunicatio*.[570]

It seems that Jonas' concern about *neglegentia* intersects here with the special role and responsibility of the cooks. They handle some of the most valuable property of the monastery, are in a constant situation of being tempted by gluttony, fulfil a task that has an immediate impact on the well-being of the community, and could easily burn down the monastery through carelessness.[571] Additionally, it is possible that the cooks work outside

(565) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.15, *SC* 182, p. 568. On prayer for monks on a journey, c. 64, pp. 648–652.
(566) *RcuiV*, c. 14.15. See p. 497.
(567) Cf. Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, p. 148; c. 10, pp. 158–160.
(568) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1, pp. 144–146: *Ergo nec ipsa parua a confessione sunt neglegenda peccata, quia ut scriptum est, Qui parua neglegit paulatim defluit.* (Sir. 19, 1).
(569) *RcuiV*, c. 18.5; c. 20.6–13. On corporal punishment, see Flint, 'Space and Discipline', pp. 155–158.
(570) *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.13–17, *SC* 106, p. 94.
(571) See Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 10, *SC* 260, pp. 170–172. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 25, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, pp. 420–426 describes how the monastery of Coldingham burned down through carelessness.

of the enclosure of the monastery, which would place them in a similar position of danger as the *portariae*, whose work, as we know from chapter 3, was also under special scrutiny.[572]

There are a number of provisions in Benedict's chapter that Jonas omits: Benedict emphasizes that the kitchen service has to be done by everyone except for those who are sick or have another onerous task, which may include the *cellararius*, and that those who are weak should get help (but nevertheless do their service).[573] Jonas emphasizes at several places that only those who are suitable and trustworthy are to be assigned certain tasks, which might also apply to the cooks. Another possibility is that Jonas omitted this part of the *Regula Benedicti* because Caesarius' Rule for Nuns contains a similar provision, which requires that all domestic work, including cooking, should be done by everyone, and that only the abbess and prioress are exempt from it.[574] Benedict requires that the *cellararius* keeps track of all tools assigned to cooks. Jonas replaces this by the provisions made in the next chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Lastly, Benedict prescribes that the cooks should receive their meals before the rest of the community in order to avoid discontent and allow them to serve the others.[575] It is possible that Jonas omitted this provision because the duty of serving at the table is not assigned to the cooks but to the youngest nuns at each table.[576]

All in all, chapter 12 shows how consistently Jonas applied his monastic ideals, particularly the requirement of silence and mutual control, his concern for motivation and inner attitude, and the unceasing *opus Dei* that affects every aspect of monastic life. The question to what extent manual work included the production of tradable goods or simply domestic tasks has to remain open. Narrative sources (such as the *Vita Columbani* or other hagiography written in the aftermath of Columbanus) do not give much information on this matter either. Jonas uses parts of the chapter on manual labour of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 48) but placed them in a framework that was probably different from Benedict's original intentions of organizing a community that sustained itself through manual, particularly agricultural, work. Jonas is rather interested in the spiritual dimension of manual work – which could serve as an act of penance – and on the relation between *opus* and *opus Dei*.

The Distribution of Tools (Chapter 13)

The short chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is remarkable for two reasons. On the one hand, it gives us some insights in how a community deals with the logistical challenges posed by the ideal of "holding everything in common" (Act. 4, 32); on the other hand, it shows us, again, how Jonas ingeniously integrates central aspects of his monastic ideal into his revision of the *Regula Benedicti* – even in a chapter that consists of only four sentences:

(572) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13–16.
(573) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35.1–6, *SC* 182, pp. 564–566.
(574) *CaesRV*, c. 14, *SC* 345, p. 190.
(575) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 35, *SC* 182, pp. 564–568.
(576) *RcuiV*, c. 11.5–8.

XIII. DE VTENSILIBVS VEL SVPELLECTILIBVS

[1] Vtensilia monasterii et quaeque sunt ad commune opus necessaria abbatissae cura disponantur. [2] Et tales in congregatione quaerantur quarum et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata. [3] Et ipsis cura committatur, ut cuique necessaria fuerint, oportunitate exigente tribuantur. [4] Et sic ipsa utensilia, seu quaecumque eis ab abbatissa commissa fuerint, cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent, [5] ut mercedem commissae curae recipiant et non iudicium damnationis incurrant, [6] anteponentes illud mentis oculis: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter.* (Ier. 48, 10)

[XIII. ON THE TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS

[1] The tools of the monastery and whatever is necessary for communal work should be administered under the care of the abbess. [2] And among the congregation such [sisters] should be looked for whose care of the mind is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved. [3] And the care should be entrusted to them, so that everyone is given out what is necessary, just as convenience requires. [4] And they should manage these tools or whatever is entrusted to them by the abbess with such anxious zeal of fear [5] that they receive the reward for the care entrusted [to them] and not incur the judgement of damnation, [6] holding this [word] before the eyes of their mind: *Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God.* (Ier. 48, 10)]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

Substantia monasterii in ferramentis uel uestibus seu quibuslibet rebus praeuideat abbas fratres de quorum uita et moribus securus sit, [2] et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda. [3] Ex quibus abbas breuem teneat, ut dum sibi in ipsa assignata fratres uicissim succedunt, sciat quid dat aut quid recipit. [4] Si quis autem sordide aut neglegenter res monasterii tractauerit, corripiatur; [5] si non emendauerit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat.

[The abbot should entrust monastery property – tools, clothing, and anything else – to brothers whose life and conduct he can rely on [2] and he should allocate to each of them, as he thinks best, individual articles to be cared for and returned. [3] The abbot should keep a list of items so that when brothers succeed each other in their assignments, he knows what he is giving out and what he is getting back. [4] If someone fails to keep monastery property clean or is careless with it, he should be rebuked; [5] if he does not mend his ways, he should undergo the discipline of the Rule.][577]

Chapter 13 is a logical continuation of the previous one on manual work since it addresses the distribution of the tools that are needed to perform work for the community. It is related to chapter 16 on domestic accidents and chapter 17 on individual poverty and not claiming anything for oneself, but also to various references throughout the Rule to treating objects belonging to the monastery with care.[578]

Other monastic rules indicate that the question of how to organize the individual use of collectively owned property formed a logistical and disciplinary challenge, especially for larger and economically powerful communities. There was, on the one hand, the problem of dealing with collective property negligently (because it is owned by no one individually) and, on the other hand, the danger that individual members of the community may claim

(577) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32, *SC* 298, p. 560; transl. Venarde, p. 121.
(578) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14–15; c. 3.22; c. 4.8; c. 11.5; c. 12.17.

control or even ownership of the objects they use. Everyone who ever shared a student apartment with strangers knows both problems all too well. Monastic rules show that communities dealt with these challenges in various ways. In general, monasteries assigned the task of overseeing, distributing, and recollecting objects of everyday use to specific office-holders and separated the distribution and oversight of tools from its use. This separation between distributor or overseer and user seems to have been most effective for preventing lack of care and claims of possession.

Some monastic rules assign the task of overseer and distributor of tools and other objects of everyday use to the *cellararius* (or *equonomus*),[579] the majority, however, appoints a different member of the community (or several members) to perform this task. The *Regula Pachomii* assigns it to the *praepositi domorum* (supervisors of the houses).[580] The *Regula Pauli et Stephani* prescribes that different monks have to take care of different kinds of objects,[581] calling the one responsible for tools *custos ferramentorum*.[582] The *Regula Isidori* provides the most detailed list of different tasks within the monastery which includes a *custos sacrarii* who is also responsible for books, a *uestiarius* responsible for clothing, a *ianitor* responsible for the guests, a *cellararius* responsible for storage, *ebdomadarii* who take care of cooking and the care of the sick, the flocks, and the pigs, a *hortulanus* for the garden, and a *custos* for the *instrumenta* and *ferramenta*.[583] Caesarius invents terms for two offices of overseers, the *posticiaria* who is responsible for goods entering or leaving the monastery, and the *lanipendia* responsible for textiles.[584] In his chapter on tools, Benedict assigns the abbot the task of selecting different monks to oversee and collect different kinds of objects without giving their tasks a specific name.[585] All of these rules indicate that the *custodes* (or however they were called) played an important role in the community.

Chapter 13 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is based on chapter 32 of the *Regula Benedicti*, though the overlap in wording is, compared to other chapters, scant. The content of both chapters is similar only at first sight. Both of them refer to a different set of objects: *ferramenta* and *res* (iron tools and everything else) in the case of Benedict, *utensilia* and *supellectiles* (tools and implements) in the case of Jonas. The *Regula Benedicti* specifies that *res* also includes clothing (*uestes*). The terms *ferramenta* and *utensilia* are fairly common in monastic rules;[586] *supellectiles* is rare, though it appears in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* and five times

(579) *Regula Basilii*, c. 111, *CSEL* 86, pp. 137–138; *Regula orientalis*, c. 25.1–4, *SC* 298, p. 480.
(580) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 81, ed. Boon p. 37; c. 105, p. 42.
(581) *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 24–25, ed. Vilanova, pp. 117–118.
(582) *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 35, p. 122.
(583) *Regula Isidori*, c. 8.1, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 103; c. 21, pp. 120–122.
(584) *CaesRV*, c. 28; c. 30; c. 32, *SC* 345, pp. 206–212.
(585) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 32.2, *SC* 182, p. 560: …*et eis singula, ut utile iudicauerit, consignet custodienda atque recollegenda*.
(586) *Ferramenta* appears in the *Regula Pachomii*, *Regula Basilii*, *Regula quattuor patrum*, *Regula orientalis*, *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, *Regula Magistri*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula Isidori*, *Regula Fructuosi*, and *Regula Donati. Vtensilia* in the *Regula Pachomii*, *Regula Basilii*, Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, *Regula Tarnatensis*, *Regula orientalis*, *Regula Magistri*, *CaesRV*, and *Regula Fructuosi*.

in the *Vita Columbani*.[587] I deliberately translate *supellectiles* with the vague term "implements" because it can refer to anything from household goods to furniture.[588]

Jonas' decision to omit *res* (and *uestes*) can be explained easily. He is specifically interested in the nuns responsible for handing out working tools and not just any object because handing out other objects is covered by chapter 4 on the *cellararia*.[589] Handing out clothing and shoes is addressed in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[590] Jonas may, however, not only have cared about iron tools (as valuable as they may have been)[591] but tools in general, which made him replace *ferramenta* with more general expressions: *utensilia* and *supellectiles*. But these are just details.

The main difference between Benedict's and Jonas' Rule is where both authors place their emphasis. The *Regula Benedicti* prescribes that the abbot appoints trustworthy monks to oversee, distribute, and collect different objects and that he keeps track of the lists of all property of the monastery. Jonas follows Benedict by placing the distributors under the control of the abbess but does not mention any lists she should keep, which is in line with the general idea that the abbess does not engage with the day-to-day business of the monastery. Benedict's main interest is that every monk treats the objects he receives carefully and returns them clean. Monks who fail to do so have to be reproached and, if they do not improve, punished according to the Rule. The distributors just have to ensure proper care of the objects by their users and, presumably, report acts of negligence to the abbot.

Jonas does, differently from Benedict, not address the punishment of nuns who treat the *res* of the monastery negligently or leave them soiled. This omission does not mean that he is not concerned about it. On the contrary, how the nuns deal with any object entrusted to them is addressed at various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in their specific contexts and thus well taken care of: in the chapter on the *praeposita*,[592] the chapter on the objects used for the care of guests,[593] in the chapter on the *cellararia*,[594] in the chapter on kitchen duties,[595] in the chapter on manual labour,[596] and, more generally, in the chapter on domestic accidents.[597] Caesarius addresses negligent care of objects as well.[598]

(587) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, ed. Walker, p. 164, l. 34; *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 23 (in the sense of "booty"): I, c. 23, p. 205, l. 20; p. 206, l. 1 and 7 (in the sense of "belongings"); II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 8 (tools). Otherwise, *suppellectiles* appears in *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 81, ed Boon, p. 37; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 28.1, ed. Villegas, p. 31; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed Campos/Rocca, p. 110.

(588) See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *supellex*.

(589) *RcuiV*, c. 4.8.

(590) *CaesRV*, c. 27.1–3, *SC* 345, pp. 204–206; c. 32.4, p. 212; c. 44.2, p. 228.

(591) See, for example, *VIoh*, c. 7, p. 333 on stolen sickles.

(592) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14–15.

(593) *RcuiV*, c. 3.22.

(594) *RcuiV*, c. 4.8; c. 4.17–18.

(595) *RcuiV*, c. 11.5.

(596) *RcuiV*, c. 12.17.

(597) *RcuiV*, c. 16.

(598) *CaesRV*, c. 32.4–5, *SC* 345, p. 212.

The title of the chapter, *De utensilibus uel supellectilibus*, is therefore somewhat misleading because Jonas is not so much interested in the users of tools and implements but primarily in the nuns who fulfil the task of overseeing and distributing them.[599] Jonas shares this emphasis on those who distribute rather than those who receive with the *Regula Magistri* but not with the *Regula Benedicti*.[600] This is just another instance where the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* stands closer to the *Regula Magistri* while using words from the *Regula Benedicti*.

One of the key words of chapter 13 is *cura* (care), both the *cura* of the abbess and the *cura* of the distributors. Another one is *sollicitudo*/*sollicitus* (care/anxious). It seems that Jonas just uses the issue of distribution of tools as an example for explaining the absolute necessity to perform one's assigned tasks with utmost zeal and care. The chapter turns into a case study on *cura* and *negligentia* – two topics addressed throughout the Rule.

Like in the previous chapters on officeholders, Jonas provides a detailed description of the necessary qualifications of those responsible for the distribution of tools. Only nuns whose "care of the mind is strong and whose steadfastness of conscience is proved" (*quarum et sollicitudo animi uigeat et conscientiae firmitas sit probata*) should fulfil this task. They need to care for the goods under their responsibility "with anxious zeal of fear" (*cum sollicito timoris studio*). Whether they do their work well is a matter of reward (*merces*) or the judgement of damnation (*iudicium damnationis*). Using the drastic biblical verse Ier. 48, 10: *Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter* (Accursed is he who negligently does the work of God). Jonas reminds the nuns to "hold… before the eyes of their mind" (*anteponentes illud mentis oculis*) that performing this task negligently may be fatal. What Benedict considers a matter of discipline is for Jonas a matter of life and death. He returns to this idea later when he explains how *every* nun should deal with monastic property *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina* (as if she is a guardian of someone else's property but not as the mistress of her own property).[601]

Jonas operates, again, with the dichotomy of *merces* and *damnum*,[602] contrasts *sollicitudo* and *neglegentia*,[603] and requires that the nuns have to act under constant *timor* of failure.[604] He emphasizes that this task is also a part of the *opus Dei* which goes beyond liturgical duties and encompasses the whole of monastic life.[605] Chapter 13 applies the essence of the Rule consistently to one specific task in the monastery. One could compare the different chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam* to cells in a body that fulfil different functions but share the same DNA.

(599) On chapter 32 and its parallels in early monastic traditions, see Puzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 308–310.
(600) *Regula Magistri*, c. 17, *SC* 106, pp. 84–88.
(601) *RcuiV*, c. 17.5–6.
(602) *RcuiV*, c. 1.18; c. 2.16; c. 2.21; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 9.4; c. 9.19; c. 14.4; c. 16.9.
(603) *RcuiV*, c. 1.13–14.
(604) *RcuiV*, c. 4.14–15; c. 8.5; c. 8.7; c. 12.15; c. 12.17; c. 20.7; c. 21.1; c. 24.5; c. 24.9.
(605) *RcuiV*, c. 1.4–6; c. 2.15–16; c. 3.5; c. 9.t; c. 12.9.

Sleep (Chapter 14)[606]

For Jonas, sleep is not the brother of death. The dying nuns of Faremoutiers do not "fall asleep" (*requiescere*) at the end of their lives. Jonas neither uses death metaphors when talking about sleep, nor sleep metaphors when talking about death. If there is one thing his nuns cannot expect on the other side, it is *quies* – as we already know. Heaven and hell are noisy and busy. The absence of *quies*, however, may be one of the few things sleep and death share in Jonas' thinking.

The imperative of being *semper parata* (always prepared), the idea that the *opus Dei* should never end, and the objective that his nuns need to be *sub custodia* (under surveillance) at any moment, implies that sleep is the most serious challenge to Jonas' disciplinary system. It is the moment when the nuns are neither alert nor under surveillance. Of the many flaws that may hinder the nuns' pursuit of salvation, sleep is therefore probably the most serious one. Neither their own body nor the community has any power over a mind (*mens*) that is completely out of control while the nuns' limbs are paralyzed by sleep.[607]

Like many of his other concepts, Jonas' notion of sleep engages with various existing ideas but is nevertheless new and distinct from those in the sources he used. To grasp Jonas' ingenuity, it is necessary to place him in a broader context of late antique and early medieval sleep theories. Sleep is, unlike dreams,[608] a relatively unexplored terrain, aside from the recent work of Leslie Dossey, which elaborates on previous studies of Heinrich Bacht, Charles Metteer, and Jean Verdon.[609]

(606) I would like to thank Isabel Moreira and Karina von Tippelskirch for their feedback on this specific chapter.

(607) On the experience of sleep paralysis in medieval texts, see Gordon, Stephen, 'Medical Condition, Demon or Undead Corpse? Sleep Paralysis and the Nightmare in Medieval Europe', in: *Social History of Medicine* 28:3 (2015), pp. 425–444. The idea that the soul (*anima*) remains active while the body is asleep is expressed, for example, in Tertullian, *De anima*, c. 43, ed. Jan Hendrik Waszink, *CCSL* 2, Turnhout: Brepols 1954, p. 846: *Superest, si forte, cum stoicis resolutionem sensualis uigoris somnum determinemus, quia corporis solius quietem procuret, non et animae. Animam enim ut semper mobilem et semper exercitam numquam succidere quieti, alienae scilicet astatu immortalitatis; nihil enim immortale finem operis sui admittit, somnus autem finis est operis*; c. 45, p. 849: *Tenemur hic de somniis quoque christianam sententiam expromere, ut de accidentibus somni et non modicis iactationibus animae, quam ediximus negotiosam et exercitam semper ex perpetuitate motationis, quod diuinitatis et immortalitatis est ratio. Igitur cum quies corporibus euenit, quorum solacium proprium est, uacans illa a solacio alieno non quiescit et, si caret opera membrorum corporalium, suis utitur.*

(608) On dreams, see, for example, Cox Miller, Patricia, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1994; Keskiaho, Jesse, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400–900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015; id., 'The handling and interpretation of dreams and visions in late sixth-to eighth-century Gallic and Anglo-Latin hagiography and histories', in: *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005), pp. 227–248; Kruger, Steven F., *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992; Moreira, Isabel, *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2000.

(609) Bacht, Heinrich, 'Agrypnia. Die Motive des Schlafentzugs im frühen Mönchtum', in: Günther Pflug, Brita Eckert, and Heinz Friesenhahn (eds.), *Bibliothek, Buch, Geschichte: Kurt Köster zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann 1977, pp. 353–369; Dossey, Leslie, 'Watchful Greeks and Lazy Romans: Disciplining Sleep in Late Antiquity', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 21:2 (2013), pp. 209–239, at pp. 222–226; Metteer, Charles J., 'Distraction or spiritual discipline: the role of sleep in early Egyptian monasticism', in: *St Vladimir's*

Fasting, prayer, and vigils form the classical triad of ascetic life. Various hagiographic narratives praise monks and nuns for performing these forms of asceticism excessively and to a superhuman level. Protracted sleep deprivation or deliberately uncomfortable and painful sleeping arrangements are recurring themes in early monastic hagiographic texts.[610] Sleep deprivation is usually described as an ascetic achievement of overcoming the weakness of the body, as an opportunity to increase the time dedicated to meditation and prayer, or as a protective measure against demons who could seize control of a person through dreams and visions.

One important aspect of regulating coenobitic life consists of domesticizing excessive forms of ascetic practice. A community may admire their founding saints who lived in a remote past for their awe inspiring ascetic achievements, but living a proper monastic life does by no means require emulation of them by performing acts no normal human being would be able to achieve.[611] On the contrary, competitive asceticism had, as we can infer from various monastic rules, the potential to disrupt a community.[612] Monastic rules usually require that everyone follows the same standards, and overachieving needed the permission of a superior. Fasting, thus, turns from self-starvation into regularized eating in moderation, keeping Lent, and abstaining from food and drink outside of the designated mealtimes. Unceasing prayer turns into observing the Hours, regulated by various forms of liturgical discipline, punctuality, and mental presence. It requires an astute awareness that the *opus Dei* remains at the centre of monastic life.[613] Sleep deprivation turns into going to

Theological Quarterly 52:1 (2008), pp. 5–43; Verdon, Jean, *Night in the Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2002, pp. 208–212; id., 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire/Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 72:4 (1994), pp. 749–759. See also Brakke, David, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2006, pp. 86–87; Schulenburg, Jane Tibbets, *Forgetful of their Sex*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1998, pp. 387–389, and, as a fascinating attempt to write a pre-modern history of the night, Ekirch, Roger A., *At Day's Close. Night in Times Past*, New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company 2006.

(610) On sleep deprivation, see, for example, Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 4.1, *SC* 400, p. 140; c. 7.6, pp. 150–152; c. 30.2, p. 218; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 2.3 (Dorotheus), ed. Wellhausen, p. 497; c. 18.4, p. 537 (Macharius of Alexandria); c. 19.11, p. 555 (Moses the Robber), c. 32.4, p. 592 (Pachomius); Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*, c. 12; transl. David N. Bell, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1983, pp. 45–46; *Vita Pachomii* (Bohairic version), c. 190, transl. Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, pp. 232–233; *Vita Pachomii* (first Greek version), c. 14, pp. 306–307; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, prologue, *SC* 90, p. 126; c. 32, p. 188; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 64–65, *SC* 142, pp. 310–312; c. 127, p. 376; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 22, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 372; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 8–9, pp. 383–384; *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 87–88, ed. Boon, pp. 38–39; Cassian, *Collationes* XII, c. 15.2, *SC* 54, p. 144. Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 249–250 provides more source references.

(611) See also Diem, 'Monks, kings'. The transformation from the individual radical asceticism of a monastic founder to a moderate monastic discipline of his followers and the community established around him, is a theme addressed in the *Vita Columbani* but also in numerous other hagiographic texts, for example, the *Lives* of Antony, Pachomius, Martin, the Jura Fathers, Benedict, Caesarius, Radegund, or Benedict of Aniane.

(612) See, for example, Cassian, *Collationes* II, c. 16–17, *SC* 42, pp. 131–132; IV, c. 20, pp. 185–186; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 15, ed. Walker, p. 166, l. 23–24. On the transformation of radical asceticism, see also Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 40–45.

(613) See, for example, Cassian, *Institutiones* II, *SC* 109, pp. 56–88; Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline', pp. 31–33.

bed at the same time, rising for nightly prayer in a disciplined manner, and beginning the day together. The *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* explicitly discourage sleep deprivation as an ascetic practice. Both rules allow afternoon naps; the *Regula Magistri* warns, in line with ancient medical theories on the digestive role of sleep, against the bodily effects of having to get up before one's meals are fully digested.[614]

This process of "domesticating" radical asceticism and redefining fasting, vigils, and ceaseless prayer includes turning acts that might undercut ascetic ambitions and could be considered a defeat and a concession to human weakness into activities essential to constituting a community. The shared meal becomes one of the most important and highly ritualized communal activities.[615] The unceasing individual dialogue with God and the perpetual weeping about Christ's passion and one's own sinfulness is now confined to specific moments of the day and becomes the unified, collective praise of God performed by the entire community, which, as an act of intercession, turns into the *raison d'être* for monastic life. Sleeping becomes, next to eating and praying, the third moment in which all monks or nuns come together and constitute themselves as community.[616] At meals, in the choir, and in the dormitory everyone holds his or her fixed place.[617]

One of the silent but fundamental turning points in the history of coenobitical monasticism was the introduction of the dormitory, the shared dwelling where all members of the community were supposed to sleep – usually in single, private beds, under surveillance, and with a candle burning all night.[618] There are three Latin sources that describe the introduction of the dormitory as a deliberate act of reform. The *Vita patrum Iurensium* tells how Eugendus, the third abbot of the Jura monasteries, took a fire in the monastery of Condat as an opportunity to abandon the practice of the "eastern archimandrites" by turning the

(614) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 48.5, *SC* 182, p. 600; *Regula Magistri*, c. 33.19–24, *SC* 106, p. 180; c. 50.56–61, p. 234. On afternoon naps, see also *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 11, ed. Vilanova, p. 112. Athanasius criticizes excessive sleep deprivation. See Athanasius, *On Sickness and Health*, c. 6, transl. David Brakke, *Athanasius and Asceticism*, Baltimore, MD/London: Johns Hopkins University Press 1995, p. 312; see also *ibid*., p. 90. Cassian also criticizes excessive sleep deprivation in *Institutiones* III, c. 4–8, *SC* 109, pp. 102–112; *Collationes* II, c. 16–17, *SC* 42, pp. 131–132. On sleep and digestion, see Gordon, 'Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?', p. 429. See also Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', pp. 232–233.

(615) See, for example, *RcuiV*, c. 8.16–19.

(616) See, for example, *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 46, *SC* 142, p. 290: *Et oratione cum reliqua sollemnitate percepta, uescuntur simul, una meanent pariterque consurgunt…*

(617) For example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.7, *SC* 182, pp. 540–542; *Regula Magistri*, c. 29.2–3, *SC* 106, p. 160. Other examples include *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 46, *SC* 142, p. 290; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 6, *SC* 536, pp. 154–156.

(618) On the dormitory, see de Vogüé, Adalbert, '"Comment les moines dormiront". Commentaire d'un chapitre de la Règle de saint Benoît', in: *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 25–62; de Vogüé, Adalbert, *La Règle de saint Benoît*, vol. 5, *SC* 185, pp. 664–697; Diem, Albrecht, 'Organisierte Keuschheit. Sexualprävention im Mönchtum der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters', in: *Invertito. Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 3 (2001), pp. 8–37, at pp. 13–15; Bauer, Nancy, 'Monasticism After Dark: from Dormitory to Cell', in: *American Benedictine Review* 38:1 (1987), pp. 95–114; Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', pp. 755–756; id., *Night in the Middle Ages*, pp. 146–150; Wade, Susan, 'Spiritual Motherhood and Monastic *Familia*: Defining the Boundaries between Blood Kin and Monastic *Familia* in the Early to Central Middle Ages', in: Robert G. Sullivan and Meriam Pagès (eds.), *Imagining the Self, Constructing the Past: Selected Proceedings from the 36th Annual Medieval and Renaissance Forum*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2016, pp. 6–21; Lauwers, 'Constructing Monastic Space', pp. 322–324.

monastery into a single architectural unit with a common dormitory instead of private cells.[619] This must have happened around the turn of the sixth century. The requirement to establish dormitories as measure to protect the reputation and chastity of monks appears no fewer than three times in Justinian's *Nouellae* (in 535, 539, and 546).[620] In the year 567 a regional council at Tours decided, among a number of other provisions for improving the moral standards of monks, nuns, clerics, and laypeople, that monasteries have to build dormitories in which all monks sleep in their own beds. The acts of this council do not leave much doubt that this was a measure to prevent sexual transgressions:

> And to prevent any chance that rumor damages honesty, which might happen because there are some lay people who are committing many sorts of adultery and conclude that what they know about themselves, other people would commit as well, (…) just to knock the bottom out of such assumptions, no priest or monk may share his bed with another person. And it is forbidden for monks to share a cell with another monk, where they could deposit property. All monks have to build at common expense a *scola* where everybody sleeps in the presence of the abbot or prior. Two or three monks have to stay awake and read alternately, to ensure not only custody of the bodies but also by their assiduous lecture a continuous improvement of the souls.[621]

Demonstrative chastity may, however, not have been the only reason for introducing dormitories. Charles Metteer developed in his study on sleep deprivation the thought-provoking thesis that one of the reasons for suppressing sleep in early monasticism was the idea that sleep is essentially an anti-social activity that withdraws the individual monk from the community.[622] Making sleep a common activity that brings the entire community together in one room resolves this problem and contributes to making sleep deprivation obsolete – at least in this regard.

It is likely that the introduction of the dormitory also formed part of a broader development towards organizing the monastery as an architectural unit with clear boundaries and no private spaces, replacing older settings: monastic villages, cities, or inhabited islands that consisted of communal buildings and more or less private cells.[623] None of the fourth-

(619) *Vita Patrum Iurensium*, c. 170, *SC* 142, p. 422: *Iste etiam, refutato archimandritarum orientalium instari, utilius omnes uniuit in medium. Distructis namque mansionum aediculis, uno cunctos secum xenodochio quiescere fecit, ut quos causa unitae refectionis una claudebat aedicula, discretis quoque lectulis una ambiret et mansio; cui tamen lumen olei, sicut in oratorio, indeficiens noctibus praebebatur.*

(620) Justinian, *Nouella* 5.3 (535); ed. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin: Weidmann 1895, pp. 31–32; *Nouella* 123.36 (539), p. 619; *Nouella* 133.1 (546), pp. 667–668.

(621) Council of Tours (567), c. 15, *CCSL* 148A, p. 181: *Et ne occasio famam laceret honestatis, quia aliqui laici, dum diuersa perpetrant adulteria, hoc quod de se sciunt, in aliis suspicantur, sicut ait Senica: Pessimum in eum uitium esse, qui in id, quod insanit, ceteros putat furere, ut et ipsis putantibus aut certe estimantibus locus amputetur, nullus sacerdotum ac monachorum colligere alium in lecto suo praesumat nec liceat monachis cellas habere communis, ubi aut bini maneant aut peculiarea reponi possint, sed scola laborem communi construatur, ubi omnes iaceant aut abbate aut praeposito inminentem, ut, dum duo uel tres uicissim et legunt et excubant, alii consolentur, ut non solum sit custodia corporum, sed et surgat pro lectione assidua profectus animarum.*

(622) Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline', pp. 36–40.

(623) Evidence for monks living in cells, for example: Jerome, *Ep.* 22, c. 34, *CSEL* 54, p. 197; *Regula Pachomii*, c. 88–89, ed. Boon, p. 39, c. 112, p. 43; *Regula orientalis*, c. 7–8, *SC* 298, pp. 466–468; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 12.3, *SC* 109, p. 80; c. 15.1, p. 84; IV, c. 16.2, p. 142; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 13.1,

and fifth-century monastic rules refers to common sleeping rooms. The move towards the monastic dormitory runs against a general development towards private sleeping places in Roman villas, which Dossey interprets as a symptom of an increasing desire for privacy.[624]

The assumption that the dormitory was an innovation is underlined by the fact that there was, certainly until the eighth century, no standard expression to describe shared sleeping quarters. The expression *dormitorium* appears for the first time in the *Regula Ferrioli* which was written around the middle of the sixth century, but it rarely shows up elsewhere (though Jonas uses it).[625] Other sources use various terms, some of which are just generic expression for common rooms, others usually refer to various types of rooms: *atrium*, *cella*, *cellula*, *domus*, *locus*, *mansio*, *mansorium*, *scola/schola*, *triclinium*, *xenodochium*.

The first monastic rule that explicitly required a common dormitory is Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[626] All nuns have to sleep in their own bed in a shared sleeping room (*cellula*, *scola*). A nun is a full member of the community when she is allowed to sleep in the common dormitory.[627] Later, we find references to sleeping rooms and single beds in Caesarius' Rule for Monks, in Aurelianus' Rules, the *Regula Ferrioli*, the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Donati*, and most of the Visigothic rules.[628] Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*, however,

ed. Wellhausen, p. 521 (Apollonius); c. 32.3, p. 592; c. 32.11, p. 595 (Pachomius); c. 43.4, p. 637 (Adolius); Dionysius Exiguus, *Vita Pachomii*, c. 22, ed. Cranenburgh, p. 126; Honoratus, *Vita Hilarii*, c. 15, *PL* 50, col. 1236. See also de Vogüé, *SC* 185, pp. 664–697; id., 'Comment les moines dormiront', pp. 39–46; Goodrich, Richard J., *Contextualizing Cassian. Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth-Century Gaul*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007, p. 95.

(624) Dossey, Leslie, 'Sleeping arrangements and private space: a cultural approach to subdivision of late antique homes', in: David Brakke, Deborah Deliyannis, and Edward Watts (eds.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Farnham: Ashgate 2012, pp. 181–197, at pp. 186–193. On sleeping arrangements, see also Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', pp. 753–754.

(625) *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 33.9, ed. Desprez, p. 142. Jonas uses it once in *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 5 and in *RcuiV*, c. 16.2. The only other monastic rule that uses *dormitorium* is *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 139. Chrodegang of Metz uses *dormitorium* in his *Regula canonicorum*, c. 3, ed. Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2005, pp. 30–31. Later we find it regularly in monastic texts.

(626) *CaesRV*, c. 9.1–2, *SC* 345, pp. 186–188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem, nec habebit cubiculum uel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiarius claudi possit; sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula.* $_2$ *Quae uero senes sunt et infirmae, ita illis conuenit obtemperari uel ordinari, ut non singulae singulas cellas habeant, sed in una recipiantur omnes, ubi et maneant*. See also c. 51.1, p. 236.

(627) *CaesRV*, c. 4.3–4, *SC* 345, p. 182: *De ipso tamen habitu mutando uel lecto in scola habendo, sit in potestate prioris,* $_4$ *et quomodo personam uel conpunctionem uiderit, ita uel celerius uel tardius studeat temperare.*

(628) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 3, *SC* 398, p. 206: *Cellam peculiarem aut armoriolum uel quamlibet clausuram nullus habeat; in una scola omnes maneant*; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 8, ed. Schmidt, p. 243: *Nulli liceat cellam aut armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi quod peculiarius claudi possit, habere.* c. 33, p. 250: *Omnes diuisis maneant lectulis*. c. 35, p. 250: *Hoc specialius coram Deo monemus custodiri, ut nulli liceat cum alio secretius loqui aut sedere, praecipue uespertinis et nocturnis horis.* $_2$ *Si secrete inuenti fuerint, tamquam si crimen admiserint, seuerissime distringantur,* $_3$ *absque ills qui probati sunt aetate et sanctitate.* See also Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 6, *PL* 68, col. 401A. Chapters 33 and 35 of Aurelianus' Rule for Monks do not appear in the female version; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 16.1, ed. Desprez, p. 133: *Cellam singularem, praeter abbatem, neque ad manendum, neque ad alium quemcumque usum, ulli habere liceat monachum*. c. 32.1–2/8–9, pp. 141–142: *Vt duo, quamlibet proximi uel amici, propter secretam orationem, quae melius ad Deum nullo teste dirigitur, ut animo et uno lectulo non teneantur;* $_2$ *ut maiorem licentiam orandi credit sibi mens conpuncta concessam, dum neminem uigiliae suae aut testem pertimescit, aut iudicem.* (…) $_8$ *Hoc ergo ut deuotus quisque uacatione concessa utilius possit implere, strati sui, ut supra diximus, erit solus ipse possessor,* $_9$ *habens secum meliori commutation pro dormitorio fratrem Dominum uigilantem*. *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109/121, *SC* 106, pp. 30–32: *Singulos praecipimus non binos per lectum*

still states that two monks share a cell and refers to various separate buildings within the monastery, which makes it likely that Columbanus' first foundations distinguished themselves from most continental monasteries by their spatial organization, their use of cells, and the absence of a dormitory.[629] There are no references to common sleeping rooms in later Irish monastic rules either. We can therefore cautiously assume that Columbanus organized his first communities according to models he found in Ireland.[630]

Jonas of Bobbio, however, recounts that Athala rebuilt the monastery of Bobbio towards the end of his tenure, making the *septa monasterii* "more dense", renewing the roofs, and "strengthening everything".[631] It is possible that this act of rebuilding and "bringing everyone under one roof" in a more dense spatial setting was based on similar intentions as Eugendus' rebuilding of Condat and also included building shared sleeping quarters. The dormitory may even have belonged to the contentious elements of reform and adjustment to local practice that took place in the generations after Columbanus' death. A generation after Jonas, Wandregisel visited Bobbio with the purpose of inspecting its dwellings (*habitaciones*), possibly in order to imitate them in his own foundation of Fontenelle.[632]

Jonas makes clear, however, that Faremoutiers had a dormitory. When two nuns tried to escape from the monastery, a sudden flash lit up the *dormitorium* or *domus* and awakened all the nuns.[633] In his Rule, Jonas uses both *dormitorium* and *scola*, a term which he may have picked up from Caesarius. It is not clear whether he considered *scola* a technical term for dormitory or just a generic term for a shared room. According to the chapter on con-

dormire. (…) *Lectis eorum lectos habeant praepositi prope propter aliquam, ut diximus, uitiorum culpam in eis emendandam et ut reuerentius praesente maiore dormiant*. c. 29.1–6, *SC* 106, pp. 160–162: *Aestiuo tempore, dicta sexta, aut in ieiunio aut post refectionem omnes repausent, ut noctibus ipsis breuibus sobrii a somno fratres diuino operi et orationi leues consurgant.* 2*Nam in uno atrio uelut triclinio lecta in ordine circuitu ordinentur.* 3*In quo circuitu lectum abbas in medio habeat,* 4*ut omnium taciturnitatem uel reuerentiam in circuitu considerans, omnium ouium suarum gregem intra unum ouile collectum quasi diligens uel sollicitus pastor adtendat.* 5*In quo atrio pendeat cicendelus, qui cottidie a cellarario factus ab eudomadariis ad seram ante completorios incendatur, ut uideant diuersi quomodo se collocent.* 6*Qui postquam se omnes percollocauerint, a supradictis tutetur, si forte indigentia olei in monasterio sentiatur*; *Regula Donati*, c. 11, *CSEL* 98, p. 153; c. 65, pp. 179–180; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 110; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, p. 155. The *Regula Tarnatensis* is the only sixth-century monastic rule that is not clear on this matter. It both prohibits monks from having their own dwellings and prohibits monks from entering their fellow monk's cells without permission (which implies that they had cells). See *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18 (based on *CaesRV*, c. 9, *SC* 345, pp. 186–188); c. 7.4–5, p. 24 (based on *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 89, ed. Boon, p. 39).

(629) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 146–148, l. 30–1: *Qui egrediens domum ad orationem poscendam non se humiliauerit et post acceptam benedictionem non se signauerit, crucem non adierit, XII percussionibus emendare statuitur*; c. 15, p. 166, l. 16–17: *Si cum ilio qui cellae suae cohabitator non est confabulari quantulumcumque praesumpserit, superpositione*. Another reference to a private cell can be found in the *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 12, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 18. In this case, however, the author may be referring to a cell for guests.

(630) Ó Maidín, Uinseann, *The Celtic Monk. Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications 1996. References to cells: *Rule of Ailbe*, c. 26; c. 49, ed. O Neill, p. 100 and p. 106, transl. Ó Maidín, p. 23 and p. 27; *Rule of Carthage*, *The Order of Meals*, c. 27, transl. ed./transl. Eclaise, pp. 514–515; transl. Ó Maidín, p. 72.

(631) *VCol* II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 5–6: *Septa monastirii densat, tegumenta renouat, omnia roborat, ut, si abeat, nihil inbecille dimittat*.

(632) *Vita Wandregiseli prima*, c. 9, *MGH SRM* 5, pp. 17–18. On Wandregisel's visit to Bobbio: O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, p. 240.

(633) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272.

fession, the nuns gather in the *scola* after the Second Hour in order to give confession.[634] Moreover, the *scola* seems to have been a place (maybe the only place) that was heated.[635] Either the nuns did return to their dormitory after the Second Hour or any common room could be called a *scola* and the dormitory was just the *scola* dedicated to sleeping.

Chapter 14 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is titled "How (*qualiter*) the nuns should sleep in the (or: in a) *scola*". The expression *qualiter* is important: Jonas does not impose *that* the nuns have to sleep in a shared room, which is a given, if we assume that Caesarius' Rule for Nuns was already present; he explains *how* they should do so. His provision deviates from most other monastic rules: instead of requiring that all members of the community sleep in their own, single beds, as other monastic rules explicitly do, Jonas prescribes that two nuns share one bed. This is also one of the few points where Jonas clearly disagrees with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, and it is probably not by accident that we hear his own voice here: *Proinde ergo decernimus* (therefore *we* decide; later in the chapter he uses *censemus*: *we* determine).[636] Outside of monasteries, shared beds were more common than private beds.[637] The *Regula Magistri* and the rules of Isidore and Fructuosus require that only one monk – *and not two monks* – sleep in a bed,[638] which implies that there were monasteries that did not require single beds.

A dangerously simple interpretation of Jonas' shared beds rule would be that he considered his community of nuns less prone to committing sexual transgressions than communities of monks. Such a reading could be supported by the fact that the Rule of Aurelianus of Arles contains the prohibition against sharing beds only in its version for monks, but omits it in its female version.[639] However, not only Aurelianus' Rule for Nuns but also the *Regula Tarnatensis*, a rule for monks that is also based on Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, omits the requirement that all monks sleep in their own bed.[640] Donatus, on the other hand, requires single beds for his nuns.[641] Gender may thus not have been the decisive criterium for requiring or prohibiting shared beds.

Several monastic rules leave no doubt that single beds, safe distances between beds and individuals, and prohibitions against communicating at night were at least partly motivated by concerns about the reputation of the community, about sexual transgressions, or about

(634) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23: *Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio.*

(635) *RcuiV*, c. 12.13: *Focos uero in scola paenitentes, si fuerint, binae et bine per ebdomadas faciant.*

(636) See pp. 172–174.

(637) Dossey, 'Sleeping arrangements', pp. 184–185.

(638) *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109, *SC* 106, p. 30: *Singulos praecipimus, non binos per lectum dormire*; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Capos/Rocca, p. 111: *Duobus in uno lecto iacere non liceat*; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, p. 155: *Duo in uno lecto non iaceant.*

(639) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 33, ed. Schmidt, p. 250: *Omnes diuisis maneant lectulis*, omitted in his *Regula ad uirgines*. Another potential reference to the danger of same-sex activities in c. 35, p. 250 is also omitted in the female version of Aurelianus' Rule.

(640) Compare *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18 to *CaesRV*, c. 9, *SC* 345, pp. 186–188.

(641) *Regula Donati*, c. 65, *CSEL* 98, pp. 179–180.

various acts that may include sexual transgressions.[642] The bed is a dangerous place, and the anxiety about beds as places of potential impurity manifests itself in hagiographic texts that describe the bed – of the saint – as a special place of power.[643]

The *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show that anxiety about same-sex desire existed in female communities as well.[644] But sexual desire was by no means the only issue related to sleeping arrangements. Another issue – maybe just as serious – was that the bed remained the only truly private space in the monastery, which also served as the place where monks or nuns stored objects for their personal use and, potentially, hid illicit objects or food. Various monastic rules address this problem.[645]

The requirement to share a bed as we find it in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* could have been motivated by the dangers of abusing the bed as a hiding place. Sharing a bed means making it much less of a private space, ensuring mutual control and, possibly, taking away the luxury of sleeping alone (if this was indeed considered a luxury). For that reason, Jonas may have weighed the potential dangers of sharing a bed against the potential advantages of de-privatizing the bed. Chapter 14 is devoted to keeping these potential dangers under control.

(642) *Regula Pachomii*, c. 95, ed. Boon, p. 40; *Regula orientalis*, c. 44, *SC* 298, p. 494; *Vita Pacomii*, 153–154, ed. Diem/Müller, p. 269; *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.118–121, *SC* 106, pp. 30–32; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 35, p. 250; *Regula Isidori*, c. 17, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 116; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, pp. 155–156. The *Regula Ferrioli* explains that monks who share a bed might disturb each other in their prayer: *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 33, ed. Desprez, pp. 141–142. See also Diem, 'Organisierte Keuschheit', pp. 9–15.

(643) Power of the bed, for example: *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 78, *SC* 142, p. 324: healing miracle; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 30, *SC* 536, p. 186, I, c. 50, p. 218: punishing miracles for abusing the bed Caesarius slept in; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, c. 84, *MGH SRM* 1.2, p. 352: healing miracle; Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus Martini* III, c. 42, pp. 192–193: a monk burns a defiled bed after a warning vision; *Vita Eligii* II, c. 76, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 738: a man punished for having sex in a monk's bed; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 25, ed. Colgrave/Minors, p. 425: beds as place of sin. See also Keskiaho, *Dreams and visions*, p. 235; Van Dam, Raymond, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press 1985, p. 192. Wade, 'Spiritual Motherhood', discusses the function of the bed in shaping secular and spiritual forms of kinship.

(644) *Regula Donati*, c. 32, *CSEL* 98, p. 163 (on *iuuenculae* not being allowed to speak to each other at certain times, not holding hands, and on keeping physical distance between nuns): *Prohibetur, ne pro dilectione aliqua nulla alterius teneat manum, siue steterit siue ambulauerit siue sederit.* 2 *Quod si fecerit, duodecim percussionibus emendetur.* 3 *Iuuenculae quibus inponitur terminus, ut non se appellent inuicem, si transgressae fuerint, quadraginta percussionibus paeniteant*. This is the only passage of the Rule where the author uses a section from *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 95, ed. Boon, p. 40, which addresses the prevention of same-sex sexuality. On friendship and sexual desire among women, see Sautman, Francesca Canadé and Pamela Sheingorn (eds.), *Same Sex Love and Desire Among Women in the Middle Ages*, New York: Palgrave 2001, pp. 85–99; Schulenburg, *Forgetful of their sex*, pp. 348–363; Wilfong, Terry G., 'Friendship and Physical Desire. The Discourse of Female Homoeroticism in Fifth-Century CE Egypt', in: Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Lisa Auanger (eds.), *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, Austin: University of Texas Press 2002, pp. 304–329.

(645) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 88, ed. Boon, p. 39; *Regula orientalis*, c. 7, *SC* 298, p. 466; *CaesRV*, c. 30.2, *SC* 345, p. 208; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 22, *SC* 398, p. 220; Aurelianus of Arles, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 7.1, ed. Schmidt, p. 242; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 5, *PL* 68, col. 401A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 2.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Isidori*, c. 13, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 2, p. 139; c. 16, p. 156.

Jonas' Sleep Anxiety

For Jonas, the most perilous aspect of sleeping arrangements is not the potential abuse of darkness, physical proximity, or uncontrolled communication. It is sleep itself – and here Jonas distinguishes himself from Benedict, Caesarius, Columbanus, the *Regula Magistri*, and almost all the other monastic rules in which sleeping arrangements are a matter of organization and of prevention of forbidden acts that could be committed in bed while being awake. In the light of what nuns could commit while being asleep the pragmatic question of whether they have to sleep alone or share their beds with a fellow sister becomes rather trivial. Sleep could, as Jonas mentions once, give access to demons – an idea we find only in a handful of other monastic rules and in Cassian's *Institutiones*.[646]

The problem of demonic intervention is usually discussed in the context of erotic dreams and nocturnal emissions. Various monastic texts discuss how to assess whether nocturnal pollutions were the result of sinful thoughts and dreams or of overindulgence in food, or just natural occurrences and healthy reminders of human imperfection. Depending on the reasons behind a nocturnal pollution, which should be brought to light through introspection and confession to a superior, a monk could face anything from a temporary exclusion from prayer (as a concession to the imperatives of ritual purity) to excommunication.[647] In contrast to Columbanus, who briefly addresses nocturnal pollutions in his *Regula coenobialis*,[648] Jonas does not explicitly deal with this theme, though it may have been in the back of his mind. The fact that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was written for a community of women is not necessarily a reason for not mentioning nocturnal pollutions. Donatus and the female *Regula Columbani* assume that they could happen to women as well.[649]

One important question in ancient medical, philosophical, and theological theories of sleep was whether sleep puts both body and mind to rest or whether the mind, the

(646) *RcuiV*, c. 8.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio. Liber Orsiesii*, c. 6, ed. Boon, pp. 111–112; Euagrius Ponticus, *Praktikos*, c. 54–56, *SC* 170, pp. 624–632; Cassian, *Institutiones* II, c. 13, *SC* 109, p. 82; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 16, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 156. See also Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 50, *SC* 265, pp. 172–176. Bacht, 'Agrypnia', pp. 363–364 and Brakke, *Demons*, pp. 86–87 provide more source references. On Cassian's regulations on sleep, see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 248–252.

(647) The most extensive discussion on nocturnal pollutions can be found in Cassian, *Collatio* XXII, *SC* 64, pp. 114–135. Studies on nocturnal emissions include Brakke, David, 'The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt, and Gaul', in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995), pp. 419–460; Elliott, Dyan, 'Pollution, illusion, and masculine disarray: nocturnal emissions and the sexuality of the clergy', in: Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schulz (eds.), *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 1997, pp. 1–23; Leyser, 'Masculinity in Flux'; Murray, Jacqueline, 'Men's Bodies, Men's Minds: Seminal Emissions and Sexual Anxiety in the Middle Ages', in: *Annual Review of Sex Research* 8 (1997), pp. 1–26. For references to nocturnal emissions in penitentials, see Moreira, Isabelle, 'Dreams and Divination in Early Medieval Canonical and Narrative Sources: The Question of Clerical Control', in: *The Catholic Historical Review* 89 (2003), pp. 621–642, at p. 629, n. 22.

(648) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, pp. 154–156.

(649) *Regula Donati*, c. 34.2, *CSEL* 98, p. 164; Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, female version, 4–8, p. 235.

soul, or parts of the soul remain active while the body is asleep.[650] The assumption that the mind is – or could be – active during sleep has serious consequences. It determines the way dreams are to be assessed. It also requires, especially in Platonic traditions, a discipline of sleep that consists of dietary precautions, the avoidance of harmful impressions during the day that could impact sleep,[651] the conscious evasion of disturbing or indulging thoughts before falling asleep, limiting sleep time, and avoiding deep sleep. Sleep should be carefully prepared for and the moment of falling asleep is a particular matter of concern. The uncontrolled but active mind could fall prey to demonic intervention or receive contact with the divine.[652]

Athanasius of Alexandria attributes alertness of the mind during sleep to saints,[653] and we find this motif repeated in various hagiographical texts. Caesarius of Arles, who required his clergy to sleep with him in the same room, meditated while sleeping and preached during his sleep – which must have been very annoying for the members of his episcopal household.[654] Radegund required that her nuns read to her while she was asleep and reproached them whenever they stopped. Radegund, Rusticula, and Leoba sing Psalms while being asleep.[655] All of their *Vitae* refer to Cant. 5, 2: *Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat* (I sleep, and my heart keeps watch) – a verse we will encounter in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well. It is unclear to what extent Jonas was directly influenced by the idea of the (potentially) active mind as we find it in various patristic texts, and to what extent he developed his concept of sleep by himself. The sources of which we know for sure to have been available to him do not refer to the idea of the mind being active during sleep and, in general, contributed little to his understanding of sleep, but that does not preclude that he had access to texts that otherwise did not leave identifiable traces in his work.

Among monastic rules, only the *Regula Basilii* theorizes on the nature of sleep, although without elaborating on the question of the active mind. Basil recommends coenobitical life because a community will ensure that a monk won't fall prey to the traps of the devil and fall asleep "in a slumber that leads to death".[656] He states that the sleeping body is more

(650) Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', pp. 212–222 argues that Greek scientific and theological traditions largely assume that the rational mind is not active during sleep so that the lower, irrational parts of the soul could take over power. Therefore one should aim at retaining control over the rational parts of the soul by disciplining sleep through diet, contemplation, and abstinence from sleep. See also p. 478, note 607.

(651) Cassian, *Institutiones* VI, c. 11, *SC* 109, p. 274; *Collationes* XII, c. 7.4, *SC* 54, p. 132.

(652) Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks' and Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline' provide an overview of medical, philosophical, and theological sleep theories.

(653) See also Athanasius, *On Sickness and Health*, c. 6; transl. Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, p. 312: "For the sleep of the saints possesses contemplation of better things, and while their body is lying still on earth, the mind travels through outer places and flies up from earth to heaven".

(654) *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 46, *SC* 536, p. 212; II, c. 5–6, pp. 246–250.

(655) Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* II, c. 9, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 384; c. 19, pp. 390–391. Similar: *Vita Rusticulae*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 4, pp. 342–343; Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 11, *MGH Script.* 15, p. 126. Cassian also assumes that one can pray during sleep (not only sleep during prayers): Cassian, *Collationes* IV, c. 2, *SC* 42, p. 168.

(656) *Regula Basilii*, c. 3.20–23, *CSEL* 98, p. 29.

susceptible to harm,[657] and that untimely sleep is an effect of losing awareness for God and becoming forgetful of his judgement.[658] Basil praises the monk who awakens his fellow monks because a monk suffers harm by sleeping since he has no awareness (*sensus*) of himself.[659] As a result, he imposes the particularly harsh punishment of *excommunicatio* upon a monk who gets annoyed or angry upon being awakened from sleep.[660] Another monastic text addressing sleep is Euagrius' *Prouerbia ad monachos*. Euagrius states in the form of a proverb that too much sleep "fattens" the *sensus*, while vigils keep it "slim" and excessive sleep brings forth temptations, while the one who stays awake escapes them.[661]

The *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* do not theorize about sleep; they show, as I already pointed out, a rather lenient and permissive attitude which runs contrary to ascetic ideals of sleep deprivation. Their concern is that monks do not share their beds and sleep at a safe distance from each other.[662] The notion that a monk cannot sin during his sleep is pushed to an extreme in Hildemar's Commentary to the *Regula Benedicti* from the mid-ninth century. Hildemar fiercely and nervously condemns sodomitic acts between monks – unless they just happen in their dreams. In this case, there's not much to worry about.[663] Jonas would have been horrified by this idea.

Jonas' references to sleep elsewhere in his Rule provide important contexts for understanding what he wants to say in the chapter dedicated to sleep. Sleep plays a prominent role in his chapter on the priors. It is the priors' task to visit the beds of each nun once a week in order to inquire about their *neglegentiae* and to control whether they have kept something with them illicitly and without permission. Moreover, the nuns' beds are to be visited after Compline and to be observed as well whenever they rise for nightly prayers.[664]

The first of these three provisions has important practical implications that I have already addressed. The bed is both a storage place and a potential hiding place for objects of personal use. The nuns *may* keep objects there, but only with the *commeatus* (permission) of the abbess.[665] A similar regulation is present in Donatus' Rule, where nuns may have a closet next to their beds, as long as it cannot be closed with a key.[666]

The second and third provision point us directly to Jonas' anxieties about sleep. He is especially concerned about controlling the pivotal moment when the nuns fall asleep and

(657) *Regula Basilii*, c. 9.8, p. 47.
(658) *Regula Basilii*, c. 55, p. 95.
(659) *Regula Basilii*, c. 75, pp. 109–110: *Si quis cognoscit damnum quod de somno patitur, cum neque sui ipsius sensum habet, et intellegit quantum sit lucrum uigiliarum et praecipue cum uigilatur ad glorificandum Deum in orationibus,* $_2$ *ita debet habere eum qui ad hoc se inuitat et suscitat dormientem tamquam eum per quern diuina lucra et caelestia dona consequatur,* $_3$ *siue is ad orationem siue ad aliud quodcumque mandatum Dei inuitat et prouocat.*
(660) *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, p. 110.
(661) Euagrius Ponticus, *Prouerbia ad monachos*, c. 48–49, ed. Leclercq, pp. 207–208: *Somnus multus incrassat sensum, uigilia autem bona adtenuat eum. Somnus multus adducit temptationes, qui autem uigilat effugiet eas.*
(662) Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', pp. 232–233.
(663) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 23, ed. Mittermüller, p. 339.
(664) *RcuiV*, c. 2.16–19.
(665) On *commeatus*, see p. 363.
(666) *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1, *CSEL* 98, p. 153.

when they wake up – the moment most prone to visions and nightmares.[667] Both moments require the attention of superiors. They are supposed to observe whether the nuns are mentally well prepared with "an alert disposition" (*sensus expergescens*) for entering this twilight zone of sleep. They also observe what influence sleep has had on their state of mind and whether they eagerly (*cum feruore*) do what they are supposed to do at the moment of regaining control over themselves. Tepidity at this pivotal moment is not a trivial issue and needs to be punished severely. The *Regula Basilii* imposes, as already mentioned, *excommunicatio* on monks who are angry when awakened from sleep.[668]

The idea that sleep needs to be prepared for carefully, that God should be the first thing on an awakening mind, and that a prayer should be one's very first activity are not unique to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[669] Antony recommends his monks to say a prayer before falling asleep and immediately after waking up.[670] Ambrose recommends saying Psalms and the Lord's Prayer at these moments.[671] Cassian emphasizes, like Jonas, that a prayer should be the first thing on a monk's mind; it is even the same prayer that Jonas requires.[672] Radegund is praised for being "right there" when she awakes.[673] Isidore of Seville states in his Rule that before monks sleep they should suppress improper thoughts and embrace good thoughts, assuming that whatever a monk thinks and imagines when falling asleep will determine the movement of the soul during sleep.[674] Jonas himself refers in chapter 9 of his Rule to an *oratio ad somnum capiendum* (prayer before going to sleep).[675] We can find such protective prayers, for example, in the eighth-century Sacramentary of Gellone or in the late eighth-century *Memoriale qualiter*.[676] None of these sources, however, require that falling asleep and awakening happen under the controlling eye of superiors and that the state of mind at these two moments is a matter of monastic discipline.

(667) Gordon, 'Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?', p. 426; Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', pp. 757–758.

(668) *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, *CSEL* 86, p. 110.

(669) Verdon, 'Dormir au Moyen Âge', p. 750; Moulin, Léo, *La vie quotidienne des religieux au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Hachette 1978, pp. 29–33.

(670) Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 55.3, *SC* 400, p. 282.

(671) Ambrose, *De uirginibus* 3.4.19, ed. Franco Gori, *Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera*, vol. 14.1, Milano: Biblioteca Ambrosiana 1989, p. 224. See Dossey, 'Watchful Greeks', p. 232.

(672) Cassian, *Collationes* XXI, c. 26, *SC* 64, pp. 100–101.

(673) Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 9, *MGH SRM* 2, p. 384.

(674) *Regula Isidori*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111: *Cogitationesque prauas a se repellat bonasque amplectens; turpes a se reiciat, nam animi motus imaginibus suis agitur, et qualis uigilantis cogitatio fuerit, talis et imago per soporem incurrit.*

(675) *RcuiV*, c. 9.8: *Ab hora uero conpletionis, cum oratio ad somnum capiendum datur, nulla omnino loqui praesumat, nisi grandis necessitas monasterii poposcerit.*

(676) *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* 468 (2862), *CCSL* 159, p. 453: *Benedic domine hoc famulorum tuorum dormiturio, qui non dormis neque dormitas, qui custodis israel, famulos tuos huic domui quiescentes post laborem custodi ab inlusionibus fantasmaticae satanae, uigilantes in praeceptis tuis meditentur, dormientes te per soporem sentient, qui iacob in somnis apparuisti innixum scale. Per Dominum. Memoriale qualiter I* VI, c. 18, *CCM* 1, p. 260: *Gratias tibi ago, domine sancte pater omnipotens, qui me dignatus es in hac die custodire per tuam sanctam misericordiam; concede mihi hanc noctem mundo corde et corpore sic pertransire, qualiter mane surgens gratum tibi seruitium exsoluere possim.* See also Moreira, 'Dreams and Divination', p. 627.

Jonas returns to the topic of immediate alertness in his chapter on liturgical discipline (c. 8) where he emphasizes that both during the day and during night-time the nuns have to rise for prayer quickly, with all haste, but in dignity, in order to express with their body that nothing is more important than the *opus Dei* and that the *mens* immediately fully dedicates itself to prayer.[677] Jonas determines that the nightly Hours should be announced by a trustworthy sister who has a "attentive and energetic *mens*" (*quae mente sollicita et inpigra fuerit*), to prevent the delay of the *opus Dei*.[678]

The provisions on the nuns' sleep in Jonas' chapters on the prioress and on liturgical discipline express a basic idea which forms the centre of Jonas' theory of sleep. Jonas' primary concern is, as we know from various other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the *mens*, the mind, which should be submitted to a painstaking programme of discipline and control.[679] This concern about the *mens* distinguishes Jonas' Rule from those of Benedict, Caesarius, and Columbanus, where the *mens* is largely absent, and from the *Regula Basilii*, which only shows some concern about the "wandering of the mind" in the sense of a lack of concentration.[680]

The reason for Jonas' anxiety about falling asleep and awakening is revealed in his chapter on confession (c. 6). We already saw that Jonas deviated from Columbanus' provisions by inserting a third round of confession early in the morning. Jonas is extremely concerned about the *fragilitas*, *imbelicitas*, *tepiditas*, and *tepor* that may overcome the nuns during the daytime – and this applies even more to sleep.[681] The *fragilitas* has the effect that the nuns can commit serious faults during sleep with both their bodies and their minds. The *mens* of the nun remains active during sleep while the nuns lose control over their body (*caro*, *membra*) and cannot restrain the mind anymore.[682]

There is only one effective reparative act, which is the same as for all transgressions committed during daytime: immediate confession. No nun may begin the day without confessing what she has done while she had no control over herself.[683]

> [20] Quicquid post conpletorium per opace noctis spacia mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit, post secundam per confessionem curandum est expiari. (…) [23] Illud tamen abbatissa studere debet, ut post secundam scolam ingrediens peracta oratione nullam foras egredi permittat, nisi prius detur confessio. Similiter et post nonam uel ante conpletorium faciendum est.
>
> [[20] Whatever the mind or flesh commits through frailty during the dark time of the night after Compline, must be atoned for through confession after the Second Hour. (…) [23] The abbess,

(677) *RcuiV*, c. 8.1–2.
(678) *RcuiV*, c. 8.11–12.
(679) See pp. 320–321 and pp. 360–361.
(680) See p. 320, note 310 with a list of references to the *mens* in the rules of Caesarius, Benedict, and Columbanus. See also *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.9, *CSEL* 86, pp. 39–40, c. 34, p. 80; c. 128.1, p. 158; c. 144.1, p. 171 on *uagatio mentis*. See also c. 8.26–27, pp. 44–45 and c. 58.1, p. 97: *mens intenta*.
(681) *RcuiV*, c. 2.2; c. 2.18; c. 6.20; c. 14.1; c. 14.4; c. 15.11. *Fragilitas* appears five times in the Faremoutiers section of the *VCol*; *imbecilitas* thrice; *tepiditas* once; *tepor* twice; *torpescere* twice.
(682) See pp. 478–479.
(683) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20.

> however, has to be eager that, entering the common room after having ended prayer, she does not allow anyone to go outside before confession is given.]

It is remarkable that Jonas shares his anxiety about sleep and the necessity of immediate confession with Donatus. In one of the few sections of his Rule that he probably wrote himself, Donatus expresses a similar idea:

> Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus, demum pariter orantes dicant: *Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.* (Ps. 32/33, 22)[684]
>
> [In this place they should first ask for forgiveness and each of them should give confession of their carnal and filthy or nocturnal visions. Then they should say together in prayer: *Your mercy, Lord, come over us, just as we put our hope in you.* (Ps. 32/33, 22)]

Jonas and Donatus differ on a small yet significant nuance. For Donatus, the danger is caused by nocturnal *uisiones*, by dreams that may come over his nuns.[685] Donatus ties his sleep anxiety into the existing discourse on the potential sinfulness of nocturnal pollutions and erotic dreams and the imperative to reveal nocturnal pollution to a superior in order to have their sinfulness assessed.[686] Jonas is not explicitly interested in sinful dreams and visions that may come over a nun but assumes that the nuns actively sin through their mind and body. Throughout his *Vita Columbani*, dream visions have a positive meaning and, in general, reveal the truth.[687] He provides examples of an active mind capable of perceiving good things: Abbot Carantoc dreams that Columbanus and his community are in dire need and rushes to help.[688] Columbanus himself foresees the political future of Chlothar II.[689] Ercantrudis receives a vision in which God releases her from her guilt and allows her to take Communion again.[690] Leudebertana is warned in her sleep that she will die soon.[691]

For Jonas, sleep is perilous because the weakened body is incapable of restraining the mind, which is the reason why he is particularly concerned about what the body does at the moment when the nun awakens. Almost every reference to sleep in the *Vita Columbani* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* emphasizes bodily weakness and the "pressure" and "captivity" sleep causes to the body. Columbanus' mother awakens "after sleep has

(684) *Regula Donati*, c. 19.3–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 157.

(685) See also *Regula Donati*, c. 34.1, p. 164.

(686) Compare, for example, to *Regula Isidori*, c. 11, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 111: *Qui nocturna inlusione polluitur publicare hoc patri monasterii non moretur culpaeque suae merito hoc tribuat, et occulte paenitentiam agat, sciens quia nisi praecessisset in eo turpis animi cogitatio, non sequeretur fluxus sordide adque inmundae pollutionis*, etc. See also c. 17, p. 115 on not disclosing a nocturnal pollution to the abbot.

(687) For the wider context: Metteer, 'Distraction or spiritual discipline', pp. 17–21; Moreira, 'Dreams and Divination'; Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35–56 (on patristic theories about assessing true and false dreams).

(688) *VCol* I, c. 7, p. 165.

(689) *VCol* I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 19.

(690) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 8–18.

(691) *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1–2.

released her limbs" (*postquam sopor membra laxauit*).[692] Sleep "has suddenly overpowered" Columbanus (*quem subitus sopor obpressit*).[693] Leudebertana receives her vision "when she had relaxed her limbs in sleep" (*cum sopore membra laxasset*).[694] The nuns who should wake with Leudebertana are "pressed down by sleep" (*sopore depressae*).[695] When they were waking for the sick Bithildis "sleep overpowered all of them" (*omnes sopor oppressit*).[696] Jonas himself describes how he was overcome and paralyzed by sleep: "so great a sleep weighed on me that I was unable to lift up my head" (*tantus me sopor oppressit, ut sursum caput attollere non ualerem*).[697] Aside from the *Regula Magistri*, no monastic rule mentions the *membra* (limbs) in the context of sleep.[698]

Jonas' Chapter on Sleep

Jonas' scattered references to sleep, the activity of the *mens*, the weakness of the body, the danger of committing transgressions during sleep, the anxiety of falling asleep and waking up, and the imperative of control are tied together in chapter 14. The chapter begins with a very dense reflection on the nature of sleep and the imperative of maternal care.[699] It concludes with a series of new practical implementations that expand those Jonas had already inserted in previous chapters. The first part shows no traces of the *Regula Benedicti*; the second part contains some allusions to Benedict's chapter on the sleep of the monks (c. 22). Jonas' view on sleep as a complicated and perilous matter is beautifully, though probably not intentionally, reflected in the fact that his entire introduction on the matter consists of one long convoluted sentence:

> [1] Cum semper relegiosae et Deo dicatae animae tam diurnis quam nocturnis horis paratam Deo mentem praeparant, [2] ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant, anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat, [3] iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio et cor meum uigilat*, [4] tamen sollerti custodia semper intuendum, ne per neglegentiam maternae sollicitudinis subiecta membra damna capiant inbecillitatis.
>
> [[1] It is true that souls, who are always pious and dedicated to God, prepare the mind which is ready for God, both at the daily and the nightly hours, [2] in order that the soul forcefully remains attentive to the praises of the Creator in incessant vigilance, even though the limbs grow stiff with sleep, [3] according to this word: *For I sleep, and my heart keeps watch.* [4] Nevertheless one has to observe at all times with skilful care that the subdued limbs do not contract the harm of weakness through negligence to maternal attentiveness.]

(692) *VCol* I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 10.
(693) *VCol* I, c. 28, p. 218, l. 19.
(694) *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 1–2.
(695) *VCol* II, c. 20, p. 275, l. 19.
(696) *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 22.
(697) *VCol* II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 4–5; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 230. Jonas' experience aligns with symptoms of what neuropsychologists describe as sleep paralysis. See Gordon, 'Medical condition, demon or undead corpse?', pp. 426–429, providing other examples of sleep paralysis described in medieval sources.
(698) *Regula Magistri*, c. 31.3, *SC* 106, p. 168: *defessis membris*.
(699) Wade, 'Spiritual Motherhood', pp. 17–19 emphasizes that both the motherly care of the abbess and the imposed age-difference between the nuns sharing a bed should be read as expressions of spiritual kinship.

Jonas' object of concern is, as in other parts of the Rule, the *anima*, the soul of a nun. Ideally – though not necessarily in reality – the soul is always dedicated to God, as expressed several times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, in the *Vita Columbani*, and in *De accedendo ad Deum*. The soul is supposed to remain attentive and to keep the *mens* prepared – day and night – just like the heart of Caesarius, Radegund, or Leoba. The expressions *semper* and *parata* are key. Jonas' nuns have no break, not even while being asleep, because it is, ideally, only their body that is weakened and paralyzed by sleep, not their mind. Jonas underlines this idea by placing the biblical verse Cant. 5, 2 at the centre of his argument: *Ego enim dormio, et cor meum uigilat* (I sleep, and my heart keeps watch), which he also uses in an episode of his *Vita Iohannis*.[700]

This passage from the *Vita Iohannis* is complementary to the provisions on sleep in Jonas' Rule. While watching the fields at night during harvest, an ordinary monk named Claudius gets anxious that his fellow monks may miss the Hours of prayer by being deeply asleep. Maybe he was the one who was usually in charge of awakening them (as described in chapter 8 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). This passage is steeped with expressions we find in chapter 14 and other parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. It describes both the ideal state (represented in the watchful Claudius) and a dire reality (represented in necessity of a miracle to prevent the monks from oversleeping):

> Qui cum somno caperet, hac intempesta nocte euigilans, mentis ardorem ad caelum tolleret iuxta illud: *Ego enim dormio, et cor meum uigilat* (Cant. 5, 2), coepit cogitare, ne, fessus artus, sodalium membra nimio occubuissent sopore, neglectuque orationis usu, in aurore aduentum iustum tramitis usum deferrent. Cumque hec anxio cordis animo trucinaret, uidit subito caelos apertos et micantem globum totum lustrare mundum.
>
> [And having taken some sleep, waking at the dead of night, he raised the ardor of his mind up to heaven, in accordance with the words "For I sleep and my heart watches", and he began to worry that, tired in limb, the bodies of his companions might lie in excessively deep sleep, and with the act of prayer forgotten they might put off the proper performance of routine until the coming of dawn. And while he considered this in the anxious soul of his heart, he suddenly saw the heavens opened and a glowing globe illuminate the entire world.][701]

The ideas expressed in this passage of the *Vita Iohannis* are very close to those expressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the possibility that the weakened limbs (*membra*) may prevent the nuns from waking causes panic for Claudius who is only soothed when realizing that a glowing globe ensures that his fellow monks wake up. We know the glowing globe from the *Vita Columbani* where it awakens the community to prevent two nuns from secretly escaping.[702]

In the *Vita Iohannis*, it is an ordinary monk who "sleeps while his heart keeps watch" – and his abbot warns him not to disclose the miracle he experienced due to his vigilance. In other hagiographic texts, the ability "to sleep while the heart keeps watch" is a mark of

(700) The *RcuiV* shares the variant *Ego enim dormio* exclusively with the *Vita Iohannis*.
(701) *VIoh*, c. 16, p. 339, l. 10–17; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 258.
(702) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 272.

sanctity. Human weakness makes it, as Jonas knows best, impossible to reach this perfect state of continuous alertness and dedication to God. The nuns are in permanent danger of suffering harm (*damnum*) and therefore they, the *subiecta membra* (the subdued limbs, or the subdued members of the community),[703] should be under the *custodia* (attentiveness) and *sollicitudo* (care) of the mother who may show no signs of *neglegentia*. Jonas explains the state in which the nuns *should* be. *Fragilitas* and *neglegentia* prevent them from reaching this goal and therefore the nuns need monastic discipline and *custodia*.

This imperative of *custodia* can be tied to various places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas refers back to chapter 1 which emphasizes the care of the abbess for the souls of her subjects (using the terms *subiecta*, *anima*, and *mater* as well), to the control of the priors over the nun dozing off and waking up, and to chapter 6 which requires constant *custodia* to control "the ageing state of mind" (*ueterescentem mentis statum*), which manifests itself, as we already know, in the requirement to confess all nightly transgressions to the abbess before they start their day.[704] Jonas is merely applying to the nuns' sleep and the perilous moment of losing control over their bodies what he previously applied to the daily routine of the nuns: the damage of the inescapable weakness that jeopardizes the state of being *parata* can only be prevented through the constant *custodia* of the abbess and repaired through a perpetual practice of confession and penance.

There is a lot going on in this convoluted opening sentence. It may have made more sense to have it integrated into chapter 6 on confession, because what follows in the second part of chapter 14 does not expand on the theme of motherly care and *custodia*, despite the fact that Jonas ties it to the opening sentence with the term *proinde* (therefore, hence). Jonas adds five practical provisions which either revise what we find in Caesarius or paraphrase what we find in the *Regula Benedicti*. Here is the first one:

> [5] Proinde ergo decernimus ut binae et binae preter infirmas et senices in lectulis dormiant, [6] sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur. [7] Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat, [8] ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria. [9] Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis senior sit de cuius relegione non dubitetur. [10] Iuuenculas uero nullatenus simul quiescere censemus, ne in aliquo carnis aduersitate aestu delicto rapiantur.
>
> [[5] We therefore decide that, with the exception of the sick and the old, they should sleep in their beds in pairs of two, [6] but in such a way that they do not speak to each other. [7] And they should not look at each other, that is to say face to face, but one should sleep resting behind the other, [8] lest the old enemy who wishes to harm the souls with an eager mouth, casts some deceit by chattering, so that he excites lethal desires through a conversation. [9] And this has to happen in such a way, that one of them is always an elder whose piety is beyond doubt. [10] We determine that the young [nuns] by no means sleep together, lest they are seduced to some offence by passion because of the adversity of the flesh.]

(703) On *membra*, see p. 541.

(704) *RcuiV*, c. 1.12–16. Jonas uses the term *custodia* in *RcuiV*, c. 6.2–3: *Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum rudem semper custodiat,* [3] *sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prou. 4, 23).

Jonas' explanations of the arrangements for sharing a bed largely resonate with what we find elsewhere in the Rule. The nuns are not allowed to speak to each other, expanding on the requirement of silence after Compline and the general prohibition to communicate without a witness,[705] and they are not allowed to have eye contact, which is in line with other requirements to discipline the eyes and gaze.[706] In other places Jonas refers to the devil as a liminal figure who might cross boundaries, but here it is the devil within the bodily enclosure who shoots his arrows into another nun. The idea of the devil hiding inside or gaining access into a sister is also found elsewhere in the Rule.[707] Mouth, eyes, and ears are the dangerous orifices that allow the devil to enter and leave: whatever he can "ejaculate" through the mouth (*iaculare*) he can send into (*inmittere*) another nun, causing deadly desires.[708] What is inside the nun has to remain inside – and the necessity to enforce this is more urgent than ever at this particular moment. This bodily enclosure, imposed here by closing and controlling the orifice of the mouth, forms an analogy to the enclosure of the monastic body that is enforced by guarding the gate of the monastery,[709] and especially by prohibiting its penetration by *fabulae*.[710]

Throughout the *Regula cuiusdam*, the devil's favourite place is at these boundaries, and his objective is to cross them.[711] We could imagine, for example, how the two nuns of Faremoutiers who lost their eternal salvation after their escape, aroused their desire in secret conversations at night which they failed to confess in the morning.[712] The assumption that the desires caused by such conversation might be lethal (*mortalis*) also follows the general line of the Rule, which assumes that any transgression of the mind may jeopardize a nuns' salvation. The final sentence may indicate that Jonas' understanding of desires (*desideria*) includes erotic desires, though elsewhere *desiderium* is either described positively as desire for God or negatively as desire for the world.[713]

Inspired by Benedict's practice of separating the younger members of the community (by not placing their beds next to each other), Jonas determines that a *iunior* always needs to share her bed with a *senior*, "whose reputation is beyond doubt" (a recurring phrase).[714] This means that at least one of the two nuns should be immune to the lures of the devil.

(705) *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.8; c. 12.21.

(706) *RcuiV*, c. 3.9; c. 6:21; c. 10.12.

(707) *RcuiV*, c. 5.12–13; c. 8.7; c. 16.10.

(708) Cassian talks about the *iacula* (arrows) of lust thrown at us by demons in *Collationes* XII, c. 6.3, *SC* 54, p. 128; XII, c. 11.3, p. 139. See also *Collationes* II, c. 13.7, *SC* 42, p. 127.

(709) See *RcuiV*, c. 9.3.

(710) *RcuiV*, c. 3.13.

(711) *RcuiV*, c. 5.12; c. 9.3, using Ps. 140/141, 4 (*LXX*) on the *ostium circumstantiae labiis meis*; c. 14.8; c. 16:10; c. 20:8; c. 22:3; and especially c. 8.7: *Nam foris omnino non segregentur, ne a somno detentae dormiant aut in aliquo maligno hosti adeundi detur occasio.*

(712) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 273.

(713) Desire for God: *RcuiV*, c. 1.6; c. 9.6; *VCol* II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 15–16; desire for the world: *RcuiV*, c. 3.1–3; c. 17.3; *De accedendo* 6; *VCol* II, c. 15, p. 265, l. 29.

(714) *De cuius relegione non dubitetur*: *RcuiV*, c. 24.8; *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25–26; *V. Segolenae* 23.25.

It is noteworthy that up to this point chapter 14 belongs to the few parts of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that did not make it into the *Concordia regularum*. Benedict of Aniane omitted the opening sentence, maybe because the motherly care and custody over the nuns' sleep was too weird for him and he was not interested in showing his monks that there were monastic rules diverting from the one-person-one-bed rule. He only included the following provisions into his *Concordia regularum*:

> [11] Omnes enim, si fieri potest, una domus ad dormiendum capiat, [12] praeter si infirmitas aut senilis aetas poposcerit aut culpa damnauerit aut nouitas probata non fuerit, ut in cella separentur.
>
> [[11] For indeed, if possible, one building should hold all [nuns] for sleeping, [12] unless sickness or old age demands, or guilt condemns them, or because they are new and unproven, so that they should be separated in a [special] cell.]

The first half of this provision comes from the *Regula Benedicti*.[715] Jonas' use of *domus* instead of *locus* finds its parallel in the *Vita Columbani* where *domus* appears alongside *dormitorium*. The second half is similar to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which requires that the old and sick have to sleep in a dormitory as well and allows the abbess to decide at which point personality or remorse (*personam uel conpunctionem*) appears to qualify the nuns to sleep in the dormitory.[716] Jonas' reference to guilt (*culpa damnauerit*) and Caesarius' reference to remorse (*conpunctio*) imply that nuns who have committed a serious transgression may be excluded from the dormitory. Both Rules prescribe that they are to be imprisoned until they show remorse.[717] This underlines that Jonas sees sleeping together as an activity that defines and constitutes the community.

> [13] Omnes uestitae et cinctae dormiant.
>
> [[13] All should sleep clothed and girded.]

Jonas omits here Benedict's provision that the monks should not take their knives to bed – probably because Jonas' nuns did not carry knives.[718] We find the same omission in the *Regula Donati*.[719]

> [14] In scola, qua dormitur, per totam noctem lucerna ardeat.
>
> [[14] In the *scola* where one sleeps a lamp should burn throughout the entire night.]

(715) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.2, *SC* 182, p. 540.

(716) *CaesRV*, c. 4, *SC* 345, p. 182: *Ei ergo, quae Deo inspirante conuertitur, non licebit statim habitum religionis adsumere, nisi antea in multis experimentis fuerit uoluntas illius adprobata;* [2] *sed uni de senioribus tradita per annum integrum in eo, quo uenit, habitu perseueret.* [3] *De ipso tamen habitu mutando uel lecto in scola habendo, sit in potestate prioris,* [4] *et quomodo personam uel conpunctionem uiderit, ita uel celerius uel tardius studeat temperare.* c. 9.1–2, pp. 186–188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem, nec habebit cubiculum uel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiarius claudi possit; sed omnes diuisis lectulis in una maneant cellula.* [2] *Quae uero senes sunt et infirmae, ita illis conuenit obtemperari uel ordinari, ut non singulae singulas cellas habeant, sed in una recipiantur omnes, ubi et maneant.*

(717) *CaesRV*, c. 65.2, p. 252; *RcuiV*, c. 20.9–11.

(718) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.5, *SC* 182, p. 540: *Vestiti dormiant et cincti cingellis aut funibus, ut cultellos suos ad latus suum non habeant dum dormiunt, ne forte per somnum uulnerent dormientem.*

(719) *Regula Donati*, c. 65.5, *CSEL* 98, p. 180. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 6–8.

Jonas reproduces the content of the *Regula Benedicti,* but he replaces Benedict's term *cella* with Caesarius' term *scola.*[720]

> 15 Ad cursum uero cum festinatione surgentes signum crucis fronti inferatur, simulque sub silentio dicatur: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*)
>
> [15 But when they rise for the service with haste, they should make the sign of the cross on their brow and say together in silence: *God, come to my help. Lord, hasten to help me.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*)]

The final provision of chapter 14 is puzzling. It belongs to the few passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that are probably influenced by Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* – though, in wording rather than in content.[721] The *Regula Benedicti* places *Deus in adiutorium* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*) at the beginning of each liturgical Hour.[722] Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* requires that the monks sing this Psalm *sub silentio* at the end of their Hours.[723] Jonas implies here, just as in chapter 8, that the Hours do not begin once the nuns have arrived in church but right at the moment when they hear the sign for prayer.[724] Under the strict control of the *praepositae* (as we know from chapter 2) the nuns have to make the sign of the cross and pray *sub silentio* the *Deus in adiutorium* right at the moment of regaining control over their body and mind. This is entirely consistent in the light of Jonas' anxiety about the damage that the uncontrolled and unrestrained mind could cause through its transgressions while the nun is "imprisoned by sleep". It is possible that Jonas' requirement to pray the *Deus in adiutorium* was inspired by John Cassian. We find in his tenth *Collatio* a long reflection on praying this Psalm in order to fence off the temptations, particularly sexual temptations, that may overcome a monk during sleep.[725]

Making the sign of the cross and asking God to rush for help is an appropriate – and essential – way to repel the devil that may, up to that moment, have had control over a nun's mind. Among all the monastic rules, only the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula coenobialis* mention the sign of the cross. The *Regula Magistri* requires the sign of the cross as a tool to close the mouth when in danger of emitting angry or idle speech, to protect oneself from evil thoughts or to close one's mouth after completing prayer. For him, it did not primarily have an apotropaic function.[726] The *Regula coenobialis* requires that monks leaving or entering a building (another activity of crossing boundaries) have to ask for a prayer

(720) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 22.4, *SC* 182, p. 540: *Candela iugiter in eadem cella ardeat usque mane.*

(721) The other passages are *RcuiV*, c. 2.8–9; c. 9.1.

(722) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 18.1, *SC* 182, p. 528: *In primis dicatur uersu Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*), *gloria, inde hymnum uniuscuiusque horae.*

(723) Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis*, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 158, l. 13–17: *In commune autem omnes fratres omnibus diebus ac noctibus tempore orationum in fine omnium psalmorum genua in oratione, si non infirmitas corporis offecerit, flectere aequo animo debent, sub silentio dicentes: Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*) This passage is also quoted in *Regula Donati*, c. 34.7, *CSEL* 98, p. 164.

(724) *RcuiV*, c. 8.1–4.

(725) Cassian, *Collationes* X, c. 10, *SC* 54, pp. 87–90.

(726) *Regula Magistri*, c. 8.30, *SC* 105, p. 404, c. 15.54, *SC* 106, p. 70; c. 47.24, p. 216.

and make the sign of the cross.[727] Moreover, they have to make the sign of the cross over a spoon before eating and over a lamp before lighting it.[728]

Making the sign of the cross as a means of self-defence and protection from the devil, but also as a saint's tool to perform healings and other miracles, is a common hagiographic motif.[729] Jonas uses it more often than most other hagiographers: Columbanus, for example, protects himself with the sign of the cross against a pack of wolves.[730] Eusthasius heals Burgundofara from blindness by making the sign of the cross and asking God for help.[731] The nuns of Faremoutiers defend themselves (in this case unsuccessfully) with the sign of the cross against demons entering the monastery to snatch the two nuns unwilling to confess.[732]

The question of whether making the sign of the cross over a cup or while entering a building is one of the matters of dispute between Eusthasius and the rebellious monk Agrestius, who allegedly claimed that Columbanus deviated from local customs by requiring these practices. Eusthasius replies, according to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, that it is by no means contrary to proper practice to make the sign of the cross over vessels, or when entering or leaving one's cell "as by the coming of the Lord's sign the disease of the hostile adversary is driven off". Eusthasius states: "Nevertheless, in our daily movement, whether in entering or leaving or while travelling, I consider it correct that each one should be armed with the sign of the cross, to be reinforced with the blessing of his companions".[733] Jonas inserts Ps. 120/121, 7–8 in support of Eusthasius' position: *The Lord keep you safe from all evil; may the Lord protect your soul. Let the Lord watch over your coming and your going from this moment and forever.*[734] If Eusthasius recommends being "armed with the sign of the cross" at all "daily movements" it is only consistent to require making the sign of the cross before the nuns make their first moves after being held in the captivity of sleep.

(727) *Regula coenobialis*, c. 3, ed. Walker, pp. 146–148, c. 9, p. 156, l. 13–14, c. 15, p. 164, l. 26–27.

(728) *Regula coenobialis*, c. 2, p. 146, l. 6–10.

(729) For example, Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 4.5, *SC* 133, p. 260; c. 22.1, p. 300; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* I, c. 1.4, *SC* 260, p. 20; c. 4.7, p. 42; c. 10.8–9, p. 100; c. 11, pp. 110–112; II, c. 2.1, p. 136; c. 3.4, p. 142; III, c. 5.4, p. 276; c. 6.2, p. 278; Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* V, c. 1–3, *MGH SRM* 1.2, pp. 228–229; VII, c. 2, p. 238; IX, c. 2, p. 254; X, c. 1, p. 256; XI, c. 1; p. 260; XIV, c. 2, p. 268, etc.; *Vita patrum Iurensium*, c. 55, *SC* 142, pp. 298–300; c. 57, pp. 300–302, c. 81, pp. 326–328.

(730) *VCol* I, c. 8, p. 166, l. 19. See also *VCol* I, c. 21, p. 200, l. 15: Columbanus uses the sign of the cross to cause a healing miracle. II, c. 2, p. 233, l. 21: A monk stops a river from overflowing with the sign of the cross.

(731) *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 242.

(732) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 7.

(733) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 250, l. 29–31: …*tamen cotidianum motum, siue in ingressu uel egressu seu progressu, unumquemque nostrum signo crucis armari uel benedictione sodalium roborari fas duco.* Transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 198. See also Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 271–272.

(734) *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250–251.

The Care of the Sick and the Old (Chapter 15)

Monasteries were multi-generational communities that provided conditions which made it possible for monks and nuns to reach a considerable age: a regular life, a healthy diet, and care of the sick. There are various references to monks and nuns who became very old or recovered from serious diseases and most monastic rules contain provisions on the care of the sick and the old. Many rules adjust the level of monastic discipline according to age and health. Some indicate that there are specific spaces reserved for the sick, regulate whether they have to sleep in the common dormitory, and impose more lenient dietary rules on those in bad health.[735] The early ninth-century Plan of St Gall envisions two complete "monasteries within the monastery" dedicated to children and monks of old age, in addition to a large infirmary and even a garden only for medicinal herbs.[736] This spatial organization may not reflect a seventh-century setting, but we can assume that the care of the sick and the old was inscribed in the monastic space long before the Plan of St Gall.

The Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani* contains several stories of nuns being brought back to health or nursed until their death. There are no references to nuns dying in old age, possibly because Faremoutiers was still a relatively young and pioneering community when Jonas wrote his *Vita Columbani*.[737] This might be one of the reasons why in this chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam* Jonas combines two chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*, which deal with sick monks with old monks and children.[738] Jonas' primary concern are the sick; old sisters are mentioned in a sideline; the young ones (which appear in the title of chapter 37 of the *Regula Benedicti*) are not mentioned at all, probably because Jonas addresses the place of children in the monastery in a separate chapter (c. 24) and at various other places.[739]

In terms of practical provisions, Benedict's and Jonas' chapters are fairly similar. Sick nuns are to be treated with greatest care. They should have a special place, and mem-

(735) Regulations on the care of the sick: *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 40–48, ed. Boon, pp. 23–25; c. 105, p. 42; c. 129, p. 47; *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 5, pp. 65–66; c. 12, p. 68; *Regula Basilii*, c. 36, *CSEL* 86, pp. 81–82; c. 177, p. 200; Augustine, *Praeceptum* III.3–5, ed. Verheijen, pp. 421–423; V.5–8, pp. 431–432; *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 3.15–20, *SC* 297, pp. 194–196; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 12, *SC* 298, pp. 538–540; *CaesRV*, c. 22.3–4, *SC* 345, p. 198; c. 30.7–32.3, pp. 210–212; c. 42, p. 224; c. 71.7–9, p. 268; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 17, *SC* 398, p. 214; c. 24.2, p. 222; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 53, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 37, *PL* 68, col. 403A; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 21, ed. Villegas, p. 43; *Regula Magistri*, c. 28.13–18, *SC* 106, p. 154; c. 69–70, pp. 296–302; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36–37, pp. 570–572; c. 39.11, p. 578; c. 40.2–3, p. 582; *Regula Isidori*, c. 21, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 120–122; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 9, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 149; c. 23, p. 162; *Regula communis*, c. 6–7, pp. 182–184; *Regula Donati*, c. 12, *CSEL* 98, pp. 154–155. See also Crislip, Andrew T., *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2005; Kuuliala, Jenni, '*Infirmitas* in Monastic Rules', in: Christian Laes (ed.), *Disability in Antiquity*, London/New York: Routledge 2017, pp. 342–356.

(736) See http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index_plan.html (last accessed Dec. 10, 2020).

(737) *VCol* II, c. 11, p. 158; c. 12, pp. 260–261; c. 13, p. 262; c. 15, p. 265; c. 16, p. 167; c. 20, pp. 275–276.

(738) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36–37, *SC* 182, pp. 570–572.

(739) *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 10.5; c. 14.10–12; c. 16.3; c. 20.13; c. 24.

bers of the community should serve them under strict supervision of the abbot or abbess and with support of the *cellararius/cellararia*. They should enjoy baths and medical care and should not be required to submit to the same dietary standards and restrictions as healthy nuns. Jonas omits a couple of details from Benedict's chapter, probably because he considers them redundant or not applicable. Benedict reminds the sick monks that they should not upset those who take care of them through excessive demands or otherwise abuse those who serve them.[740] Jonas does not mention this. He also omits Benedict's provision that sick monks are allowed to eat meat but have to abstain from it once they recovered.[741] This omission can be explained by the fact that Caesarius already made clear provisions on the diet of sick nuns who are allowed to eat poultry but should abstain from it unless they are very seriously ill, and in this case they need a special permission of the abbess.[742]

Jonas also ignores Benedict's emphasis that the abbot is eventually responsible if someone fails in his service for the sick.[743] As I have shown in the commentary to the chapter on the abbess (c. 1), Jonas does not share Benedict's notion of an almost legalistic responsibility of the abbot. Therefore it is only consistent that he omits this verdict. Finally, Jonas omits Benedict's provision on the special treatment of the young (*infantes*) along with the old (*senes*) and his permission that the old and the young may eat before the regular mealtimes.[744] This can be accounted for by a discussion of mealtimes for children at the end of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The omissions on dietary restrictions, the abbatial responsibility, and the special treatment of children indicate how carefully Jonas worked in revising the *Regula Benedicti* and avoiding contradictions and redundancies.

Jonas does, however, expand on Benedict with some additional explanations and reflections. A key term added to the material from the *Regula Benedicti* is *ministrare* (to serve), which appears four times in this chapter and several more times throughout Jonas' Rule (and at various places in the *Vita Columbani*) but is absent in the chapters of the *Regula Benedicti* dealing with the care of the sick, the old, and the young. In line with the rest of his Rule Jonas puts a stronger emphasis on the care of the sick as an act of love and mutual care. For this purpose, he inserts a passage from Matth. 7, 12: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter* (Whatever you want that men do to you, you should likewise do to them). This especially (*praecipue*) applies to the care of the sick, which is a prime example for the imperative of mutual love through serving each other. Expanding on his reflection on love (c. 5), caring for the sick is understood as an imitation of Christ.[745]

(740) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36.4–5, p. 570: *Sed et ipsi infirmi considerent in honorem Dei sibi seruire, et non superfluitate sua contristent fratres suos seruientes sibi;* 5 *qui tamen patienter portandi sunt, quia de talibus copiosior merces acquiritur.*

(741) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36.9, pp. 570–572: *Sed et carnium esus infirmis omnino debilibus pro reparatione concedatur; at, ubi meliorati fuerunt, a carnibus more solito omnes abstineant.*

(742) *CaesRV*, c. 71.7–9, *SC* 345, p. 268: *Pulli uero infirmis tantum praebeantur: nam in congregatione numquam ministrentur.* 8 *Carnes uero a nulla umquam penitus in cibo sumantur; si forte aliqua in desperata infirmitate fuerit, iubente et prouidente abbatissa accipiat.*

(743) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 36.10, *SC* 182, p. 572: *Et ipsum respicit quicquid a discipulis delinquitur.*

(744) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 37.3, p. 572: *…sed sit in eis pia consideratio et praeueniant horas canonicas.*

(745) *RcuiV*, c. 16.1–5/9/12: *Harum cura quae in infirmitatibus detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat cum dicit: Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter.* 2 *Licet hoc in omnibus sit agendum, praecipue tamen*

Aside from that, Jonas refers, as in various previous chapters, to the judgement of the abbess (*arbitrium abbatissae*) that determines the level of care.[746]

A last detail, which is reflected in some of the Faremoutiers episodes, is that Jonas considers a sick nun to be bearing "a hardship (*poena*) through her sick flesh".[747] Jonas may not have understood disease as a punishment for specific sins, but as a form of pre-emptive punishment that alleviates what the nuns would experience after their death. We find the same idea expressed in his description of the sickness of Eusthasius, Columbanus' successor as abbot of Luxeuil, whose days of illness before his death wiped out all of his prior negligence.[748]

Accidents and Negligence (Chapter 16)

The greatest danger for a monastic community might not be that its members deliberately break their rules or rebel against their superiors, but rather that they lose motivation to submit themselves to strict monastic discipline, or act with the wrong intention. John Cassian considers *acedia* one of the eight capital vices and discusses the problem of lack of motivation extensively in his *Institutiones*.[749] One specific aspect of the problem, the motivation to perform one's liturgical duties, has already been discussed in the chapter on liturgical discipline and punctuality at prayer (c. 8).

For Jonas, the *opus Dei* is, as we know, not restricted to the hours of prayer and, consequently, lack of motivation outside the oratory is just as dangerous to the individual and the community as lack of zeal in prayer. As a result, Jonas develops throughout his Rule an elaborate apparatus of incitement, control, and punishment aimed at upholding motivation and influencing the state of the mind of every individual nun. A key term of the Rule is *neglegentia*. Jonas addresses at several places the negligent handling of objects belonging to the monastery,[750] but he also emphasizes that *neglegentia* may manifest itself in

in infirmantium cura haec praeceptio est exhibenda, 3 *quia Dominus dixit: Infirmus fui, et uenistis ad me.* 4 *Ita ergo cura infirmis quaerenda est, ac si praesente Christo ministrare putetur.* 5 *Reuera etenim quaecumque pro Christo infirmis curam inpendit, Christo in infirmis ministrat.* (…) 9 *Abbatissa talem curam de infirmis habeat qualem se recipere a Domino sperat.* (…) 12 *Non enim hae possunt regulae tenori subiacere, sed potius piaetatis in eas inpendendus est affectus*. On mutual love as *imitatio Christi*, see pp. 404–405.

(746) *RcuiV*, c. 16.11: …*sed iuxta arbitrium abbatissae prout cuique necessarium esse uiderit, consideratione pia eorum inbecillitati concedatur.*

(747) *RcuiV*, c. 16.6: …*quae in infirma carne poenam portat*.

(748) *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 19–24: *Cumque iam per multorum circulis annorum in hoc opere intentio uacaret, euenit tempus uocationis, daturque sententia iusti iudicis, ut quod minus annorum circuli diuersis afflictionibus peracti purgauerant, paucorum corporis infirmitas dierum sanaret.* The motive of suffering in life as purgation from sins appears also in Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, c. 9, ed. Colgrave/Mynors, p. 362.

(749) Cassian, *Institutiones* X, *SC* 109, pp. 382–424. On the history of *acedia* see Crislip, Andrew T., 'The Sin of Sloth or the Illness of the Demons? The Demon of Acedia in Early Christian Monasticism', in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 98:2 (2005), pp. 143–169.

(750) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14–15; c. 3.22; c. 12.29; c. 13.4–6.

the way the nuns sleep,[751] the way the *cellararia* does her work,[752] in the care of the sick,[753] in punctuality for prayer,[754] or in the general attitude of the nuns as it shows through movements, gestures, and ways of speaking.[755] Jonas leaves no doubt about the seriousness of *neglegentia*; on three occasions he states that *neglegentia* prevents the nuns from receiving reward for their work.[756] *Neglegentia* is tied to fear[757] and to *damnum* (harm) or *damnatio* (damnation).[758]

Chapter 16 addresses a very specific case of *neglegentia*, that of causing accidents and destroying or losing belongings of the monastery. The chapter revises and expands the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 46), which belongs to a sequence of regulations on liturgical discipline and manual labor (c. 42–48). Dedicating an entire chapter to this topic is somewhat strange because Jonas has already addressed the necessity of dealing with objects belonging to the monastery with utmost care, *ac si sacrata Dei* (as if they are sacred to God).[759]

The *Regula Benedicti* addresses the topic of accidents and damage to monastic property in a couple of short and straightforward sentences. For Benedict, accidents inevitably occur, and things break. This is not a matter of *neglegentia* or of *culpa* (guilt) but something that simply needs to be dealt with in an appropriate manner: a monk who makes a mistake or breaks something needs to reveal his misstep to the community. If he hides it and it is discovered by others, he is to submit to a serious punishment:

> De his qui in aliis quibuslibet rebus delinquunt. [1] Si quis dum in labore quouis, in coquina, in cellario, in ministerio, in pistrino, in horto, in arte aliqua dum laborat, uel in quocumque loco, aliquid deliquerit, [2] aut fregerit quippiam aut perdiderit, uel aliud quid excesserit ubiubi, [3] et non ueniens continuo ante abbatem uel congregationem ipse ultro satisfecerit et prodiderit delictum suum, [4] dum per alium cognitum fuerit, maiori subiaceat emendationi.
>
> [[1] If someone does something wrong while at any kind of work – in the kitchen, in the cellar, in serving, in the bakery, in the garden, or when working at any other task and in any place – [2] or breaks or loses something or errs in something else anywhere – [3] and he does not at once come before the abbot and the community and voluntarily announce his fault and make satisfaction, [4] when his error is made known by another, he should be subject to more serious punishment.][760]

Benedict adds in the final sentence a thought that may have triggered Jonas to engage with this chapter: if this accident is the result of a sin hidden in one's soul, the monk has to reveal this only to the abbot or spiritual elders, thus to someone who knows how to treat

(751) *RcuiV*, c. 2.16; c. 14.4.
(752) *RcuiV*, c. 4.16.
(753) *RcuiV*, c. 15.9–11.
(754) *RcuiV*, c. 8.4–6.
(755) *RcuiV*, c. 22.4–5.
(756) *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; c. 3.22; c. 13.5.
(757) *RcuiV*, c. 8.6; c. 13.4.
(758) *RcuiV*, c. 13.5; c. 14.4.
(759) *RcuiV*, c. 2.8; c. 3.22; c. 12.27.
(760) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.1–4, *SC* 182, pp. 594–596; transl. Venarde, p. 157.

his wound with discretion. The act needs to made public, the sin (*peccatum*) that may have motivated it, needs to be treated without revealing it to the community:

> [5] Si animae uero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, [6] qui sciat curare et sua et aliena uulnera, non detegere et publicare.
>
> [[5] If it is a matter of sin lying hidden in the soul, he should reveal it only to the abbot or his spiritual elders, [6] who know how to care for their own wounds and others' without revealing and making them public.][761]

Jonas superimposes on Benedict's text a number of expressions ubiquitous in his Rule (and in the *Vita Columbani*) – *neglegentia*, first and foremost –, but he also uses terms that emphasize the seriousness of accidents: *casus*, *damnatio*, *dilabi*, and *culpa*. Moreover, he introduces the remedy and the measures to be taken: *confessio pura* (plain confession) and *paenitentia*. Introducing these categories alters Benedict's text. It turns it from a provision on accidents and damages to a chapter on negligence and confession that uses accidents just as an example suitable to convey Jonas' point:

> De casibus qui per neglegentiam aut euentu superueniunt. [1] Neglegentiae culpa, qua per multos casus in multis delinquitur, abbatissae iudicio pensandum est. [2] Id est in refectorio, in quoquina, in dormitorio uel in qualibet utilitate aut fregerit aut perdiderit aut neglegenter dimiserit, [3] omnia secundum suum modulum sint pensanda et iuxta aetatem uel teneram uel senilem uel uiridem sunt corrigenda.
>
> [On accidents which occur through negligence or by chance. [1] The fault of negligence, which is committed often through many accidents, is to be examined by the judgement of the abbess. [2] That is to say: whatever [a nun] breaks or loses or negligently leaves behind in the kitchen, in the dormitory, or for whatever purpose, [3] should all be examined on the basis of its impact and is to be corrected according to the nun's age, whether she is tender, old, or youthful.]

Jonas makes a distinction between true accidents that happened *euentu* (by chance) and those caused by *neglegentia*. *Neglegentia* in itself is a *culpa*, a fault, not just a moment of lacking attention. The term *culpa* appears no fewer than seven times in this chapter. Moreover, Jonas uses the term *casus*, which could be translated in various ways (accident, fall, downfall, misfortune) but usually refers to a serious incident. Both *casus* and *dilabi* (to tumble, another recurring term) could refer both to the fall of a vessel to the ground or to the fall of a nun into eternal damnation.

Any *casus* needs to be assessed by the judgement of the abbess according to circumstances (a recurring theme in Jonas' Rule) and lead to a punishment suitable to the age and maturity of the perpetrator (another recurring theme).[762] This means that anything that happens leads to some sort of sanction. None of this can be found in the *Regula Benedicti*, which is exclusively concerned about whether the monks reveal voluntarily to the community that they have committed a fault.

(761) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 46.5–6, p. 596; transl. Venarde, p. 157.
(762) See p. 254, p. 531, and p. 559.

Jonas follows with a one-sentence rationale for this strict provision, which is also absent in the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [4] Quia, si in minimis neglegentiae uitium non corrigitur, mens uitiata in minoribus culpis in maiora dilabitur delicta.
>
> [[4] Because, if the vice of negligence is not corrected in the smallest things, the mind tainted by smaller faults will tumble into greater offences.]

The vice of *neglegentia* is a slippery slope. If it is not corrected right from the beginning, the *uitium* turns into a *culpa*, which leads to even greater *delicta*. Jonas expresses the same idea in the chapter on manual labour (c. 12), explaining why it is necessary to punish nuns who commit acts of negligence in the kitchen service.[763]

Confession, a *pura confessio*, is the main theme of the second part of the chapter, which elaborates on the circumstances and the assessment of the abbess. Jonas uses the theme of *neglegentia* to show how to apply the procedure laid out in his chapters on confession (c. 6–7). He describes three scenarios: *Si…Si uero…Si uero…* (If…But if…But if…). This is the first, the best-case scenario:

> [5] Si soror quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa, statim abbatissae uel praepositae puram dederit confessionem, et conpertum fuerit non suae uoluntatis fuisse quod casu accidit, [6] hoc tantummodo sufficiat ut hoc quod deliquit et perpetrauit, si possit fieri, non deneget, et emendet cum ueniae satisfactione.
>
> [[5] If a sister who tumbles into these accidents, immediately gives plain confession to the abbess or prioress, and it is found out that what has happened by accident was not because of her will, [6] this alone should be sufficient, that she does not deny what she has committed and carried out and, if it is possible, makes up for it with the satisfaction of contrition.]

A nun confesses immediately, and her confessor considers it credible that the accident was indeed nothing but an accident and not an act of (ill) will. In this case she just has to ask for forgiveness – in line with the confession ritual of chapter 6. Jonas makes the same point in the chapter on the gatekeepers (c. 3) who have to confess if they transgressed the Rule and will be judged according to their remorse.[764]

The second scenario (which is also addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*) is much more serious: a nun does not immediately confess her accident but it is revealed by another nun. In this case, the guilty nun is to be placed in a state of *paenitentia* which is determined by the magnitude of her guilt (*culpa*).

> [7] Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius proditione cognitum fuerit, [8] prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, paenitentiae subiacebit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit.
>
> [[7] But if it becomes known not through her confession but through the disclosure of another [nun], she will be subject to penance, according to what the magnitude of the guilt demands, [8] because she has not made her offence known through plain confession.]

(763) *RcuiV*, c. 12.29: *Propter singulas neglegentias tam cocae quam cellarariae XXV palmarum percussionibus cotidianis diebus emendentur, ne minimas parui pendentes culpas in maioribus procliuiores repperiantur.*

(764) *RcuiV*, c. 3.14–15: *Si horum aliquid quae diximus transgressae fuerint, regulari paenitentia castigentur.* [15] *Si humili satisfactione patefiant, prout humilitas confitentis cernitur, ita delinquentis culpa iudicetur.*

Jonas probably elaborates here on the procedure of *paenitentia* as it is also laid out in his chapter on confession.[765] We can assume that a nun who is caught after an accident will do a *confessio* anyway, but it is not a *confessio pura* any more since it is not done spontaneously.

Then there is a third scenario, which appears to be even more serious: the possibility that an accident happened deliberately, out of a larger fault (*culpa maior*) and not just out of lack of care:

> [9]Si uero ex maioribus culpis quod ad animae maiorem pertineat damnationem commiserit, hoc secretius per puram confessionem uolens suae manifestet abbatissae, [10]ne, dum tepore animi culpam detegere uerecundat, cum reatu culpae faciem diaboli interius recondat.
>
> [[9]But if out of greater guilt she commits what leads to greater damnation of the soul, she should make it known to her abbess through a plain confession of her own will, [10]lest, she, while she is ashamed to uncover her offence out of the tepidity of her soul, hides the face of the devil within herself through her state of guilt.]

Jonas is, at this point, not concerned about the act any more, but about the motivation, which may cause no less than eternal damnation if not confessed voluntarily because if a nun does not reveal out her own will what moved her, she hides the devil inside of her. Just admitting what is obvious is not sufficient at all. We can read this provision within two frameworks. First, it deals with the enclosure of the individual, which could not only fence off pernicious outside influences but also capture the devil within a nun. Secret *confessio*, as an act of purification, safely opens this enclosure and purges the nun of the devil who is hiding inside her.[766] Secondly, Jonas makes here on the basis of a different topic exactly the same point as in the dramatic story of the two fugitive nuns in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*.[767] They incurred eternal damnation not because they escaped from the monastery but because their soul fell prey to the devil for not revealing voluntarily what motivated them to flee.

Chapter 16 is, thus, not really a regulation on accidents, but primarily an elaboration of the imperative of confession and a reflection on guilt (*culpa*) and its detrimental effects. As such, Jonas turns his revision of the respective chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* into yet another summary of his own Rule.

Poverty (Chapter 17)

Individual poverty and shared possessions belong, next to sexual continence, to the basic requirements of monastic life and they also belong to the most important issues of monastic discipline. Augustine states at the beginning of his Rule: *Et non dicatis aliquid proprium, sed sint uobis omnia communia* (And do not call anything your own, but everything for you should [be held] in common), which is based on the instructions given to the apostolic community

(765) *RcuiV*, c. 6.24–30.

(766) On *confessio* as an act of purification, see p. 322 and 422. The passage is possibly influenced by Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 9, *SC* 109, p. 132.

(767) See pp. 223–229.

in Act. 4, 32. This command, which places monks in the tradition of the earliest Christian community, reappears in almost every later monastic rule, usually in the wording provided by Augustine.[768]

Almost every rule requires entering monks or nuns to renounce their private property and to give it either to the monastery or to the poor.[769] Some specify that another transfer must be undertaken once a monk or nun reaches legal age or inherits property from their parents. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does not address these topics, probably because they are already regulated in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns.[770] Jonas does, however, talk about retaining or claiming private property *within* the monastery. Other matters of concern, which appear elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, are how members of the community deal with collective property in a responsible way,[771] and who decides about handing out objects belonging to the monastery for individual use.[772]

Other topics rarely addressed directly in monastic rules but looming in the background, are to what extent a monastery is allowed to amass riches collectively, whether it is allowed to own estates and slaves, and to what extent monks are supposed to contribute to the monastic economy through manual labour.[773] The last question did not play much of a role for female communities. There is no evidence that nuns did agricultural work themselves. One could argue that communities of monks eventually followed a female model by relying on external revenues and collectively owned property rather than their own labour.[774] One of the few early medieval texts criticizing this practice is the *Regula cuiusdam*

(768) Augustine, *Praeceptum* I.3, ed. Verheijen, p. 418; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.6, *SC* 297, p. 276; *Regula orientalis*, c. 30, *SC* 298, p. 486; *CaesRV*, c. 20.6, *SC* 345, p. 194; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 2, *SC* 398, p. 206; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 25, ed. Schmidt, p. 248; c. 35, p. 250; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 21, *PL* 68, col. 402B; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33.6, *SC* 181, p. 562; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 14.6, ed. Villegas, p. 33; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 10, ed. Desprez, p. 131; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 17.1, ed. Villegas, p. 24; *Regula Donati*, c. 8.6, *CSEL* 98, p. 152; *Regula Leandri*, c. 27, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 68; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.1, p. 93; c. 12.1, p. 109; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 11, p. 151; *Regula consensoria*, c. 1, ed. Verheijen, p. 7. Act. 4, 32 in the Vulgate translation: *Sed erant illis omnia communia*. Most monastic rules use the phrasing *sint uobis omnia communia*, which indicates direct or indirect dependence on Augustine's *Praeceptum*. On monks as apostolic community, see, for example, Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 1, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 73–74.

(769) On monastic poverty, see e.g. Brakke, David, 'Care for the Poor, Fear of Poverty, and Love of Money: Evagrius Ponticus on the Monk's Economic Vulnerability', in: Susan Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society, Holy Cross Studies in Patristic Theology and History*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2008, pp. 76–87; Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500–840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 20–24; Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 157–177.

(770) *CaesRV*, c. 3–6, *SC* 345, pp. 182–186. See also *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58–59, *SC* 182, pp. 626–634.

(771) *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 16.

(772) *RcuiV*, c. 4.8. c. 13.

(773) Brown, *Treasure in Heaven*, pp. 71–108; Rubenson, Samuel, 'Power and politics of poverty in early monasticism', in: Geoffrey D. Dunn, David Luckensmeyer, and Lawrence Cross (eds.), *Poverty and Riches*, Strathfield: Centre for Early Christian Studies 2009, pp. 91–110; Devroey, 'Monastic Economics in the Carolingian Age'; Kaplan, Michel, 'The Economy of Byzantine Monasteries', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 340–362.

(774) See pp. 460–464.

patris, the other seventh-century anonymous rule.[775] The sometimes conflicted transition from self-sufficient communities to rich monastic institutions forms part of various foundation narratives that explain how monasteries could become rich without compromising their ideals.[776]

Monastic rules – but also some narrative texts – indicate that the desire to own and to have control over objects of everyday use or to secretly retain private possessions formed a serious problem in monastic communities.[777] On the one hand, property could determine status and undermine the ideal of equality in the monastic community; on the other hand, it seems that the desire to have something belonging to oneself becomes almost as strong as sexual desire. John Cassian places *auaritia* (greed) in his work on the eight principle vices right after *luxuria* (lust). He emphasizes that both are related and describes the secret desire to keep something for oneself as a slippery slope leading to the ruin of every monk who indulges in it. Jonas and Caesarius use the term *concupiscentia* both for lust and greed – and it is the bed, the only truly private place, that forms the dedicated space to commit both vices.[778] Cassian's chapter on *auaritia* looms, as we will see, in the background of chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

Hardly any other transgression receives such a merciless response in monastic narratives as retaining, keeping, or hiding private property – the sin that lead to the death of Ananias and Sapphira (Act. 5, 1–11). The second temptation of Antony (after lustful thoughts) consists of a lump of gold put on his path.[779] The *Verba Seniorum* contain numerous stories about monks succumbing to the desire of possessions.[780] Gregory the Great tells in his *Dialogues* the story of the monk Justus, a member of his own community, who kept three gold coins for himself. Gregory denied the dying monk every comfort and had him buried in

(775) The *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 12, ed. Villegas, p. 20 makes a strong point that monks should sustain themselves through manual labour and give all surplus to the poor. No other monastic rule expresses this viewpoint in a similarly radical way.

(776) Diem, 'Debating Columbanus's heritage', pp. 281–282; id., 'Columbanus' stolen glove', pp. 66–67; id., 'Who is allowed to pray for the king', pp. 61–63'; id., 'Die "Regula Columbani" und die "Regula Sancti Galli"' discuss this contested tradition in the context of the Jura monasteries, the monastery of Aniane, and St Gallen. The question of whether there was something like an early medieval monastic *Armutsstreit* (poverty debate) still needs to be investigated systematically.

(777) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 81–83, ed. Boon, pp. 37–38; *Liber Orsiesii*, c. 21–22, pp. 122–124; *Regula Basilii*, c. 29, *CSEL* 86, p. 76; Augustine, *Ordo monasterii*, c. 4, ed. Verheijen, p. 150; Augustine, *Praeceptum* I.3, p. 418; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 32/34, ed. Ledoyen, p. 166; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 1.5–6, *SC* 297, pp. 274–276; *Regula orientalis*, c. 30, *SC* 298, p. 486; *CaesRV*, c. 5–6, *SC* 345, pp. 182–186; c. 17.1, p. 192; c. 21, pp. 194–196; Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 1–3, *SC* 398, pp. 204–206; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 25, ed. Schmidt, p. 248; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 21, *PL* 68, col. 402B; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 3, ed. Villegas, pp. 19–20; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 10, ed. Desprez, p. 131; c. 35.7–9, p. 143; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 27, ed. Vilanova, pp. 118–120; *Regula Magistri*, c. 16.58–61, *SC* 106, p. 82; c. 82, pp. 336–340; c. 90.63, p. 388; *Regula Leandri*, c. 28, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 70–71; *Regula Isidori*, c. 3.1, p. 93; c. 19, pp. 117–119; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 4, p. 145; c. 6, p. 147; c. 11, pp. 150–151; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 15.2–3, ed. Villegas, p. 21; c 17, pp. 24–25; *Regula Donati*, c. 8, *CSEL* 98, p. 152.

(778) *RcuiV*, c. 2.16; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 55.16–17, *SC* 182, pp. 620–622; *CaesRV*, c. 44.4, *SC* 345, p. 228.

(779) *Vita Antonii*, c. 12, *SC* 400, pp. 166–168.

(780) *Verba seniorum*, systematic collection, book 6, *PL* 73, col. 893A–905B lists 47 stories on the desire for private possessions. The preceding book lists 41 chapters on *fornicatio*.

a dung heap.[781] Jonas of Bobbio emphasizes in the short narrated rule at the beginning of the *Vita Columbani* that Columbanus' monks held everything in common and that whoever broke the rule of poverty was to be excluded from the community.[782]

Yet the *Regula Donati* shows remarkable leniency towards holding goods in private. While Caesarius' Rule for Nuns strictly prohibits the nuns from having wardrobes, Donatus changes this sentence and simply prohibits his nuns from having wardrobes that can be closed with a key.[783] Donatus' nuns seemingly could not live without being able to store objects for themselves. Eventually the question of whether monks and nuns are allowed to retain control over their own property and whether they can hold possessions within their communities became one of the main distinguishing markers between communities of monks and nuns and communities of secular canons and canonesses.[784]

Chapter 17 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* uses most of the material and terminology provided by the chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* on whether a monk is allowed to own something for himself.[785] As in previous cases, Jonas makes some discreet alterations and produces a text that is significantly longer than Benedict's because he added three theological reflections that integrate the question of private property into the overall programme of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I will discuss these theological reflections first. It is likely that Jonas had the chapter on avarice of John Cassian's *Institutiones* in mind when he revised this chapter of the *Regula Benedicti*. All three insertions show traces of Cassian's work.[786]

> [1] Proprii aliquid in monasterio nihil habendum, sed potius propter nomen Domini omnia contemnenda. [2] Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, *cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo*? [3] Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo, [4] quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo?
>
> [[1] In the monastery nothing may be held as property, but all things are rather to be despised on behalf of the Lord's name. [2] For how should a faithful soul claim something of the things of the world as her own – [a soul] to whom *the world is crucified, and who is crucified to the world*?

(781) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 57.8–11, *SC* 265, pp. 188–190.

(782) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 5–7: *Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione uindicabatur.*

(783) Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', p. 7. Compare *CaesRV*, c. 9.1, *SC* 345, pp. 186–188: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem, nec habebit cubiculum uel armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod peculiarius claudi possit.* with *Regula Donati*, c. 11.1, *CSEL* 98, p. 153: *Nulli liceat semotam eligere mansionem nec habebit cubiculum aut armariolum aut aliquid huiusmodi, quod pecularius cum claui claudi possit.*

(784) Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 31, ed. Bertram, pp. 46–48; *Institutio canonicorum*, c. 115–120, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, pp. 397–400; *Institutio sanctimonialium*, c. 9–13, pp. 444–448; c. 21, p. 452; Claussen, Martin A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chrodegang of Metz and the "Regula canonicorum" in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, pp. 94–103; Felten, Franz J., 'Auf dem Weg zu Kanonissen und Kanonissenstift. Ordnungskonzepte der weiblichen Vita religiosa bis ins 9. Jahrhundert', in: Raphaela Averkorn, Winfried Eberhard, Raimund Haas, and Bernd Schmies (eds.), *Europa und die Welt der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Dieter Berg*, Bochum: Winkler 2004, pp. 551–573.

(785) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33, *SC* 182, p. 562.

(786) Cassian, *Institutiones* VII (on avarice), *SC* 109, pp. 290–332.

(Gal. 6, 14) 3 Why should someone, who is once and for all dead to the world, resume to live in the world through some greed for temporal things or any miserable longing – 4 someone who, having despised the world, had already begun to live for God?]

Jonas requires more from his nuns than just not keeping objects for themselves. They have to consciously despise (*contemnere*) property, which ties into Jonas' overall concern for motivations rather than acts.[787] John Cassian, as well, reflects in his *Institutiones* on the will (*uoluntas*) to renounce property.[788] Jonas also echoes Cassian in his addition of two rhetorical questions – a device he uses regularly in his Rule.[789] Despising property is for Jonas a matter of the soul (*anima*) and of cutting ties with the world (*mundus*).

Inspired by the widely used passage from Gal. 6, 14 on being crucified to the world,[790] Jonas uses the term *mundus* (which is absent from the *Regula Benedicti*) no fewer than six times in this short passage. In fact, the imperative of detachment from the *mundus* is the true theme of chapter 17, and Jonas uses property merely as an example to stress his point. He does not imply that the desire to claim property within the monastery establishes ties to the "real" outside world, but rather that clinging to private possessions, to "mundane" objects (*res mundi*), is a worldly desire that should have been overcome by entering the monastery.

The same idea appears elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but also in the *Vita Columbani*. The *portaria*, for example, is supposed to not desire anything of worldly pomp (*ex praesentibus pompis*).[791] Transgressions in general are described as misdeeds of the world (*facinora mundi*).[792] True love is love *secundum Deum* and not *secundum saeculum*.[793] Holding a grudge against a fellow nun is a symptom of not having left the world behind (*saeculum non reliquisti*).[794] For Jonas, *mundus* and *saeculum* stand for a human sinfulness that one should escape through a true monastic conversion, but not simply for the world outside the monastic walls.[795] Objects belonging to the monastery are sacred as long as they are held in common and properly guarded, but they turn into "mundane" objects once they are claimed for oneself, which means that claiming them forms an act of sacrilege.[796] Lastly,

(787) Jonas uses the term *contemnere* in a similar context in *RcuiV*, c. 3.3. See also *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15–16; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 18.

(788) Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 21, *SC* 109, p. 322.

(789) See Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 27, p. 328: *Super tectum euangelici culminis stabilitus quid descendis tollere aliquid de domo tua, ex his uidelicet quae antea contempsisti? Constitutus in agro atque operatione uirtutum substantia mundi, qua te renuntians spoliasti, quid recurrens niteris reuestiri?*

(790) Gal. 6, 14: *Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo*, also used in *RcuiV*, c. 3.1.

(791) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1.

(792) *RcuiV*, c. 23.5.

(793) *RcuiV*, c. 5.9.

(794) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261.

(795) See pp. 235–238.

(796) Monastic property as sacred and belonging to God: *RcuiV*, c. 3.22; c. 12.29; c. 13; c. 17.6. See also Diem, 'The stolen glove'.

worldly desire (*concupiscentia*) averts from the desire for God, which is also a thought that forms part of Cassian's general assessment of vices.[797]

The second theological section addresses a different aspect of handling *res mundi*, again in the form of a rhetorical question, but moves away from the theme of property itself:

> [8] Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus uoluntates propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?
>
> [[8] For which mundane objects should she give to another sister, who for the sake of Christ has given her will over in all regards to the power of the abbess?]

Jonas' question is more complicated than it looks at first sight. It fits into a broader concern for any kind of personal relationship between nuns, a concern that also surfaces at various points in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The imperative of unlimited mutual love may by no means be disturbed by any form of personal affection or uncontrolled interaction between individual nuns. Jonas explains this here by stating that a nun is supposed to have handed over her will (*uoluntas*) to the power of the abbess, which is an interesting variation of Benedict's notion of *propria uoluntas* (one's own will). Benedict states that a monk is supposed not to have a *propria uoluntas* at all, just as he is not supposed to have control over his own body.[798] Jonas' view on his nuns' *uoluntas* is different. They are supposed to *have* a *uoluntas* – and this *uoluntas* is even crucial for their pursuit of salvation – but they are supposed to submit their *uoluntas* to the power of the abbess.

Jonas ends his chapter with a third rationale which is, like the previous ones, absent in the *Regula Benedicti*. He leaves private property behind and focuses on the underlying vice, i.e. greed:

> [11] …ne cupiditatis aut temeritatis malum incurrens in laqueum, Iudae proditoris consortio numeretur, qui solus in numero Apostolorum loculos habuisse refertur ubi commutantium ac uendentium commertia ponebantur.
>
> [[11] …lest they run into the evil trap of greed or recklessness and be counted among the company of the traitor Judas, who is told to have been the only among the number of Apostles with a purse, where the commerce of traders and sellers was kept.]

The idea that the evils of greed (*cupiditas*) and recklessness (*temeritas*) are a trap (*laqueus*), a slippery slope, as it were, is again influenced by John Cassian.[799] Cassian elaborates on Judas as the one in charge of the possessions and goods of the community of the Apostles and the one who eventually succumbs to greed.[800] *Cupiditas*, another term absent in the *Regula Benedicti*, encompasses, as already stated, both greed and sexual lust; it may be

(797) Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 95–111.

(798) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33.4, *SC* 182, p. 562: *…quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec uoluntates licet habere in propria uoluntate.*

(799) Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 11–12, *SC* 109, pp. 306–308, using the expression *laquea* (trappings) several times.

(800) Cassian, *Institutiones* VII, c. 23–24, pp. 324–326.

understood as perversion of the *amor*, *dilectus*, and *pietas* that should guide a nun according to various chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[801]

The practical provisions of chapter 17 bear little surprises. Jonas largely uses what he found in the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [1] Proprii aliquid in monasterio nihil habendum.
>
> [[1] In the monastery nothing may be held as property.]
>
> [5] Amputandum ergo est hoc uitium radicitus ab omni monacha, ut nullam rem, uel in uestimentis seu in calciamentis uel in quibuslibet rebus, sibi uindicet uel suum esse dicat, [6] nisi quantum ex abbatissae iussione penes se precipitur retinere, ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina. [7] Et ea quae sibi ab abbatissa fuerint commendata, id est ad necessitatem presentem, aut in uestimento aut in qualibet re, nihil exinde aut dare aut commodare cuiquam praesumat, nisi tantum si ab abbatissa illi fuerit ordinatum.
>
> [[5] Therefore, this vice has to be cut off by every nun at the root, so that she does not claim anything for herself or say that it is hers, be it clothing or shoes or any other things, [6] except in as much she is instructed to keep it for herself by the order of the abbess – as if she is a guardian of someone else's property but not as the mistress of her own property. [7] And whatever clothes or other things are entrusted to her by the abbess, that is for present need, she should thereafter not dare to give or to lend to anyone, unless it is ordered of her by the abbess.]
>
> [9] Omnia ergo quae in monasterio habentur, sint omnibus communia, iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus: *Et erant*, inquit, *eis omnia communia.* [10] Sic tamen communia sunt habenda ut nulla aut dare aut accipere nisi abbatissa ordinante praesumat…
>
> [[9] All objects that are kept in the monastery should be for all in common, according to what we read in the Acts of the Apostles: *And everything*, he says, *they held in common.* [10] In such a way, however, are the things to be held in common, that no one dares to give or to receive, unless by the order of the abbess…]
>
> [12] Quod si huic uitio aliqua sororum delectari fuerit depraehensa, et post primam, secundam uel tertiam correptionem emendare noluerit, disciplinae regulari subiacebit.
>
> [[12] But if any of the sisters is caught indulging in this vice, and she does not want to improve after the first, second, or third reproach, she will be subject to the punishment of the rule.]

The most important difference between Jonas' provisions and those we find in the *Regula Benedicti* concerns the specific objects that may not be held in private. Benedict is not only concerned about clothing but also about books and writing utensils (*neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque grafium, sed nihil omnino*);[802] Jonas uses vestments as main example. This might indicate that writing and copying books was not one of the primary activities of the nuns in Faremoutiers, which does not, however, preclude that early medieval female communities had their own *scriptoria* and were places of book production. Instead, it could indicate a different way of administering the scriptorium's supplies. We find a similar subtle adaptation of the *Regula Benedicti* in the *Regula Donati* as well.[803]

(801) See pp. 403–406.
(802) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 33.3, *SC* 182, p. 562.
(803) *Regula Donati*, c. 8.3, *CSEL* 98, p. 152; Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 18–20.

Jonas, moreover, identifies the sanction imposed on nuns who do not improve as *disciplina regularis* and not, like Benedict, as *correptio* (reproach). Lastly, the chapter elaborates on the theme of utmost care for every object (which is not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti* at this point). A nun has to treat every object she has received from her superior *ac si custos alterius, non propriae rei domina* (as if she is a guardian of someone else's things but not as the mistress of her own things). Like in previous chapters, Jonas shifts his focus from the provision itself (nothing may be held privately – which is pretty much a given) to the *why* (it would undo the renunciation of the world) and the *how* (by consciously despising property).

Excommunication and Punishment (Chapters 18–20)

The next three chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* develop a detailed outline of monastic discipline and punishment which revolves around the expressions *excommunicatio* and *excommunicare*. The purpose of my analysis of this set of chapters is, on the one hand, to provide a genealogy of the term *excommunicatio* in its specifically monastic context and, on the other hand, to investigate how Jonas uses this term and how he integrates *excommunicatio* into his own monastic programme. I will not produce a comprehensive history of monastic disciplinary systems because this would be a book of its own.[804] A sentence-by-sentence analysis of chapters 18–20 will, however, shed light on discipline and punishment in Jonas' own world and suggests approaches to studying disciplinary programmes in monastic communities.

The term *excommunicatio* is confusing because it appears in two different contexts that only incidentally touch each other: "ecclesiastical" *excommunicatio* and "monastic" *excommunicatio*. Both concepts emerged largely independently from each other. Ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* is relatively well studied,[805] but there is not much on monastic *excommunicatio* aside from analyses of Benedict's concept of *excommunicatio* in modern commentaries on the *Regula Benedicti*, Mayke de Jong's work on penance within and outside a monastic context, and a recent study by Isabelle Rosé that provides an overview of all provisions on excommunication in monastic rules.[806]

(804) The classical studies in these fields are Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books 1979; Goffman, Erving, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968; Asad, Talal, 'On Discipline and Humility in Medieval Christian Monasticism', in: *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press 1993, pp. 125–167.

(805) See Vodola, Elisabeth, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press 1986; Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e^-XII^e^ s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015. For the early medieval period, see also Mathisen, Ralph W., 'Les pratiques de l'excommunication d'après la législation conciliaire en Gaule (V^e^-VI^e^ siècle)', in: Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux (eds.), *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge), I: L'institution. Actes du séminaire tenu à Paris, Institut catholique (1997–2004)*, Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes 2009, pp. 539–560.

(806) Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, pp. 253–294; De Jong, Mayke, 'Transformations of Penance', in: Frans Theuws und Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2000, pp. 185–224; Rosé, Isabelle, 'Exclure dans un Mode Clos? L'*Excommuni-*

Ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* appears in the Latin acts of episcopal councils beginning with the Council of Nicaea. Originally, *excommunicatio* seems to have been a disciplinary measure primarily imposed by bishops and councils upon criminal, rebellious, or disobedient clerics. It mainly entailed the prohibition to perform the Eucharist. Later on, *excommunicatio* was also imposed on laypeople, for example for killing one's slave, and on anyone who associated with excommunicated individuals. This indicates that at some point *excommunicatio* did not only encompass the prohibition to celebrate Mass or to receive the Eucharist but also the exclusion from any kind of prayer, and social isolation. The use of the term in legal texts increased over time. Carolingian *Capitularia* and acts of councils provide detailed legal instructions on excommunication and reconciliation.

The Genealogy of Monastic excommunicatio

One important difference between ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* and monastic *excommunicatio* is that in the world outside the monastery the term seems to refer primarily to *communio*, the Eucharist, and the exclusion from performing Mass or partaking in it. We find this aspect rarely addressed in monastic texts. Monastic *excommunicatio* is a serious form of punishment, but it has fewer implications than ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*. It does not necessarily lead to an exclusion from receiving the Eucharist and it is not the same as expulsion from the monastic community. It remains unclear whether *excommunicatio*, as far as it appears in monastic tests, refers to *communitas*, the community, to *communio*, a coming-together, and especially coming together for receiving the Eucharist, or to *communicare*, any form of verbal or non-verbal communication. Monastic rules that address *excommunicatio* understand the term in various ways.

Excommunicatio and *excommunicare* appear within the monastic sphere almost exclusively in normative texts. It is largely absent in ascetic treatises (including the works of John Cassian), in Latin translations of Greek desert father texts, and in early medieval monastic hagiography. All exceptions refer to ecclesiastical rather than monastic excommunication. In Gregory's *Dialogues*, Benedict excommunicates two nuns because they did not refrain from gossiping. The nuns died and were buried in the church, but whenever Communion was celebrated, they rose from the graves and left the church, until Benedict reconciled them.[807] Gregory of Tours excommunicated the nuns of Radegund's monastery in Poitiers who rebelled against their abbess, broke their rule, and left the monastery – which can be understood as an ecclesiastical rather than a monastic *excommunicatio*.[808] According to the oldest version of the *Vita Galli*, Columbanus excommunicated Gallus who stayed behind at

catio dans les règles monastiques de l'antiquité tardive et du haut moyen âge', in: Geneviève Bührer-Thierry and Stéphane Gioanni (eds.), *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e^-XII^e^ s.)*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, pp. 119–142.

(807) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* II, c. 23.2–7, *SC* 260, pp. 204–210.

(808) Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IX, c. 39–43, *MGH SRM* 1.1, pp. 460–475; X, c. 15–20, pp. 501–513. See pp. 245–246.

Lake Constance against Columbanus' will. In this case *excommunicatio* is defined as prohibition to read Mass until Columbanus' death.[809]

The corpus of Latin monastic rules can be divided into three different groups according to their treatment of *excommunicatio*. A number of important monastic rules, such as those of Augustine, Pachomius, and Columbanus (but also the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* and the *Regula Ferrioli*) never mention *excommunicatio* as a disciplinary measure. A second group refers to *excommunicatio* but does not place it at the centre of monastic discipline: the Rule of Basil, the *Regulae patrum*, the Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian, and the *Regula cuiusdam patris*. The third group consists of rules in which *excommunicatio* plays a central role in their disciplinary programme: the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, the *Regula Donati*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, and all the Visigothic monastic rules.[810]

Let us first look at the monastic rules in which *excommunicatio* appears in a sideline. The oldest one is Rufinus' fourth-century Latin translation of Basil's Rule. *Excommunicatio* appears only twice in its 203 chapters in rather unexpected contexts. Basil/Rufinus requires that whoever slanders or listens to slander has to be punished with *excommunicatio*, and he imposes *excommunicatio* and exclusion from meals on a monk who is annoyed or angry when awoken from sleep.[811] If a monk persists in these habits, he needs to be considered a rotten limb of the body (*putrefactum membrum*) and be cut off (*abscindatur*).[812] Both chapters are translations from Basil's *Short Rule* and it seems that Rufinus was primarily looking for a convenient Latin term to render the meaning the Greek verb ἀφορίζω (to separate).[813]

Even though *excommunicatio* plays a marginal role in the Latin *Regula Basilii*, Rufinus' decision to use this expression for resolving a translation issue may have had a deep impact on establishing and defining the term in Latin monastic normative traditions. The connection between *excommunicatio* and cutting off a rotten limb (*abscindere membrum putrefactum*) developed a life of its own, just like the connection between *excommunicatio* and exclusion from meals, the idea that compunction forms the basis for reconciliation, and the notion that unwillingness to repent may lead to expulsion. Basil's particular dislike of people who were moody in the morning may have been the first instance of defining *excommunicatio* as

(809) *Vita Galli vetustissima*, c. 2, *MGH SRM* 4, p. 252.

(810) On the Visigothic monastic rules, see now Díaz, Pablo C., 'Social Plurality and Monastic Diversity in Late Antique Hispania (Sixth–Eighth Century)', in: Alison Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020, pp. 195–212.

(811) *Regula Basilii*, c. 76, *CSEL* 86, p. 110: *Interr. Quodsi contristatur ille qui excitatur aut etiam si irascitur, quid dignus est? Responsio.* [1] *Interim excommunicari et non manducare, si forte compunctus agnoscat quantis et qualibus bonis semet ipsum insipienter defraudet, et ita conuersus recipiat gratiam eius qui dixit Memor fui dei et laetatus sum.* (Ps. 76/77, 4 *LXX*) [2] *Quodsi permanserit in stultitia non intellegens gratiam abscidatur tamquam putrefactum membrum a corpore,* [3] *scriptum est enim quia Expedit ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum et non omne corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam.* (Matth. 5, 29–30). See also p. 488.

(812) *Regula Basilii*, c. 43, p. 88: *Interr. Qui detrahit de fratre aut audit detrahentem et patitur, quid dignus est? Responsio.* [1] *Excommunicari. Detrahentem enim, inquit, occulte aduersus proximum suum hunc persequebar* (Ps. 100/101, 5 *LXX*)*, et alibi dictum est Noli libenter audire detrahentem, ne forte eradiceris.* (cf. Prou. 20, 13).

(813) Basil, *Shorter Rule*, c. 26, *PG* 31, col. 1101–1102 and c. 44, col. 1109–1112; Silvas, Anna M., *The Rule of St Basil in Latin and English*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2013, p. 147, n. 89; p. 171, n. 98.

a medical or "surgical" disciplinary measure, as we would later find it later in the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and eventually in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

The next group of monastic rules in which the term *excommunicatio* appears are the so-called *Regulae Patrum* (*Regula quattuor patrum*, *Regula patrum secunda*, *Regula patrum tertia*, and *Regula orientalis*). It is possible that *excommunicatio* entered these Rules independently from Rufinus' decision to use it as Latin translation of a Greek term. The *Regula quattuor patrum*, which was probably written in the first half of the fifth century and is commonly associated with Lérins, defines *excommunicatio* as temporary measure. The duration and implication of *excommunicatio* depends on the nature of the fault. For idle talk (*sermo otiosus*) a monk is to be excluded from the community (*congregatio*) and from any conversation for three days. No one is allowed to interact with the guilty monk. Monks who are caught joking or using coarse speech (*in risu uel scurrilitate sermonis*) are to be excommunicated for two weeks.[814]

For the authors of the *Regula quattuor patrum* the punishment of *excommunicatio* seems to refer primarily to communication. Wrongful communication (*sermo otiosus*, *risus*, *scurrilitas sermonis*) leads to an exclusion from the community which manifests itself primarily as temporary exclusion from any social interaction: a specific punishment tailored towards a specific transgression. Unlike Basil's (or rather Rufinus') *excommunicatio*, this measure has a time limit and does not require compunction and reconciliation in order to be lifted.

Like the *excommunicatio* of the *Regula Basilii*, the *excommunicatio* of the *Regula quattuor patrum* had an afterlife and an impact on concepts of monastic *excommunicatio* that emerged later. In various sixth- and seventh-century monastic rules, including the *Regula Magistri*, the *Regula Benedicti*, and our *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, we find the idea that there are different forms, periods, and gradations of *excommunicatio* based on the severity of the fault, and the idea of *excommunicatio* as temporary measure. This is also the case for the notion of *excommunicatio* as exclusion from communication and social interaction.

The *Regula patrum secunda* expands on the *Regula quattuor patrum*. Its authors add murmuring, contentiousness, and opposition to precepts to the list. These transgressions lead first to reproach (*correptio*) by the superior, then being separated (*abstineatur*) and to humiliating oneself in penance (*se paenitendo humiliauerit*). Excommunicated monks are, however, not allowed to "withdraw anywhere" (*non audeat usquam recedere*). Those who consent to the errors of the incriminated monk are also worthy of *excommunicatio*.[815] This notion of a "contagious *excommunicatio*" developed an afterlife as well.

(814) *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 5.1–6, *SC* 297, pp. 202–204: *Nec hoc tacendum est, qualiter culpae singulorum emendentur. Pro qualitate culpae erit excommunicatio. Ergo iste ordo teneatur.* 2 *Si quis ex fratribus sermonem otiosum emiserit,* 3 *ne reus sit concilii, praecipimus eum triduo a fratrum congregatione uel colloquio alienum esse, ut nullus cum eo iungatur.* 4 *Si uero aliquis depraehensus fuerit in risu uel scurrilitate sermonis –* 5 *sicut dicit Apostolus: Quae ad rem non pertinent –* (Eph. 5, 4)*,* 6 *iubemus huiusmodi duarum ebdomadarum in nomine Domini omni flagello humilitatis coherceri.*

(815) *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 5.27–30, *SC* 297, pp. 278–280. *Si quis autem murmurauerit uel contentiosus extiterit aut opponens in aliquo contrariam uoluntatem praeceptis,* 28 *digne correptus secundum arbitrium praepositi tamdiu abstineatur quamdiu uel culpae qualitas poposcerit uel se paenitendo humiliauerit atque emendauerit.* 29 *Correptus autem non audeat usquam recedere.* 30 *Si quis uero de fratribus, uel qui in monasterio sunt uel qui per cellulis consistunt, eius errori consenserit, excommunicatione dignissimus habeatur.*

The *Regula patrum tertia* imposes *excommunicatio* on a monk who does not prostrate himself and ask for forgiveness after arriving late to the hours of prayer.[816] This adds to *excommunicatio* as a punishment for a wrong kind of communication: not asking for forgiveness where it is required.

The first monastic rule that breaks out of the pattern of excommunication as a sanction for transgressive communication is the *Regula orientalis*, which integrates *excommunicatio* into a sequence of increasingly severe disciplinary measures. A monk is first to be reproached by the abbot in secrecy. If this shows no effect he needs to be reproached by a small group of seniors and then chastised in front of the entire community. The next step is excommunication and exclusion from meals. After that, he is to be placed in the lowest rank in the order of prayer, subsequently excluded from prayer, and finally excluded from the community and from Mass, table, and any form of communication with non-seniors.[817] Here we have a sequential process and the application of *excommunicatio* as a sanction to be imposed on those who do not admit to their faults or improve their behaviour. We find for the first time the notion of *excommunicatio* as part of a procedure of punishment that is determined by the severity of a monk's transgression and the willingness to show remorse.

Caesarius of Arles uses the expression *excommunicatio* once in his Rule for Nuns and once in his Rule for Monks. He prescribes that a nun who, for whatever reason, is excommunicated should be separated from the community and stay in a place prescribed by the abbess, accompanied by a "spiritual sister" until she receives forgiveness by humbly doing penance.[818] Here we have the notion of spatial separation and the connection of *excommunicatio* and imprisonment: exclusion by confinement, not by expulsion. According to his Rule for Monks, a monk needs to be imprisoned in company with a *senior*; he is required to read until he asks for pardon.[819] Caesarius understands *excommunicatio* to be a prohibition of any form of communication, which could be warranted by various reasons and go along with imprisonment. It is, however, not mentioned in any of the other provisions on punishment in both rules.

Aurelianus of Arles prescribes in his Rule for Monks, in line with Caesarius, that no one is allowed to talk to an excommunicated person except for the one who has to guard him by order of the abbot.[820] The *Regula Tarnatensis* refers to *excommunicatio* in a different context: those who pray (the author uses the word *meditare*) are not allowed to engage in other things or leave the *schola* or whatever place they use for that purpose. Whoever violates this rule undergoes *excommunicatio*.[821]

(816) *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 6, *SC* 298, p. 536: *Ad horam uero orationis, dato signo, qui non statim praetermisso omni opere quod agit, quia nihil orationi praeponendum est – ab abbate uel praeposito corripiatur, et nisi prostratus ueniam petierit, excommunicetur.*

(817) *Regula orientalis*, c. 32, *SC* 298, p. 488, especially c. 32.7–8: *…abstineatur a conuentu fratrum, ita ut nec mensae nec missae intersit, neque cum eo ullus frater de iunioribus conloquatur.*

(818) *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, *SC* 345, p. 214: *Si qua uero pro quacumque re excommunicata fuerit, remota a congregatione, in loco quo abbatissa iusserit, cum una de spiritalibus sororibus resideat, quousque humiliter paenitendo indulgentiam. accipiat.*

(819) Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 23, *SC* 398, p. 222.

(820) Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 36, ed. Schmidt, p. 250. This provision does not appear in Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines*.

(821) *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 7, ed. Villegas, pp. 23–24.

A last monastic rule that uses *excommunicatio* only once is the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, which is largely based on Basil's Rule, Cassian's work, and the Rules of Columbanus. One important theme in this Rule is the responsibility and authority of the abbot. The author explicitly states that monks are allowed to depose an abbot or superior who does not follow the *mandata Dei* (the precepts of God) or who indulges in pleasures, drinking, or opulence. If deposition is impossible, the monks are allowed to leave their abbot, and he should undergo *excommunicatio*.[822]

This review of the use of *excommunicatio* leaves us with two important insights. First, the expression has different meanings and contexts in each rule (though we might cautiously group the *Regulae patrum* together). Secondly, most of these diverse meanings have an afterlife and resurface in those monastic rules in which *excommunicatio* plays a central role (which includes, as we will see, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*). Monastic *excommunicatio* became a hybrid of several normative traditions.

No rule has as much to say about monastic *excommunicatio* as the *Regula Magistri* which devotes a sequence of three chapters (c. 12–14) to the nature and practice of excommunication and reintegration into the community. The term *excommunicatio* also appears in eleven more chapters. The short chapter 12 of the *Regula Magistri* explains when *excommunicatio* should occur: a monk who is irreverent, proud, murmuring, or disobedient has to be reproached once or twice, then be referred to the abbot who imposes an *excommunicatio* according to the severity of his guilt.[823] Chapter 13 and 14 of the *Regula Magistri* explain what this *excommunicatio* entails and turn the process of excommunication and of reconciliation into a veritable trial, a dramatic event that includes long speeches of the abbot, confessions of guilt by the excommunicated monk, and prayers by the community. Both chapters belong to the long digressions of the *Regula Magistri* that turn the Rule into something that comes close to a theatre script.[824]

According to the long and terrifying speech the abbot has to give on the occasion of an excommunication, an incriminated monk is to be considered a renegade, a heretic, a servant of the devil, and scabies that has afflicted the flock. He is a Judas who has betrayed God for money and a hero of injustice who hates discipline, whose mouth has overflowed with wickedness, and who will face his just punishment before the tremendous judge. This summarizes only the first half of the abbot's speech, which goes on to add several more accusations and insults.[825] Chapter 14 provides two long speeches that the excommunicated monk has to give in order to receive reconciliation – memorizing these speeches would be a severe punishment in itself.[826] Aside from the words put into the mouth of the abbot, the

(822) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 20.1–5, ed. Villegas, p. 26: *Si quis ex senioribus siue is qui abbas nuncupatur, uoluptuosus exsistat et ebriosus et diues,* 2 *et qui huic saeculo conformatur, id est "in curribus et in equis", de loco ad locum discurrat,* 3 *hic non solum principatu fratrum indignus est, uerum etiam homicida animarum iudicandus est:* 4 *et alius monasterio eius praesse constituatur.* 5 *Sin uero non poterint monachi ab illo exeant, et ille excommunicetur.*

(823) *Regula Magistri*, c. 12, *SC* 106, pp. 32–34.

(824) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13–14, pp. 34–62.

(825) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.9–40, pp. 36–40.

(826) *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.3–19, pp. 48–50; c. 14.34–66, pp. 54–58.

guilty monk, and the community, chapters 13–14 provide various details about the nature of excommunication. It involves removal from the oratory and from the common meal, complete social isolation, and forced labour. If the excommunicated monk is allowed to eat, then only in solitude, one hour after the rest of the community. Everyone who interacts with him without authorization faces *excommunicatio* as well.[827]

Aside from this *excommunicatio* for severe transgressions, the *Regula Magistri* imposes an excommunication for less serious offences, which only consists of exclusion from table.[828] A monk who has received full *excommunicatio* needs to prostrate himself in front of the threshold of the oratory, make satisfaction, and promise improvement. A monk who is only excluded from table may not take on any leading role in the liturgy.[829] A monk who refuses for more than three days to make satisfaction, has to be locked up, severely beaten, and, if the abbot decides so, expelled from the monastery.[830] Part of the act of reconciliation is a last admonishing speech by the abbot in which he warns the monk that this was his only chance at penance and that a second attempt to repent would turn him into a heretic.[831] At the end of the chapter, the *Regula Magistri* states that children up to fifteen years are excluded from this procedure and only face corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is also (presumably along with excommunication) applied to serious faults, such as theft, attempts to escape, or any other crime.[832]

The *Regula Magistri* shares several practical aspects of *excommunicatio* with previous monastic rules, but it is the only one that incorporates the rhetoric of ecclesiastical *excommunicatio* and reconciliation by placing a monk's transgression on the same level as heresy and apostasy. The Rule also includes elements of the penance practiced in the early church, which could be performed only once.[833] No other monastic rule establishes such a connection between ecclesiastical and monastic penance.

If we look at the other provisions in the *Regula Magistri* it seems that the author (or, more likely, the authors) of this Rule apply at least two different notions of *excommunicatio*: the terrifying procedure laid out in detail in chapters 13–14, and simple forms of exclusion as punishment for a variety of rather menial transgressions. These sanctions include *excommunicatio* of monks in the kitchen service who have not prepared the meal on time (which merely involves a reduced portion of bread),[834] a special *excommunicatio* for those arriving late at table (which includes eating at a separate space and having food that is not blessed),[835] eating and drinking after Compline (*excommunicatio* in the form of three days of

(827) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.41–59, pp. 40–44.
(828) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.60–61, p. 44.
(829) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.62–67, pp. 44–46.
(830) *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.68–74, pp. 46–48.
(831) *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.68–69, p. 58.
(832) *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.79–87, pp. 60–62.
(833) On the so-called public *paenitentia*, see Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbuße im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*; De Jong, 'What was public about public pennance?'; Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, pp. 12–36.
(834) *Regula Magistri*, c. 19.13–17, p. 94.
(835) *Regula Magistri*, c. 23.46–50, p. 120.

fasting),[836] reluctance to travel on behalf of the monastery,[837] not saying farewell, or parting from each other without saying a prayer,[838] pretending to be too sick to attend prayer,[839] or having too many wet dreams as a result of lustful thoughts.[840] It is rather unlikely that monks who had performed these transgressions had to undergo the procedure laid out in chapters 13–14.

Only three other chapters of the *Regula Magistri* may refer to the severe *excommunicatio* laid out in chapters 13–14. A monk has to face a *grandis et diuturna excommunicatio* if caught keeping private possessions.[841] Postulants who went through the procedure of admission have to wait for another two months in which they live and work with the monks but "have to follow the discipline of the rule of excommunications" (*regulae excommunicationum disciplinam*) – a puzzling statement which might imply either that they are to be treated as if they are in the state of excommunication or that *disciplina regulae excommunicationum* simply stands for the entire disciplinary system of the monastery.[842] Furthermore, a substitute abbot has the right to impose excommunications if the abbot in charge is absent, but if this substitute abbot falls short, he should should be demoted and himself submit to *excommunicatio*.[843]

We should assume, therefore, that *excommunicatio* could mean various forms of, usually temporary, "exclusion" (from spaces, activities, and social interaction), and a full "Exclusion", i.e. the dramatic procedure that may have been modelled after ecclesiastical excommunication.

The *Regula Benedicti* shows similarities in phrasing, terminology, and content with the *Regula Magistri* though I would consider a direct dependence rather improbable. The assumption that both rules originate from the same monastic milieu and shared a pool of authoritative texts is more likely.[844] The *Regula Benedicti* does not show any traces of the terrifying procedure of excommunication and reconciliation laid out in chapters 13–14 of the *Regula Magistri* and does not share the idea of modelling monastic *excommunicatio* after ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*. Instead, Benedict places himself in the tradition of older monastic rules and the more lenient references to *excommunicatio* in the *Regula Magistri* by treating *excommunicatio* as an internal and rather flexible disciplinary measure.

The *Regula Benedicti* contains two separate disciplinary sections, chapters 23–30, which largely revolve around the notion of *excommunicatio*, and chapters 43–46, which deal with forms of negligent behaviour, such as arriving late at table, making mistakes in performing the liturgy, or causing damage while doing work for the community. Integrated into this

(836) *Regula Magistri*, c. 30.28–30, pp. 166–168.
(837) *Regula Magistri*, c. 57.14–16, p. 270.
(838) *Regula Magistri*, c. 63.1–2, p. 288.
(839) *Regula Magistri*, c. 69.1–10, pp. 296–298.
(840) *Regula Magistri*, c. 80.8–13, p. 330.
(841) *Regula Magistri*, c. 82.26–31, p. 340.
(842) *Regula Magistri*, c. 88.4, p. 368.
(843) *Regula Magistri*, c. 93.66–67, pp. 434–436; c. 93.76–79, pp. 436–438.
(844) On the *Regula Benedicti-Regula Magistri* debate, see pp. 325–326.

second sequence, and slightly out of place, we find a procedure for the reintegration of excommunicated monks, which is a far cry from chapter 14 of the *Regula Magistri.*

The first set of disciplinary chapters (23–30) of the *Regula Benedicti* form the basis of chapters 18–20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[845] In similar words as the *Regula Magistri*, chapters 23–26 define who is deserving of excommunication and give an outline of the procedure of excommunication. A monk who either shows the wrong attitude (being stubborn, disobedient, arrogant, or murmuring) or who actively violates the rule or the precepts of a superior should be first reprimanded by his superior, then scolded publicly and, if this does not show effect, excommunicated, but only if he understands what this means. If a monk has no understanding of its implications, he should be beaten instead. Some of these measures can be found in the *Regula Magistri*, others, e.g. the public reprimand and the reference to unintelligent monks, may come from other traditions.

Like the *Regula Magistri* (though phrased differently), the *Regula Benedicti* foresees different levels of *excommunicatio*: the exclusion from common meals, the exclusion from meals *and* prayers, complete social isolation, and forced labour. A first level of *excommunicatio* entails that a monk may be present at the liturgical Hours but not take an active role by leading Psalms or Antiphons or reciting the readings. Both forms of excommunication have no temporal limit but last until the monk gains pardon by making a credible satisfaction. Everyone who interacts with an excommunicated monk without permission will be excommunicated as well.

Chapter 27 of the *Regula Benedicti*, the most extensive one in the sequence on excommunication, describes how the abbot should provide special pastoral care to an excommunicated monk like a physician and like a shepherd taking care of an errant sheep (cf. Luc. 15, 4; Ioh. 10, 11). In practice, this means that the abbot appoints competent senior brothers as spiritual counsellors who are supposed to bring a monk back to the right path of penance and improvement This provision has no parallels with the *Regula Magistri,* but Benedict shares this idea with Caesarius' Rule for Nuns. Another measure is that the community prays for the erring monk as an act of love.

Chapter 28 deals with monks who refuse to improve their behaviour despite repeated reproach and *excommunicatio*. The next step is corporal punishment and then, as a penultimate measure (or maybe as a last warning), the prayer of all monks. If this does not help, the abbot has to play his role of physician and shepherd who at this point needs to be more concerned about the community rather than the errant monk. He heals the community by amputating the incorrigible monk and removing the sick sheep from the flock to prevent further infection. The last resort is expulsion. As mentioned, Benedict's medical language may have been inspired by the *Regula Basilii.*

Chapter 29 – which will be discussed in my commentary to chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – regulates how a monk who has left the community (probably because

(845) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23–30, *SC* 182, pp. 542–554.

of expulsion) could be readmitted. Chapter 30 prescribes that young boys or less intelligent monks should not face excommunication but severe fasting and physical punishment.

Outside of the excommunication sequence, chapter 44 of the *Regula* Benedicti describes how excommunicated monks should perform satisfaction.[846] Those excommunicated from table and prayer should prostrate themselves silently in front of the oratory until the abbot decides that they have done enough. At this point the community prays for the one who was excommunicated and he is to be readmitted to the choir, however without being allowed to intone the prayer, until the abbot decides that he has done full satisfaction.

All in all, we can see that Benedict shares some, but not all provisions with the *Regula Magistri*. He also incorporates various other monastic traditions. What Jonas found in the *Regula Benedicti* was already a hybrid of different disciplinary systems – which got even more complicated once Jonas started to revise Benedict's text.

Excommunicatio in the Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines

Chapters 18–20 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* depend on chapters 23–26, 28, and 30 of the *Regula Benedicti*. At the beginning, Jonas revises the text of the *Regula Benedicti* sentence by sentence but then takes his own route leading to a disciplinary programme that is fundamentally different from Benedict's. The three chapters on excommunication play an odd role within the fabric of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Jonas integrates, as we will see, his own language and ideas into his revision of Benedict's provisions on *excommunicatio*, but, conversely, Benedict's concept of *excommunicatio* has hardly any impact on the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as a whole. The term *excommunicatio* does not appear anywhere outside chapters 18–20 despite the fact that Jonas addresses transgressions and disciplinary measures throughout the entire text. Jonas' Rule would function perfectly well without these chapters.

Neither in the works of Columbanus himself nor in Jonas' hagiographical texts can we find references to monastic *excommunicatio*. Columbanus uses the term only once, in a letter to Pope Boniface criticizing him for not excommunicating those he considered heretics. He refers, thus, to a form of ecclesiastical *excommunicatio*.[847] Jonas mentions *excommunicatio* once in his *Vita Columbani*, telling how Columbanus threatened Theuderic II with *excommunicatio* for his adultery.[848] It seems, therefore, that Jonas, in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, paid lip service to the *Regula Benedicti* by using Benedict's disciplinary section, but within Jonas' Rule as a whole *excommunicatio* remains a foreign body. As a result, the Rule develops several parallel systems of discipline and punishment that can be traced to various sources: the idea of *paenitentia* as an act; the idea that nuns could be held in a state of *paenitentia*; the concept of *disciplina regularis*; various forms of *admonitio*, *correptio*, and *correctio*; the focus on motivations and intentions as the primary target of discipline; and the notion of punishment as the ultimate act of love and caring.

(846) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 44, pp. 592–594.
(847) Columbanus, *Epistula* 5, c. 9, ed. Walker, p. 46.
(848) *Vita Columbani* I, c. 19, p. 189.

Jonas starts his section on excommunication with the title *De culparum excommunicatione* which is (aside from a change of the word order) the same as in the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri*.[849] Initially he closely follows the text of the *Regula Benedicti*, except for the important addition: the devil enters the stage – as he does several times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:[850]

> [1] Si qua uero soror instigante diabolo contumax uel superba seu inoboediens uel murmurans apparuerit, uel etiam in quocumque casu lapsa, seniorum precepta uel sanctae regulae normam uiolare temptauerit, [2] haec secundum praeceptum Domini secreto a senioribus semel uel bis corripiatur.
>
> [[1] If any sister through the instigation of the devil appears to be insolent or haughty, disobedient or grumbling, or – having fallen into any misstep – attempts to violate the precepts of the elders and the norm of the holy rule, [2] she is to be reproached secretly by the elders once or twice, according to the precept of the Lord.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [1] Si quis frater contumax aut inoboediens aut superbus aut murmurans uel in aliquo contrarius exsistens sanctae regulae et praeceptis seniorum suorum contemptor repertus fuerit, [2] hic secundum Domini nostri praeceptum admoneatur semel et secundo secrete a senioribus suis.
>
> [[1] If any brother is found to be stubborn, disobedient, arrogant, a grumbler, or in any way opposed to the holy Rule and contemptuous of the teaching of his elders, [2] he should be privately reprimanded by his seniors once and then a second time, according to the teaching of Our Lord.][851]

Since a nun's transgression implies the direct involvement of the devil, this transgression puts the error on a higher level of urgency than in Benedict's Rule: one instance is already sufficient to endanger a nun's salvation. The expression *instigante diabolo* is Caesarius' language.[852] Jonas' second addition to Benedict's text, *in quocumque casu lapsa* (having fallen into any misstep), can be found elsewhere in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[853] Additionally, Jonas replaces Benedict's somewhat weaker term *admonere* ("to admonish") with the stronger expression *corripere* ("to reproach"), a term that appears throughout the Rule. Another discreet but important alteration: while Benedict only sanctions actual violations of the Rule and contempt of the orders of superiors, Jonas inserts the expression *temptare* ("to attempt"). A nun receives reproach not only for a deed but for the attempt, which implies that Jonas intends *correptio* to have a predominantly preventive effect.

When addressing the possible responses to errors, Jonas again expands on Benedict's text by inserting his own language and ideas:

(849) *Regula Magistri*, c. 12.t, *SC* 106, p. 32; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.t, *SC* 182 p. 542.
(850) *RcuiV*, c. 2.13; c. 5.12; c. 8.7; c. 14.8; c. 16.10; c. 20.8; c. 22.3.
(851) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.1–2, *SC* 182, p. 542; transl. Venarde, p. 99.
(852) *Instigante diabolo* appears twice in *CaesRV*, c. 23.1, *SC* 345, p. 198: on looking lustfully at strangers, c. 26.2, p. 204: on theft.
(853) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 17.5: *Si soror quae in his casibus fuerit dilapsa…*

> [3] Si emendare noluerit, tunc simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur, [4] et si sic emendare noluerit, tunc prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicetur, id est aut excommunicationi subiaceat, si eius antea intellectus uiguit, [5] aut si obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et inprobitas perseueret, tunc corporali disciplinae subiacebit.
>
> [[3] If she does not want to improve, then she should be rebuked by the entire congregation, [4] and if she does not want to improve after that, then she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it. That is, she either should be subject to excommunication, if her understanding has become strong [enough] beforehand, [5] or, if the tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind persists, then she will be subject to corporal punishment.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [3] Si non emendauerit, obiurgetur publice coram omnibus. [4] Si uero neque sic correxerit, si intellegit qualis poena sit, excommunicationi subiaceat; [5] sin autem improbus est, uindictae corporali subdatur.[854]
>
> [[3] If he does not improve, he should be scolded publicly, in everyone's presence. [4] Should he despite that not correct his ways, he should undergo excommunication if he understands the nature of the punishment. [5] If, however, he is intellectually inferior, he should be subjected to corporal punishment.]

Obiurgetur publice (he should be scolded publicly) is replaced by *simul ab omni congregatione obiurgetur* (she should be rebuked by the entire congregation) which appears almost verbatim in the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*. The emphasis that the *entire* community has to be involved, is a recurring theme of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[855] Jonas replaces *neque sic correxerit* (if he does not correct himself in his way) with *emendare noluerit* (she does not want to improve), which is also a recurrent expression that emphasizes that the nun, by following her own will, becomes the agent in her excommunication.[856]

Another addition, *prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, secundum regulam iudicatur* (she should be judged according to the rule, just as the greatness of her offence demands it), refers to other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and introduces the *regula* as the criterium for assessing a nun's guilt – an idea absent in the *Regula Benedicti* in this specific context.[857] The *obstinatae et durae mentis tenacitas culpae et inprobitas* (tenacity and impudence of an offence of an obstinate and stubborn mind) ties into Jonas repeated concern of the *status mentis* (state of the mind) as an object of discipline.[858] *Tenacitas* and *mens dura* also appear in Jonas' hagiographic works.[859] Jonas' use of the term *culpa* is remarkable, because the nuns' *culpa* is according to his Rule not the act itself but "an offence of an obstinate and stubborn

(854) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 23.3–5, *SC* 182, p. 542; transl. Venarde, p. 99.

(855) *VCol* II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *omni congregatione*; *RcuiV*, c. 4.1: *ex omni congregatione*; c. 6.12: *omnis simul congregatio*. See also *RcuiV*, c. 4.2; c. 2.7; c. 20.7; etc.

(856) *Emendare noluerit*: *RcuiV*, c. 18.3/4; c. 20.1/2.

(857) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 16.7–8: *Si uero non sua confessione sed alterius proditione cognitum fuerit,* [8] *prout culpae magnitudo poposcerit, paenitentiae subiacebit, quia culpam per puram confessionem non manifestauit*.

(858) See pp. 320–321.

(859) *VCol* II, c. 22, pp. 277–278: *durae ac ignauae mentis*; *VIoh*, c. 19, p. 342, l. 13: *tenacitas* (the term does not appear in any other monastic rule).

mind", i.e. the unwillingness to improve – which leads us back to Jonas' primary concern of the intention rather than the deed itself. Jonas puts a somewhat stronger emphasis on the procedural character of excommunication by using the word *tunc* three times: first this, then that, and then the following.

In the context of *excommunicatio*, both rules use the active verb, *subiaceat*, which is hard to translate correctly because it is neither "she should be subjected to excommunication" nor "she should undergo excommunication" nor "she should be excommunicated". By using *subiaceat*, Benedict and Jonas emphasize that a person who transgressed is the agent of his or her own excommunication. They submit themselves to punishment rather than being punished, and place themselves in a state of excommunication through their unwillingness to improve.

For the next step, Benedict switches to the passive voice: *uindictae corporali subdatur* (he should be subjected to corporal punishment); Jonas retains the active form: it is the nun who through her guilty tenacity is the agent of her own corporal punishment: *corporali disciplinae subiacebit* (then she will subject to corporal punishment). As subtle as Jonas' alterations of the *Regula Benedicti* are, they create nevertheless a different and, in fact, a new notion of *excommunicatio*. This becomes manifest in chapter 19, which summarizes the content of three chapters of the *Regula Benedicti*. It begins with this provision:

> Qualis debeat esse excommunicatio. $_1$Excommunicationis mensura qualis esse debeat, iustum scientibus librare iudicium culpae modus ostendit. $_2$Leuioribus enim culpis leuior est adhibenda correptio, grauioribus uero feruentior est exhibenda damnatio. $_3$Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum $_4$ut, si aliqua soror in leuioribus inueniatur obnoxia culpis, usque ad indictam sibi horam mensa priuetur.
>
> [Of what sort excommunication should be. $_1$What measure of excommunication should be applied shows the kind of offence to those who know how to weigh a just judgement. $_2$For milder offences a milder reproach is to be applied, but for more severe ones a more ardent damnation is to be displayed. $_3$Therefore it needs to be determined by the zeal of the abbess, $_4$that if a sister is found guilty of a lesser offence, she should be excluded from table until an hour determined for her.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> Qualis debet esse modus excommunicationis? $_1$Secundum modum culpae, et excommunicationis uel disciplinae mensura debet extendi; $_2$qui culparum modus in abbatis pendat iudicio. $_3$Si quis tamen frater in leuioribus culpis inuenitur, a mensae participatione priuetur.
>
> [What the degree of excommunication should be. $_1$The measure of both excommunication and punishment should be proportional to the degree of the fault; $_2$the seriousness of the faults depends on the judgment of the abbot. $_3$If a brother is found in a lesser fault, he should be deprived of participation at the common table.][860]

Jonas uses all the material Benedict provides in his Rule but adds, again, a number of new aspects. In line with the rest of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, he turns the *iustum iudicium*

(860) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24.t-3, *SC* 182, p. 544; transl. Venarde, p. 101.

of the abbess into the agent of assessment of faults and determination of repercussions: it is not the abbess herself who decides but her just judgement. Jonas inserts *usque ad indictam sibi horam* (until an hour determined for her), an important addition that changes one of the basic ideas of Benedict's concept of excommunication. Benedict does not describe any time limit to his excommunication but leaves it to the judgement of the abbot to decide when a guilty monk has shown sufficient signs of remorse and has made satisfaction.

In the next section, Jonas largely leaves Benedict behind:

> [5] De grauioribus uero seu dierum uel ebdomadarum uel mensium definitio in longius protracta correptione finiatur, [6] ea tamen regula ut, si amplius quam septem dierum spatium excommunicationis percurrerit, [7] quamdiu paenitentiae sub statuto tempore ordo retentus fuerit, sicut a mensa loco suo priuetur, ita et in ecclesia segregetur, ut in loco in quo ante fuit, nec psalmum cantet nec ullum ordinem teneat, [8] usque dum satisfactione humili cum cordis contritione ab abbatissa uel a senioribus ueniam mereatur.
>
> [[5] But about more severe offences a definition (for an excommunication) of days or weeks or months has to be determined as a reproach protracted into a longer period, [6] according to this rule, however, that if she passes through a period of excommunication of more than seven days, [7] as long as the order of penance has been retained under the assigned time, that, just as she should be deprived from her place at the table, so also she should be separated in the church, so that she does not sing a Psalm in the place where she has been before and does not hold any rank, [8] until she deserves mercy from the abbess or from the seniors through humble satisfaction with contrition of the heart.]

According to the *Regula Benedicti*, the "simple" excommunication from table for lesser faults goes along with being excluded from intoning Psalms and Antiphons and reciting the reading in the oratory.[861] Jonas uses a similar provision of limited exclusion from liturgical activities but now applies it to those nuns who committed graver faults and therefore deserved excommunication for a protracted period (again a fixed term that can be set to weeks or even months). This means that Benedict's most serious form of excommunication, exclusion from table and prayer, does not appear at all in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Instead, Jonas' nuns may only be removed from their place in the choir. Elsewhere in his Rule, Jonas prescribes that nuns who arrive late at prayer are by no means allowed to stay outside the oratory. In his chapter on confession, however, Jonas states that nuns in the state of *paenitentia* (which might be the same as the state of *excommunicatio*) have to sing a different liturgy in a different church.[862] Both provisions somewhat contradict each other, but the bottom line is that, for Jonas, *excommunicatio* does not mean a full exclusion from prayer. Jonas adds, however, another provision for those nuns who are excommunicated for grave faults:

(861) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24.4–7, p. 544: *Priuati autem a mensae consortio ista erit ratio ut in oratorio psalmum aut antiphonam non inponat, neque lectionem recitet, usque ad satisfactionem.* [5] *Refectionem autem cibi post fratrum refectionem solus accipiat,* [6] *ut, si uerbi gratia fratres reficiunt sexta hora, ille frater nona, si fratres nona, ille uespera,* [7] *usque dum satisfactione congrua ueniam consequatur.*

(862) *RcuiV*, c. 6.24.

> [9] Excommunicata uero soror, quae culpis grauioribus existentibus, aut cellula recluditur aut a consortio congregationis separatur, [10] a nullo paenitus aut conloquia aut uisitationis munus fruatur, nisi tantummodo cui praeceptum ab abbatissa fuerit. [11] Si qua transgressa hanc regulam fuerit, regulari paenitentiae subiacebit.
>
> [[9] But an excommunicated sister, who because of manifestly more severe offences is either shut off in a small cell or separated from the company of the congregation, [10] may absolutely not enjoy the gift of a conversation or a visit, unless by someone who has received an order from the abbess. [11] If someone transgresses this rule, she will be subject to a penance according to the rule.]

Jonas offers here two options (*aut…aut*): following either Caesarius' Rule for Nuns by imposing imprisonment[863] or the *Regula Benedicti*, which requires social isolation.[864] The *Regula Benedicti* does not include the disciplinary option of imprisonment, and it is remarkable that Donatus in two of its few passages that cannot be traced to older rules, adds, like Jonas, provisions on the imprisonment of recalcitrant nuns.[865] The fact that both the *Regula Donati* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* superimpose the option of imprisonment on the *Regula Benedicti* either points to the fact that expulsion as a disciplinary measure has fallen out of use or that it was not an option for female communities.

Lastly, Jonas prohibits any unauthorized contact with an excommunicated nun. He does not, however, follow the *Regula Benedicti*, which imposes the same *excommunicatio* on any monk who socializes with an excommunicated monk.[866] Instead, Jonas talks about the *regularis paenitentia*, merging the penitential system with his programme of excommunication.

Chapter 20, Jonas' last and longest chapter on punishment, addresses the question of how to deal with nuns who are unresponsive to reproach and do not want to improve. At first sight, Jonas seems to return to the *Regula Benedicti*, but in fact he merely uses Benedict's words in order to craft his own notion of *excommunicatio*, which turns out to be different from Benedict's. First, it is important to notice that Jonas ignores an entire chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* that addresses the care of the abbot for the excommunicated, which describes the abbot acting as a physician caring for the sick and sending wise brothers to the excommunicated who should comfort them privately.[867] Jonas probably omits this chapter because he has already spelled out the responsibility of the abbess for sinners in the first chapter of his Rule and emphasized at various places that the abbess is supposed to hear confession.[868] The practice of sending a spiritual counsel to sinful nuns does already appear in Caesarius'

(863) *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, *SC* 345, p. 214; c. 65, pp. 250–252.
(864) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 24, *SC* 182, p. 544.
(865) *Regula Donati*, c. 2.10, *CSEL* 98, p. 146; c. 5.9, p. 150.
(866) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 26, *SC* 182, pp. 546–548: *Si quis frater praesumpserit sine iussione abbatis fratri excommunicato quolibet modo se iungere aut loqui cum eo uel mandatum ei dirigere, [2] similem sortiatur excommunicationis uindictam.*
(867) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 27, *SC* 182, pp. 548–550.
(868) *RcuiV*, c. 6.23; c. 7; c. 16.5; c. 16.9; c. 22.17–18.

Rule for Nuns.[869] Therefore, summarizing or rephrasing chapter 27 of the *Regula Benedicti* would simply have been redundant.

Chapter 20 begins as follows:

> [1] Soror si saepius correpta emendare noluerit, excommunicatione pro modo culpae corrigatur. Si nec sic aliquid proficiat increpantis correctio, tunc uerberum uindictae subiacebit.
>
> [[1] If a sister who has frequently been reproached does not want to better herself, she should be corrected through excommunication according to the extent of her guilt. If in this way the correction of the one who reproves does not accomplish anything, she will be subject to the punishment of floggings.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [1] Si quis frater frequenter correptus pro qualibet culpa, si etiam excommunicatus non emendauerit, acrior ei accedat correptio, id est ut uerberum uindicta in eum procedant.
>
> [[1] If any brother, after frequent correction for any fault and even excommunication, should not mend his ways, harsher correction should follow, that is, beating with rods should come next.][870]

Both Benedict and Jonas propose for recalcitrant offenders a three-step programme: *correptio* (reproach) – *excommunicatio* – *uindicta uerberum* (corporal punishment). Jonas adds, in line with the rest of his Rule, two new aspects to Benedict's provision. He, again, replaces *emendare* with *emendare noluerit* (she does not *want* to improve), emphasizing the importance of the individual nun's intention, and he replaces *uerberum uindicta in eum procedant* (they, the monks, move on to punishment of floggings) by *uerberum uindictae subiacebit* (she will be subject to the punishment of floggings). The individual nun is, in Jonas' eyes, in the driver's seat, both with regard to her improvement and her punishment.

There is yet another subtle difference: Jonas moves the term *culpa* into a different context. While Benedict just states that the three steps might be put in motion *pro qualibet culpa* (for whatever fault), Jonas defines the measure of an excommunication *pro modo culpae* (according to the extent of her guilt), which implies that he operates with both a notion of increased punishment based on attitude *and* the idea that punishment should be determined by guilt and that there are different forms of *excommunicatio*.

> [2] Quod si sic emendare noluerit, sed magis in tumorem superbiae elata, opera uel actus de quibus corrigitur, defenderit, [3] tunc abbatissae scientiae regimine corrigatur, quia scriptum est: *Qui abicit disciplinam, infelix est.* (Sap. 3, 11) [4] Moderante ergo scientia saniae medendi cura adhibeatur.
>
> [[2] But if she does not want to better herself in this way, but even, exalted by the swelling of pride, defends the works and deeds for which she is corrected, [3] then she is to be corrected as directed by the knowledge of the abbess, because it is written: *Unhappy is he who casts punishment aside.* (Sap. 3, 11) [4] Therefore, the cure for healing should be applied to the infection by the moderation of knowledge.]

(869) *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, *SC* 345, p. 214.
(870) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.1, *SC* 182, p. 550; transl. Venarde, p. 111.

Compare to *Regula Benedicti*:

> 2 Quod si nec ita correxerit, aut forte – quod absit – in superbia elatus etiam defendere uoluerit opera sua, tunc abbas faciat quod sapiens medicus; 3 si exhibuit fomenta, si unguenta adhortationum, si medicamina scripturarum diuinarum, si ad ultimum ustionem excommunicationis uel plagarum uirgae, 4 et iam si uiderit nihil suam praeualere industriam, adhibeat etiam – quod maius est – suam et omnium fratrum pro eo orationem, 5 ut Dominus qui omnia potest operetur salutem circa infirmum fratrem.
>
> [2 But if despite that he still does not correct himself or if, God forbid, carried away by arrogance he perhaps even wishes to defend his actions, then the abbot must proceed like a wise physician: 3 if he has provided poultices, the salve of exhortation, the medicine of divine Scripture, if as a last resort he has used the cauterization of excommunication and whipping with rods 4 and still sees that his efforts have no effect, let him offer something more powerful, his own prayer and that of all the brothers on his behalf 5 so that the Lord, who can do everything, may save this sickly brother]

For the next step – if *excommunicatio* and corporal punishment show no effect – Jonas still follows Benedict closely but with a different emphasis. Both address the problem that a member of the community does not recognize his or her fault, defends his/her acts, and undermines the authority and legitimacy of those who impose punishment. In this case the abbess decides how the offender is to be corrected, which either implies that up to this point disciplinary measures (including *excommunicatio*) were handled not by the abbess herself but by someone lower in rank, presumably the prioress, or that punishment was to be imposed according to a fixed *disciplina regularis*. Both Jonas and Benedict now move into a sequence of medical metaphors (which, as we know, reach back to the *Regula Basilii*).[871]

> 5 Si loetale uulnus per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta sospitati non redditur, saltim incisionibus amputetur. 6 Et si sic sanies desecta tumorem non amiserit, tunc excommunicationis sententiam uel disciplinae corporalis poenam incurrat.
>
> [5 If the lethal wound is not restored to health through the poultices of castigation and the ointment of love and mildness, it should at least be amputated by incisions. 6 And if the infection, after having been cut in this way, does not lose its swelling, then let her incur the sentence of excommunication and the penalty of corporal punishment.]

Compare to the *Regula Benedicti*:

> 6 Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abscisionis, ut ait Apostolus: *Auferte malum ex vobis* (I Cor. 5, 13), 7 et iterum: *Infidelis, si discedit, discedat* (I Cor. 7, 15), 8 ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet.
>
> [6 But if he is not healed in this way, then the abbot must use the knife of amputation, as the Apostle says, "Banish the evil one from your midst", 7 and again "If a faithless man is leaving, let him leave", 8 lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock.][872]

(871) See pp. 514–515. Medical metaphors can be found elsewhere in Jonas' Rule, e.g. *RcuiV*, c. 1.11–14; c. 5.16; c. 6.12; c. 6.18; c. 7.2–3; *De accedendo* 27.

(872) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6–8, *SC* 182, p. 552; transl. Venarde, p. 111.

Following Benedict – and probably current medical practice – the abbot/abbess-physician first prescribes poultices and ointments and, if this does not help, starts cutting and removing the infection. If the swelling does not go away, both Jonas and Benedict return to the measure of excommunication and corporal punishment, though probably on a more intense level. Jonas moves from *uerberum uindictae* to *disciplina corporalis* and turns the flexible *excommunicatio pro modo culpae* into a *sententia excommunicationis*. Benedict moves from *uerberum uindictia* to *plagae uirgae* and from being *excommunicatus* to the *ustio ultima* (the final burnout) of excommunication. Aside from that, Jonas does insert his own terms and categories and leaves some of Benedict's out. He expands Benedict's medical terminology with a number of terms we know from elsewhere in his texts: *sanies*, *tumor*, *amputare*. Most importantly, he describes the *culpa* of the nuns as *uulnus loetale*, as a lethal wound that needs to be treated by the abbess-physician. Punishment turns into a life-saving act and, as he subsequently emphasizes, an act of *pietas* (love) and *lenitas* (mildness).

Again, the transgressing nun is in the active position: it is *she* who incurs the verdict of excommunication and corporal punishment. Jonas curiously leaves out Benedict's notion of *medicamina scripturarum diuinarum* (remedies of the holy scriptures). We might connect this omission back to chapter 1 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the fact that Jonas defined the content of the abbess' teaching differently from Benedict's stern curriculum of *doctrina*. Jonas' redefinition of the *scientia* of the abbess moves away from Benedict's notion of the abbot as teacher of doctrine.[873]

In the next sentence, Jonas uses the term *pietas* (love) a second and a third time:

> [7] Et si nec excommunicationis metu, nec flagelli poena frangitur, augeatur adhuc piaetatis fomes, ita ut ab omni congregatione pro ea communis Dominus orationum officio deprecetur, [8] ut quae laqueo diaboli inretita tenetur, Domini misericordia ac piaetate curetur.
>
> [[7] And if she is not broken either by the fear of excommunication or the punishment of the whip, the tinder of love should be increased even more so that the entire congregation prays to the Lord who is common to all in a service of prayer for her, [8] so that she who is kept entangled in the trap of the devil, may be healed by the mercy and love of the Lord.]

Benedict and Jonas describe the prayer – and thus the involvement of the entire community – as a last resort. In the case of Jonas, this is somewhat redundant since prayer by the entire community for anyone who has transgressed is already a central element of the process of confession and reintegration as described in his chapters on love and confession. Neither in these chapters nor in the Faremoutiers section is prayer of the entire community for an individual's sins a last resort. It almost looks as if Jonas pays lip service to the *Regula Benedicti* while garnishing Benedict's redundant measures with his own monastic ideal. On the one hand, Jonas talks of the *metus excommunicationis*, the existential fear related to exclusion (which might be the same fear that motivates the fugitive nuns to return to the monastery). On the other hand, he emphasizes that the prayer of the community is an act of *pietas*, which – in line with the chapter on love – imitates and incites God's *pietas*

(873) See pp. 353–355.

and *misericordia*. The combination of medical metaphors and prayer as an ultimate act of love also appears in the episode of the *Vita Columbani* which describes how Columbanus' successor Athala dealt with a group of rebellious monks at the monastery of Bobbio.[874] Lastly, and also not unexpectedly, Jonas defines a recalcitrant nun as "entangled in the trap of the devil".

> [9] Quod si nec sic corripi uoluerit, intra septa monasterii sub paenitentiae tenore ab omnibus preter custodibus segregata, [10] tamdiu castigetur diuersis correptionibus, usque dum eius humilitas omnibus uera credulitate patefiat, [11] quia et inuitis saepe salus praestatur. [12] Nam ideo separanda est a congregatione, ut suo uitio non maculet innocentes.
>
> [[9] But if she does not want to be chastised in such a way, she is to be separated within the confines of the monastery from all except the guards, according to the letter of penance, [10] and she should so long be chastised by various forms of reproach until her humility is revealed to all in true credulity, [11] since healing is often given even to those who are reluctant. [12] For that reason she is to be placed apart from the congregation, so that she does not defile the innocent through her vice.]

Jonas breaks here with the *Regula Benedicti*. For Benedict, the ultimate measure is expulsion. Remaining in the sphere of medical metaphors, the abbot has to use a knife to remove the evil from the community to prevent one sick sheep from infecting the entire flock. For Jonas, expulsion is no option. In this regard, he follows Caesarius of Arles and imposes imprisonment and total isolation from the community. He also ties this precept to the framework of *paenitentia*. At this point – and seemingly only at this point in the course of events – nuns have reached a state of *paenitentia*. This is odd since it contradicts previous provisions in Jonas' Rule, which turn nuns into *paenitentes* for much lesser transgressions, unless we assume that both the state of being a *paenitens* and of being *excommunicata* comes in various gradations with various levels of consequences of which incarceration is only one.[875]

Jonas and Benedict develop similar rationales for their radically different ultimate measures: to protect the rest of the community. Both use, however, slightly different concepts. Benedict speaks of the fear of contagion; Jonas – also in line with previous chapters (especially his chapter on confession) – speaks of pollution or defilement.

(874) *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231: *At ille, sagaci ut erat animo, pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta absciderétur, potum dare studens, mollire tumentia corda nitebatur. Diuque castigatos cum secum tenere non ualeret, merore animi turbatus, multis precibus cum pietatis obsequio prosequebatur, ut se non relinquerent et ardui iteneris calle non deuiarent meminiscerentque, patres per mortificationem et contemptum praesentis uitae regna caelorum possidere. Cum nihil iam proficere cerneret nec alibi trahentes animos suae societatis abenis inretiri posse uidisset, pertinaces ire sinit; qui postquam segregati ab eo, alii eorum marinis sunt sinibus recoepti, alii locum heremi ob libertatem habendam petire.*

(875) On *paenitentia*, see pp. 417–418, pp. 503–505, and pp. 536–538.

Jonas concludes this chapter with a new topic:

> [13] Tenera uero aetas, quae excommunicata uim nescit, non excommunicatione, sed flagello corrigenda est.
>
> [[13] But one of tender age, who does not know the implications of being excommunicated, is to be corrected not through excommunication but by the scourge.]

This last sentence summarizes (and slightly alters) an entire chapter of the *Regula Benedicti*. Benedict states that disciplinary measures need to be adjusted to age and understanding. Therefore, those who do not understand the severity of *excommunicatio* should be submitted to strict fasting or receive heavy corporal punishment.[876] Jonas removes the criterion of *intellectus* (understanding) and simply assumes that those of tender age do not understand the force (*uis*) of excommunication. He also eliminates the alternative punishment of heavy fasting. This might align with Caesarius' and Jonas' concern with "holy anorexia". Jonas ends with another rather strange metonym. It is not the nun herself but the "tender age" that does not know the power of excommunication. For this reason, the "tender age" needs to be corrected by corporal punishment rather than *excommunicatio*.

Julia Hillner distinguishes in her study on corporal punishment three basic concepts of monastic punishment as we find them in different rules: punishment based on the severity of transgressions, punishment determined by moral improvement or the lack thereof, and punishment determined by maturity and the ability to grasp the severity of one's transgression and the implications of a sanction. The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* incorporates all three concepts.[877]

Jonas decision to abandon expulsion as the ultimate disciplinary measure has a strong impact on the next chapter, which addresses the question of how to deal with nuns who want to return to the monastery. It seems that both Benedict and Jonas dealt with members of the community who left the monastery and wanted to return, but the reasons both for leaving and for returning may have been different – as we will see now.

Escape and Expulsion (Chapter 21)

Chapter 21 on the readmission of a sister has already been addressed in the context of Jonas' and Caesarius' notions of space and boundaries.[878] Jonas describes both escape and return as crossing the *septa monasterii*. The chapter strongly resonates with the story of the

(876) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 30, *SC* 182, p. 554: *Omnis aetas uel intellectus proprias debet habere mensuras.* [2] *Ideoque, quotiens pueri uel adulescentiores aetate, aut qui minus intellegere possunt quanta poena sit excommunicationis,* [3] *hii tales dum delinquunt, aut ieiuniis nimiis affligantur aut acris uerberibus coerceantur, ut sanentur.*

(877) Hillner, Julia, 'Monks and children: corporal punishment in Late Antiquity', in: *European Review of History* 16:6 (2009), pp. 773–791.

(878) See pp. 300–303. On this chapter, see also Dolan, Autumn, 'A Revival of Female Spirituality: Adaptations of Nuns' Rules during the Hiberno-Frankish Monastic Movement', in: *Medieval Feminist Forum* 1 (2010), pp. 38–62, at pp. 40–46, calling the spirit of this chapter "decidedly that of Columbanus and the Irish" and using this chapter as evidence for a less strict approach to female enclosure within the "Hiberno-Frankish" monastic movement.

fugitive nuns in the Faremoutiers miracles,[879] but also with another episode of the *Vita Columbani* about a group of monks who rebelled against Columbanus' successor Athala in Bobbio and left the monastery in anger. Some of them returned remorsefully, confessed their sins, and were readmitted. Jonas emphasizes that their return saved their lives and that many of those who did not return fell prey to divine punishment.[880]

The chapter is short but complicated; it needs a lot of contextualization but it also provides important new insights into Jonas' monastic ideal, even aside from the topic of space and boundaries. Benedict's chapter on the readmission of monks who had left the monastery (c. 29) forms the basis of Jonas' provision on fugitive nuns. Jonas uses almost all material from the *Regula Benedicti* but produces a text that is twice as long and combines Benedict's language with a number of terms that we find throughout Jonas' work and that speak to his monastic programme, such as *septa monasterii* (the boundaries of the monastery), *iudex aeternus* (eternal judge), *perculsa timore* (shaken by fear), *emendationem polliceatur* (she should promise improvement), and *culpa maculata* (stained by guilt).[881]

The close similarity between chapter 29 of the *Regula Benedicti* and Jonas' chapter is puzzling because both in fact address slightly different topics. Chapter 29 of the *Regula Benedicti* could be – and has been – read in two different ways, either emphasizing escape or expulsion. One textual tradition, the so-called *classis pura*-version provides the following text:

> Si debeant fratres exeuntes de monasterio iterum recipi.
>
> 1 Frater qui proprio uitio egreditur de monasterio, si reuerti uoluerit, spondeat prius omnem emendationem pro quo egressus est, 2 et sic in ultimo gradu recipiatur, ut ex hoc eius humilitas conprobetur. 3 Quod si denuo exierit, usque tertio ita recipiatur, iam postea sciens omnem sibi reuersionis aditum denegari.
>
> [Whether brothers leaving the monastery should be readmitted.
>
> 1 If a brother who leaves the monastery through his own fault wants to return, let him first pledge full amendment for which he departed 2 and be received at the lowest rank, so his humility may be tested in this way. 3 If he leaves again, let him be readmitted in this manner up to three times, knowing then that afterward any reentry is denied him.][882]

The so-called *textus interpolatus*-version (which includes the oldest preserved manuscript of the *Regula Benedicti*) adds after *egreditur* the words *aut proicitur|aut proiciatur* (walks away or is expelled) and after *emendationem* the word *uitii* (amendment of the fault for which he depart-

(879) *VCol* II, c. 19, pp. 271–275.

(880) *VCol* II, c. 1, pp. 231–232. On the uprising in Bobbio, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage', pp. 265–268; Dunn, Marilyn, 'Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio', in: *Peritia* 20 (2008), pp. 1–27.

(881) *VCol* I, c. 15, p. 179, l. 7; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 11/13: *iudex aeternus*; *VCol* II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 12–13: *timore perculsus*; *VCol* I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 13–14; II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 7–8; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 29: *emendationem polliceri*. On *septa monasterii*, see commentary on *RcuiV*, c. 3.23. Another term that appears several times in *VCol* but rarely elsewhere is *in postmodum|inpostmodum*.

(882) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29.1, *SC* 182, p. 554; transl. Venarde, p. 113.

ed).[883] This version clearly addresses both options: escape and expulsion. Smaragdus, who uses the *aut proicitur|uitii*-version, emphasizes that Benedict had both escape and expulsion in mind.[884] Hildemar of Corbie, who also uses *proicitur* and *uitii*, focuses in his commentary on expulsion.[885] Whether the *textus purus*-version understands *egretitur* as escape or, euphemistically, in the sense of "having been asked to leave" is unclear, though the context in which this chapter appears, rather points to monks being allowed to return after expulsion. It is part of a sequence of seven chapters on the topic of transgressions, punishment, and excommunication. The chapter that precedes chapter 29 ends by imposing expulsion as the last resort if no other disciplinary measure shows any effect.[886] It makes sese to follow up with a chapter on readmittance.

Yet such a reading hinges on the question of what Benedict means with stating that the monks leave the monastery *proprio uitio*. Bruce Venarde translates it with "through his own fault" which points towards expulsion; Michaela Puzicha in the "official" Benedictine translation produced for the Salzburger Äbtekonferenz translated it with "eigenmächtig" (on one's own accord), which points towards escape.[887] The *Regula Magistri* contains a similar chapter, which allows monks who leave the monastery three times. Here, the chapter forms part of a sequence of chapters on travelling monks or monks who leave and return to the monastery for various reasons.[888] It is, thus, likely that the *Regula Magistri* refers to escape rather than to expulsion.

Chapter 21 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* explicitly refers to fugitive rather than expelled nuns, which places it, again, closer to the *Regula Magistri* than to the *Regula Benedicti*. It also follows a sequence of chapters on punishment which, as we saw, omit the option of expulsion as last resort. The same applies to Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, which does not even address the possibility that a nun might try to escape, let alone that she might be forced out of the enclosure. Monastic conversion is, as both regulators imply, irreversible, not only from the perspective of the individual, but also from that of the institution.

(883) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 29.1, p. 554, apparatus criticus. The shorter version (without *aut proicitur*) can be found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 916, the copy of the alleged norm exemplar that was supposedly written by Benedict himself, but also in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*. Manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48, fol. 38v contains *aut proicitur*. On the different versions of the *Regula Benedicti*, see Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti*; Hanslik, Rudolf, *CSEL* 75, pp. xxv–lxxi; Zelzer, Klaus, 'Zur Stellung des *Textus receptus* und des interpolierten Textes in der Textgeschichte der Regula s. Benedicti', in: *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978), pp. 205–246.

(884) Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam St Benedicti*, c. 29, *CCM* 8, pp. 233–234 juxtaposes c. 29 both with passages on expulsion and on escape.

(885) Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 28, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 364–369.

(886) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6–8, *SC* 182, p. 552. See p. 528–529.

(887) Puzicha, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel*, p. 370.

(888) *Regula Magistri*, c. 64.t-1, *SC* 106, p. 290: *Quotiens debet frater relinquens monasterium et iterum ab errore reuertens suscipi?* ₁*Frater si exierit frequenter de monasterio, usque tertio reuersus resuscipiatur, amplius non iam*. Chapter 64 appears in the context of several chapters on monks who travel or leave and return to the monastery for various reasons. *Excommunicatio* is addressed in c. 12–14, pp. 34–62.

If we look at other monastic rules we see that there is a general trend of phasing out the option of expulsion and replacing it with imprisonment.[889] In the aftermath of Columbanus, at least some monasteries (including Luxeuil) took on the role of places of forced retreat for political opponents and dynastic competitors.[890] A prison that punishes transgressions with expulsion makes little sense.

Already before Columbanus, those who left the monastery were increasingly seen and treated as fugitives who had to return by force, which was the case especially for religious women.[891] This development, which implies a fundamental shift in understanding what it means to be a monk or a nun, goes along with an increasingly formalized process of monastic conversion as an irreversible act and a new understanding of monks as being different from laypeople – in analogy to sacred virgins who had already held such a different (and irreversible) status for centuries.

The move towards irreversibility of monastic vows, however, was not a linear development. Both notions, expulsion as a disciplinary option and forcing fugitive members to return, existed alongside each other. The *Regula Benedicti* imposes, almost ironically, expulsion on a monk who wants to leave the monastery.[892] The general trend may have been to view those who left the monastery as fugitives who would lose both their worldly status

(889) Regulations on the expulsion of monks can be found in Augustine, *Praeceptum* IV.6–9, ed. Verheijen, pp. 426–427; Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 16.3, *SC* 109, p. 142; *Regula patrum secunda*, c. 7.43–45, *SC* 297, p. 282; *Regula Macharii*, c. 17, *SC* 297, p. 380; *Regula orientalis*, c. 35, *SC* 298, p. 490; *Regula Magistri*, c. 13.68–72, *SC* 106, p. 46; c. 14.84, p. 62; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 28.6–7, *SC* 182, p. 552; c. 58.27–28, p. 632; c. 62.10, p. 642; c. 65.21, p. 658; c. 71.9, p. 668. See also Siricius (d. 399), *Epistula* 1, c. 6/7, *PL* 13, col. 1137B–C: unchaste monks and nuns are to be expelled from church and monastery. On the practice of expulsion, see Anaya Torres, Juan Miguel, *La expulsión de los religiosos: Un recorrido histórico que muestra interés pastoral de la Iglesia*, Rome: Pontifica Università Gregoriana 2007; Ohm, Juliane, 'Der Begriff carcer in Klosterregeln des Frankenreichs', in: Joachim F. Angerer and Josef Lenzenweger (eds.), *Consuetudines Monasticae. Eine Festgabe für Kassius Hallinger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo 1982, pp. 145–155, at pp. 150–151.

(890) De Jong, Mayke, 'Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms', in: ead., Carine van Rhijn, and Frans Theuws (eds.), *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill 2001, pp. 291–328.

(891) Legal provisions on sacred virgins, the irreversibility of their vows, and the treatment of nuns who escaped or were forced out of the monastery include Council of Elvira (300–306?), c. 13, ed. José Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos et Hispano-Romanos*, Barcelona/Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1963, p. 4; Council of Ankyra (314), c. 19, *PL* 67, cols 52D–54A; Council of Vannes (374), c. 2, *CCSL* 148, p. 39; First Council of Saragossa (380), c. 16, ed. Vives, p. 23; Council of Toledo I (397–400), c. 16; c. 19, ed. Vives, pp. 23–24; Siricius, *Epistula* 10 (*Canones Synodi Romanorum ad Gallos Episcopos*), c. 1, *PL* 13, cols 1182C–1184A; Innocent I (d. 401), *Epistula* 2, c. 13.15–14.16, *PL* 20, cols 478B–480A; Council of Rome (402), c. 1–2, transl. Karl Joseph Hefele and Henri Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. 2.1, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1908, p. 136; Council of Orange (441), c. 26/27; c. 27/28, in: *CCSL* 148, p. 85; Council of Arles II (449/461), c. 25; c. 52, pp. 119/124; Leo I, *Decreta*, c. 27, *PL* 67, col. 290C; *Epistula* 12, c. 8, *PL* 54, col. 653B–C; Council of Tours (461), c. 6, *CCSL* 148, p. 146; Council of Vannes (461/491), c. 4; c. 36, pp. 152/172; *Regula Leandri*, c. 31, ed. Campos/Roca, pp. 73–76. Arjava, Antti, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1996, pp. 157–167 provides a survey of secular law on sacred virgins. On perseverance and the irreversibility of vows, see also Hochstetler, Donald, *A Conflict of Traditions. Women in Religion in the Early Middle Ages 500–840*, Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America 1992, pp. 25–35.

(892) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 58.27–28, *SC* 182, p. 632.

and their eternal salvation,[893] but there was a remarkable exception, which falls in the same period as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The "angry sister" of Jonas' Rule, the *Regula cuiusdam patris*, imposes first imprisonment and then expulsion for numerous transgressions including expressing dissent. The author, who may have belonged to the group that rebelled against Columbanus' successors, seems to have cared little about the irreversibility of monastic entry and envisioned a community of self-selected ascetic enthusiasts rather than monks or nuns who were bound, but also protected, by their monastic vows.[894]

Jonas of Bobbio does in this chapter not just shift his focus from expulsion to escape but he uses the topic of escape and return to develop an important theological argument:

> ₁ Si ullo tempore, quod absit a christiana relegione, soror a septis monasterii discesserit, et foras fugiens postea recordata pristinae relegionis et aeterni iudicii perculsa timore reuersa fuerit, prius omnium morum emendationem polliceatur.
>
> [₁ If at any time – what should be far removed from Christian piety – a sister leaves the confines of the monastery and, after fleeing to the outside, returns, after having remembered her former piety and daunted by the fear of eternal judgement, she should first promise to improve her entire character.]

This sentence adds three important new aspects that were absent in Benedict's Rule. The first one is the notion of escape and return as crossing monastic boundaries, which I have already discussed.[895] The second is turning escape into an almost unthinkable violation of Christian piety – *quod absit a christiana relegione*. Jonas assumes that the fear of imminent divine judgement might motivate a nun to return out of her own will. Depicting escape as an unimaginable transgression resonates with Caesarius' concept of total enclosure. The fear that leaving the monastery will lead to eternal damnation might have been a real fear – at least if we believe what Jonas tells us in his *Vita Columbani*. Even within the monastery the nuns are, as we know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the *Vita Columbani*, supposed to be in a state of constant fear of incurring damnation. Jonas emphasizes in the episode of the nun Ercantrudis that even the secret desire to return to the world puts a nun's salvation in jeopardy.[896] The third aspect is that a returning nun has to promise improvement of her entire character (*emendatio omnium morum*). It requires yet another total conversion, not just resolving the specific issue that caused Benedict's monk to leave the monastery.

(893) On the binding character of monastic conversion and on the persecution of fugitive monks, see, for example, Council of Chalcedon (451) c. 4, ed./transl. Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, London/Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press 1990, p. 89; Council of Agde (506), c. 27, *CCSL* 148, p. 205; Council of Orléans (511), c. 19, *CCSL* 148A, pp. 136–137. Provisions on monks who leave the monastery illicitly include: *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta*, c. 87, ed. Boon, p. 38; c. 136–137, p. 49; *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta et instituta*, c. 12, p. 57; *Regula Macharii*, c. 25 and c. 28, *SC* 297, pp. 384–386; *Regula patrum tertia*, c. 10, c. 12, and c. 14, *SC* 298, pp. 538–540; *Regula orientalis*, c. 26.4, p. 482; *Regula Cassiani*, c. 20, ed. Ledoyen, p. 179; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.7–8, ed. Villegas, pp. 32–33; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 20, ed. Desprez, pp. 134–135.

(894) *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 4.2, ed. Villegas, pp. 13–14, c. 8.7, p. 17; c. 16.4, p. 24; c. 17.4, p. 25; c. 18.1, p. 25; c. 26.2, p. 30.

(895) See pp. 300–302.

(896) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263.

In the next sentence we see that a promise alone does not suffice. The community (or at least the abbess) has to be convinced that this *emendatio morum* is sincere:

> [2] Postea, si probabilis eius paenitentia agnoscatur, tunc demum intra septa monasterii recipiatur. [3] Et si bis aut tertio hoc fecerit, simili piaetate foueatur, [4] sic tamen, ut in extremo loco inter paenitentes recepta, tamdiu examinetur, usque dum probabilis eius uita inueniatur.
>
> [[2] After that, if her penance is recognized as commendable, then at last she is to be received [again] within the confines of the monastery. [3] And if she does this twice or thrice, she should be fostered with a similar love, [4] but in such a way that she be received at the most remote place among the penitent and be examined for so long a time until her life is found to be commendable.]

Prius…postea…tunc (first…afterwards…then) implies that being readmitted to the monastery requires a procedure, which probably included a formal *confessio*. Jonas does not mention this *confessio* here, but it does appear in episodes of the *Vita Columbani* describing factual or mental escape of monks and nuns.[897] An essential part of this procedure of readmittance, which is – as we might have expected – an act of love (*pietas*), is that the credibility of the nun's motivation to return has to be acknowledged. A formal apology or just undergoing a punishment or penance is not sufficient. This aligns with Jonas' repeated references to *pura confessio*, *uera dilectio*, *uera mortificatio*, *uera credulitas*, and *uera humilitas*.[898] Whatever a nun does needs to come from inside and needs to be truly heartfelt.

Jonas inserts a fourth thought into Benedict's text which leaves us with some interpretative challenges: his reference to penance (*paenitentia*) and to penitents (*paenitentes*). In both the *Vita Columbani* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, *paenitentia* plays an important, but never clearly defined, role. In this regard, chapter 21 points us to the structural limitations of interpreting normative texts. It is obvious that Jonas and his audience shared a notion of *paenitentia* that was so self-evident that it did not require much of a reflection or justification. This notion is largely lost to us. We need to piece together the meaning (or meanings) of *paenitentia* and being a penitent from a variety of different contexts – and we can never be sure that we are right.

Jonas refers both in the *Vita* and in the *Regula* to the salvific *medicamenta paenitentiae* (remedies of penance) that monastic life can provide.[899] He does, however, only twice refer to a tariffed penance as we find them in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* or in the *Regula Donati*.[900] Seeing Jonas' repeated emphasis on the internal attitude and his idea that trans-

(897) *VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232; II, c. 13, p. 261; II, c. 17, p. 269; II, c. 19, p. 272 and p. 274.

(898) *RcuiV*, c. 2.7; c. 6.5; c. 9.20; c. 16.5; c. 16.8–9; c. 20.10; c. 22.6–7.

(899) *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 7; I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 3; II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 3; II, c. 8; p. 245, l. 17–18; II, c. 15, p. 165, l. 30–31; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 5; II, c. 25, p. 290, l. 14–15. The term *medicamenta paenitentia* goes back to Caesarius of Arles who uses it in his sermons, though not in a monastic context. Jonas "monasticized" its meaning. See Wood, Ian N., 'La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 29–37, at pp. 32–33.

(900) *RcuiV*, c. 8.9; c. 12.29. See Diem, 'New ideas expressed in old words', pp. 32–36.

gressions deserve very individual responses, we can cautiously assume that Jonas did not share Columbanus' and Donatus' believe in the usefulness of tariffed penance. Jonas' reference to the *paenitentia probabilis* (commendable penance) which is tied to an *emendatio morum* (improvement of character) even implies that, at least at this point, the heartfelt improvement of the character equals a true *paenitentia*, no matter whether it includes a specific act of penance.

In the next sentence Jonas does, however, mention that there is a distinct group of *paenitentes* that is placed *in extremo loco* (at the most remote place). A nun who leaves the monastery more than once and who, implicitly, has deceived her fellow nuns by breaking the promise of *emendatio morum*, has to join these imprisoned *paenitentes* and, instead of just making promises, she needs to be strictly interrogated until her improvement is considered credible. Contextual evidence might help us understanding what is going on. The *locus extremus* might be the same as the *salutatorium* of Caesarius' Rule: a place in which the world and the monastery overlap, which is therefore considered the most marginal in the enclosure and suitable for an act of symbolic expulsion.[901] It might also be the place within the boundaries mentioned in the previous chapter where irredeemable nuns were to be locked up, separated from the community, punished, and reproached until they show credible humility.[902]

It seems, however, that not all *paenitentes* are to be locked up *in extremo loco*. Jonas mentions that serious transgressions could put nuns in a state of *paenitentia* that forces them to pray separated from the rest of the community and afterwards prostrate themselves outside of the oratory waiting for the prayer of the non-penitent nuns.[903] Jonas requires that *paenitentes* perform especially menial tasks such as building fires, washing the hair of the other nuns, and preparing their baths. These acts and other *extrema* (as he calls them) should, if performed with humble mind and contrite heart, cleanse the nuns faster from their transgressions.[904] There are also several references to imposing *paenitentia* on nuns based on their internal attitude,[905] yet they were not the tariffed ones but menial tasks, silence,[906] or being excluded from the table and the main church. Such measurements are imposed not for a fixed time period but until remorse is considered credible and the nun's internal attitude has changed.[907]

In sum, for Jonas *paenitentia* could cover everything from promising improvement to being imprisoned indefinitely. In some, but not necessarily in all cases *paenitentia* turns nuns into *paenitentes* and places them in a state of suspense that ends only through credible

(901) *CaesRV*, c. 34.1, *SC* 345, p. 214; c. 65.1–3, pp. 250–252.
(902) *RcuiV*, c. 20.9–10. See also Flint, Valerie, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in: Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Minneapolis, MN/London: University of Minnesota Press 2000, pp. 149–166.
(903) *RcuiV*, c. 6.24–30.
(904) *RcuiV*, c. 12.13–15.
(905) *RcuiV*, c. 3.15–16; c. 7.4–6; c. 16.7–8.
(906) *RcuiV*, c. 9.20.
(907) *RcuiV*, c. 19.5–8.

remorse. A first attempt to escape may warrant the most lenient form of *paenitentia* (because the fear of damnation is already enough). Repeated escapes warrant the heaviest form: imprisonment until remorse and improvement is proven. This imprisonment forms the alternative to the disciplinary measure of expulsion that had been abandoned both in Caesarius' and in Jonas' Rule. There is more than one *medicamentum paenitentiae*, and a simple tariffed penance may, in Jonas' eyes, not do the job.

In line with Benedict, Jonas gives a nun only three chances to return to the monastery. The chapter concludes with the following provision:

> [5] Si uero post tertiam receptionem fugae culpa maculata fuerit, sciat omnem reuersionis aditum esse in postmodum denegandum.
>
> [[5] But if after the third readmission she is defiled by the crime of escape, let her know that afterwards every access to return is to be denied.]

Jonas inserts here yet another notion we already know from previous chapters. Guilt is a stain, a *macula*, that pollutes and needs to be washed away. This applies especially to the guilt of escaping from the monastery because moving outside means having stained oneself with the dirt of the outside world. Jonas' repeated references to the *septa secreta* implies that the *macula* of escape not only stains the individual nun, but also the monastic space.

Humility in Action (Chapter 22)

Several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* have long and elaborate titles that try to capture their content as precisely as possible. The title of chapter 22 is the longest of them: *Qualiter inuicem se humilient uel ordines seruent uel in minutis actibus qualiter sint seruanda praecepta* (How they should humble themselves in front of each other, observe the hierarchy, and how precepts are to be observed in little acts). The chapter's overarching theme is humility, which is according to the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Magistri* the basic principle for monastic life. Instead of just calling the chapter *De humilitate*, the title appearing in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti*, Jonas uses the verb *se humiliare* and adds one of the key expressions of his Rule, *inuicem*. He describes *how* (*qualiter*) the nuns should humble themselves in dealing with each other and with their superiors. *Humilitas* needs to be performed – it is not just an attitude but an act.

Chapter 22 belongs, along with chapters 3, 5–7, and *De accedendo ad Deum*, to the most complicated and skilfully structured parts of the Rule. It provides the programmatic basis for a topic that plays an essential role in Jonas' work: how the nuns are supposed to interact with each other and how the community should function in order to work collectively on the pursuit of salvation. The chapter consists, again, of two sections, an introduction (c. 22.1–9) and a list of practical provisions (c. 22.10–23). Some of these provisions are inspired by the *Regula Benedicti*, others have no parallel in any other rule. Jonas makes clear that the list of provisions in this chapter is not exhaustive but just provides examples. Other provisions on the interaction between individual nuns and between the individual and the community can be found throughout the Rule.

The Introduction: Attaining the "Summit of Virtues"

Most of the introductory parts of the previous chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* show no influence of the *Regula Benedicti*. It is in these parts where Jonas develops his own monastic ideal and provides an alternative to the *Regula Benedicti*. In chapter 22 he takes a key term from the very last chapter of the *Regula Benedicti* and redefines its meaning: the *culmen uirtutum* (the summit of virtues). Benedict ends his Rule envisioning the striving for the *culmina uirtutum* as a primarily individual pursuit: everyone climbs on his own *culmen*. He does, at this point, not address a community any more but uses the second-person singular (*peruenies*), which connects the end of the Rule with the beginning of the prologue where he also addresses an individual disciple (*Ausculta, o fili, praecepta magistri*):

> 8 Quisquis ergo ad patriam caelestem festinas, hanc minimam inchoationis regulam descriptam, adiuuante Christo, perfice, 9 et tunc demum ad maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae uirtutumque culmina, Deo protegente, peruenies. Amen.
>
> [8 Therefore, whoever you are, hastening toward your heavenly home, with Christ's help carry out this little Rule sketched as a beginning, 9 and then at last you will reach those summits of learning and virtues (*doctrinae uirtutumque culmina*) we mentioned above, with God's protection. Amen.][908]

Benedict also explains in this final chapter that the *regula* does not just encompass his own little Rule but also the works on the *sancti patres* (holy fathers). He particularly mentions the *Collationes Patrum et Instituta*, i.e. the works of John Cassian, where he found the expression *culmen uirtutum*. Jonas was familiar with Cassian's work and paraphrased a section of the *Collationes* in his *Vita Iohannis*.[909] In chapter 22 he followed, as it were, Benedict's advice, did his homework, read his Cassian, and used a section of Book 12 of the *Institutiones* as the basis for his own interpretation of *culmen uirtutum*. For Cassian (and for Jonas), this *culmen uirtutum* is the *culmen caritatis*, the "summit of love". The following passage from Cassian forms the basis of Jonas' chapter 22. We can see it shining through the text (parallels are printed bold):

> Nullo enim modo poterit in **anima** nostra **uirtutum** structura consurgere, nisi prius iacta fuerint **uera**e **humilitat**is in nostro corde **fundam**ina, quae firmissime conlocata perfectionis et **caritatis culmen** ualeant sustinere, ita scilicet, ut quemadmodum diximus primum fratribus nostris **humilitate**m **uera**m intimo cordis exhibeamus **affectu**, in nullo scilicet adquiescentes eos contristare, uel laedere.
>
> [For the superstructure of the virtues will never be able to rise in our soul (*anima*) if the foundations of true humility (*uerae humilitatis*) have not first been laid out in our heart. When these have been very firmly posed, they will be able to hold up the summit of perfection and love (*perfectionis et caritatis culmen*). In order to do this, as we have said, we must first and from the deepest reaches of our heart exhibit true humility (*humilitatem ueram*) to our brothers by determining never to sadden or hurt them.][910]

(908) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 73.9, *SC* 182, p. 674; transl. Venarde, p. 229, slightly revised.

(909) Jonas paraphrases Cassian, *Collationes* IX, c. 3, *SC* 54, pp. 41–43 in *VIoh*, c. 18, pp. 341–342. See Diem, 'The Rule of an 'Iro-Egyptian Monk', pp. 38–44.

(910) Cassian, *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, *SC* 109, p. 498; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian, The Institutes*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press 2000, p. 273.

Cassian provides here a definition of *humilitas* that is different from Benedict's understanding of *humilitas*. Benedict's twelve steps of humility, which he characterized as an ascent to the "summit of greatest humility" (*culmen summae humilitatis*), focus on the self rather than the other. The community as a whole plays hardly any role in Benedict's path to the top, except for that of a passive audience. This path to the top is paved by the fear of God, not loving one's own will, unconditional obedience, enduring adversity, humble confession, being content with anything shabby, being lower than all others, following nothing but the Rule, keeping silence, avoiding laughter, speaking gently, and expressing humility with one's body.[911]

Cassian states that true humility (*humilitas uera*) is to be acted out on one's brothers and is meant to protect them from harm. For Jonas, *humilitas* manifests itself, in line with Cassian, primarily in the interaction with the other, in the act of loving and serving each other (*ministerium*).[912] It is a *humilitas*-in-action that is built upon the foundation of mutual love, not on *oboedientia* and rendering one's *propria uoluntas*, the basic principles of the *Regula Benedicti*. At no point is Jonas' fundamental disagreement with Benedict as obvious as in chapter 22 where he essentially implies that Benedict entirely misunderstood Cassian.

Jonas begins by grounding individual humility in the collective practice of mutual love:

> [1] Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio in monasterio animae positae debeant diligere, sanctorum patrum instituta sanxerunt. [2] Sed in quibus sit actibus uel officiis demonstrandum, a nobis pro parte indicandum est.
>
> [[1] The Institutes of the Holy Fathers have determined with how much affection and service of love the souls placed in the monastery should love themselves. [2] But it is our task to indicate by which acts or favours it must be shown.]

The key words of his opening sentence, *caritas*, *ministerium*, *diligere*, appear throughout the Jonas' Rule and, in particular, in the chapter on mutual love (c. 5). We have encountered the metonym *anima* for "nun" already several times in the Rule, emphasizing that Jonas is primarily concerned with the salvation of his nuns' soul.[913] Jonas defines his own task (*a nobis pro parte indicandum est*) as explaining *how* this imperative of love needs to manifest itself in deeds and service to each other. This may refer to the provisions that follow in this chapter, but also to the Rule as a whole. But first Jonas provides an explanation of his imperative of love. I have already discussed the key expression of this explanation, *ambitus uirtutum*, in Chapter 4:

> [3] Habet denique latissimum uirtutum copia ambitum, quod circumsepta facile hostem sibi superet aduersantem.
>
> [[3] In the end the crowd [of nuns] has a very wide circle of virtues, because being surrounded [in such a way] they may easily overcome the enemy who is turned against them.]

The *ambitus uirtutum* creates a safe space that fences off the devil. Jonas might have chosen the expression *ambitus uirtutum* as a response to Benedict's *culmen uirtutum*: a horizontal

(911) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 7, *SC* 181, pp. 472–490.
(912) On the role of *ministerium* in John Cassian's work, see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 200–202.
(913) *RcuiV*, c. 1.2; c. 2.9; c. 14.1, c. 17.2.

encircled space that surrounds the entire community rather than the vertical top that the individual monk aims to reach by himself in spiritual ascent. The term *copia* is used in an unusual way. Elsewhere in the Rule (as well as further along in this chapter) it refers to an abundance (of things); here it stands for the crowd or multitude of nuns, as if Jonas wants to emphasize that the more nuns participate in upholding the *ambitus uirtutum*, the stronger it is.[914] It seems that Jonas deliberately plays with the ambiguous meaning of *copia*, as he does elsewhere with the ambiguous meaning of *membra*, which could refer to the members of the community and to the body parts of the individual nun, or *in omnibus*, which could refer to all things or all nuns.[915]

Jonas now elaborates on how this *ambitus uirtutum* needs to be established in practice:

> [4] Sunt etenim nonnulla quae in actu uidentur exigua et tamen uel custodita uel neglecta aut tepescente aut feruente animi motu demonstrantur, [5] ut est humiliatio capitis uel sermonum effabilis salutatio, quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordae aut certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum.
>
> [[4] Indeed, there are some [things] that seem to be petty as act and yet they are demonstrated by either a lukewarm or a heated motion of the mind to be well observed or neglected things, [5] for example the bowing of the head or an eloquent greeting with words, which reveals the most pure disposition (*affectus*) of a mind that is stern or amicable or, certainly, loving.]

This section, which is linked to the previous one by the word *etenim* (indeed, because), is somewhat convoluted and may be corrupted.[916] It explains – in line with numerous provisions throughout the Rule – that the most trifling gestures and the use of one's voice intentionally or unintentionally expresses one's inner attitude (the *motus animi*, movement of one's mind) and plays a crucial role in expressing one's love. Through gestures like bowing one's head a nun shows whether her mind is *tepescens* (lukewarm) or *feruens* (heated) or whether she is *rigida* (rigid) or *concorda* (agreeable)[917] and *pia* (loving), categories that can be found throughout the rule.[918]

The phrase *uel custodita uel neglecta* could either just refer to conscious gestures and those performed unknowingly, or Jonas reminds the nuns that they need to be constantly aware of how they comport themselves, expanding the warning against *neglegentia* (which is omnipresent in the Rule) to controlling one's posture. The expression *purissimus* also resonates with other parts of the Rule where Jonas speaks about the purity of love and the *confessio pura*.[919] Out of this context, the translation "very sincere" may be more fitting than "most pure".

(914) Compare *RcuiV*, c. 6.17; c. 22.8.

(915) *RcuiV*, c. 1.17; c. 2.16; c. 3.35; c. 10.2; c. 14.2; c. 14.4; c. 15.2; c. 22.23; c. 23.7; c. 24.11.

(916) In the *Codex regularum* and in all manuscripts of the *Concordia regularum* we find *quae aut rigidae mentis uel concordae aut, si certe piae purissimum patefacient affectum*, which does not make sense. Bonnerue emendates the text by omitting *si*. I follow his emendation.

(917) Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 406, s.v. *concorde* identifies *concorde* as deriving from an obsolete form *concordus*.

(918) *Rigidus*: *RcuiV*, c. 1.12 (negative connotation); *tepescere*: c. 2.2; c. 2.6; c. 2.17; c. 6.21; *feruens*/*feruor*: c. 2.18; c. 19.2 and six times in *VCol.*

(919) *RcuiV*, c. 3.9; c. 6.5; c. 16.5–9.

Now Jonas starts to weave Cassian into his argument and provides his definition of *humilitas*. There is no humility without love, and no love without humility:

> [6] Seruandum ergo est famulis uel famulabus Christi ut semper intra mentis statum ea nutriant quae a uera humilitate ac caritate non discedant, in quibus summa constat uirtutum. [7] Nam sicut numquam sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas, ita numquam absque uera caritate uera manet humilitas.
>
> [[6] The manservants or handmaidens of Christ ought to beware that they always nourish within the state of the mind those things that do not depart from true humility and love, in which the highest virtue is evident, [7] because just as love never remains true without true humility, so humility never remains true without true love.]

The previous section described which state of mind the nuns should express in their behaviour and in their way of speaking. This section is ambiguous, depending on whether we should read *quae* as referring to the "nuns" or to "things". Either we remain still within the realm of what happens inside a nun and how it is revealed and expressed, or we have moved to the level of interaction: behaviour and speech not only *expresses* love, but it also causes love. Maybe Jonas was purposefully ambiguous.

The expression *uera*, which also appears previously in Jonas' chapter on love, is important in this context. The *actus* of the nuns may not be just "acting". It must be truly representing what they feel and what moves them. Just the external appearance does not count.

Now we arrive at the *culmen uirtutum*. Jonas' focus is, in line with Cassian, not the top of the summit but its foundation:

> [8] Arripiamus ergo instruere fundamentum, ut ad culmen perueniamus uirtutum. [9] Sit prius humilitas monstranda tam actu quam affectu, ut post caritatis copia aedificetur.
>
> [[8] Let us therefore take it upon us to build the foundation, so that we arrive at the summit of virtues. [9] First, humility should be shown both in act and in disposition (*affectus*), so that subsequently an abundance of love is built [upon it].]

Just as in chapter 5 and the first part of chapter 6 the author addresses the nuns in the first-person plural and not, as Benedict does, in the second-person singular. It is impossible to build the foundation for reaching the summit of virtues if you are on your own. The *culmen uirtutum* is, just like the *ambitus uirtutum*, a collaborative project based on mutual love.

Implementation

The second part of the chapter consists of eleven examples of expressing the appropriate *affectus* (disposition) in various circumstances, both in the interaction with fellow nuns and within hierarchical structures:

> [10] Et quando sibi mutuatim in uia uel in quocumque loco occurrerint, cum omni humilitate ab inuicem flectentes benedictionem rogent. [11] Et si ex eis una senior fuerit, prius iunior benedictionem postulet, tunc demum senior prosequatur.
>
> [[10] And when [the sisters] meet one another on their path or at any place, they should bow with all humility and ask each other for a blessing. [11] And if one of them is an elder, the junior should first request a blessing whereupon the elder should follow.]

Jonas shows how the nuns should communicate whenever they see each other *cum omni humilitate* (with all humility), which is expressed through movements of their bodies. In other circumstances the author uses the expression *sub silentii uoce* (with a voice of silence).[920] We can assume that the same is meant here. It is possible that the nuns whisper their requests and their blessings or just express them through gestures. The provision that seniority determines who acts and who reacts is taken from the *Regula Benedicti.*

Jonas elaborates on the notion of seniority and hierarchy by placing it in a different context, that of the liturgy:

> 12 In cursu uero positae, prout ab abbatissa fuerint ordinatae, uel ad psalmum canendum uel lectiones recitandas, uel etiam ad communicandum euntes suum ordinem custodiant, nec constitutum sibi locum transilientes in ambitionis uel arrogantiae uitio demergantur.
>
> [12 Where they are placed in the service, as they are arranged by the abbess, they should keep their rank – be it for singing the Psalms or reciting the readings but also while going to take Communion – and they should not sink into the vice of ambition or presumption by stepping out of the position where they are placed.]

Every nun should strictly keep her place in the order. I would assume that this section does not so much deal with actual hierarchies but primarily with the "choreography of prayer" and the dynamics of an individual's conduct in a moving crowd. Here the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* follows the chapter on the rank in the community of the *Regula Benedicti* (c. 63). Jonas adds, however, a warning against a mindset (of ambition or presumption) that might motivate nuns to step out of their rank. This aligns with numerous other instances in which Jonas adds the aspect of motivation to an organizational provision of the *Regula Benedicti.*

In the next section Jonas expands on the tension between *ordo* and *ambitio*, but elaborates it within a different context:

> 13 Abbatissae uero studendum est ut per ordinem sicut conuersae in monasterio fuerint, ita in suo ordine constituantur, praeter si uberis conuersatio religionis meruerit, ut inantea promoueatur, uel si grauis culpa exigerit ut retro regradetur. 14 Siue aliqua ex sororibus cognoscatur seniorem affectare locum, cum uerecunda castigatione refellatur, quia non debiti honoris locum praesumpsit, nec relegionis commeritum sed ambitionis honorem indebitum conata est arripere.
>
> [13 But the abbess has to be concerned that they are placed in the same order as they converted in the monastery, unless the conduct of abundant piety deserves that [a nun] is moved forward before [her turn], or if a severe offence requires that she is degraded to a lower rank. 14 Should one of the sisters be recognized as aspiring to the place of an elder, she is to be rebuked with a shameful castigation, because she has dared [to claim] a place of undeserved dignity, and she has attempted to take upon herself an undeserved honour because of her ambition and not an honour deserving of her piety.]

Jonas follows here as well the *Regula Benedicti* which ingeniously organizes rituals and the use of space by a symbolic hierarchy based on the moment of conversion (he probably

(920) *RcuiV*, c. 14.15; c. 22.23.

means the moment of taking vows).[921] This hierarchy plays little role outside of the context of ritual and the organization of space, but it gives the abbot or abbess the opportunity to punish or exalt a member of the community by moving him or her to another rank. Jonas deviates from Benedict in two regards. He omits Benedict's warning that the abbot may not abuse this power but has to give an explanation of his decisions,[922] and he requires the abbess to punish strictly those who themselves aspire to be promoted and to take the place of an elder sister. *Ambitio* and *arrogantia* are destructive attitudes that must be punished just as strictly as *superbia*, *contumacia*, or *elatio* – mental states mentioned elsewhere in the Rule.[923]

Jonas now moves to a very specific provision on how the nuns should comport themselves in assemblies, closely following what he found in the *Regula Benedicti*. This provision picks up the term *locus* from the previous sentence:

> [15] In consessu sororum si alia superuenerit, quae iuniores sunt ordine, adsurgant et seniori locum praebeant.
>
> [[15] If another nun arrives at the assembly of the sisters, those who are juniors according to their rank should rise and give place to the elder.]

Different from the oratory, where everyone has her predetermined place, at the assembly the nuns have to reconstitute the hierarchy whenever a nun arrives. The nuns have to move and to interact with each other.

In the next section Jonas prescribes how *seniores* and *iuniores* are to interact in a context that is not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*:

> [16] Iuniores uero senioribus nullatenus superbiendo contradicant, sed cum omni humilitate uel interrogatae uel correptae respondeant.
>
> [[16] Juniors may by no means contradict the elder out of pride, but they should respond with all humility when they are asked for their opinion or reproached.]

The way the nuns respond to each other exemplifies "humility in action". The expression *cum omni humilitate* appears here for a second time. Jonas' prohibition to contradict an elder pertains to two different situations: when a nun is asked for her opinion or when she is reproached. *Interrogare* appears at two other occasions in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that indicate that "asking for an opinion" is a more accurate translation than an inquisitive "interrogate".[924]

Jonas now picks up the theme of reproach and elaborates on it in a new context which is also not addressed in the *Regula Benedicti*: if an inferior nun observes a superior's transgression:

> [17] Si labentem in quodlibet delictum iunior seniorem aspexerit, non exprobrando sed magis dolendo ad confitendum abbatissae uel praepositae dirigat. Similiter senior iuniori faciat.

(921) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.1–9, *SC* 182, pp. 642–644.

(922) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.2–3, p. 644: *Qui abbas non conturbet gregem sibi commissum nec, quasi libera utens potestate, iniuste disponat aliquid,* [3] *sed cogitet semper qua de omnibus iudiciis et operibus suis reddituris est Deo rationem.*

(923) *RcuiV*, c. 2.5; c. 18.1; c. 20.2. See also *VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267.

(924) *RcuiV*, c. 2.8–9; c. 12.9. The term also appears numerous times in *VCol*.

> [17 If a junior sees an elder falling into any sort of offence, she should guide her to the abbess or prioress in order to confess. [She should do that] not in an upbraiding but rather in a grieving way. Likewise should an elder act towards a junior.]

A junior is not supposed to reproach an elder for a transgression but to feel sadness about the harm the elder has inflicted upon herself. She should point her to the one and only appropriate action to be taken in such a case: to confess her deeds. We already know this from various other passages in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and the Faremoutiers section of the *Vita Columbani*. Jonas abandons at this point the topic of hierarchy: the nuns have to encourage each other to confess a transgression, no matter whether it is committed by a junior or an elder. He elaborates on the theme of *confessio* in the next sentence in a different context:

> 18 Ad confessionem ueniens prius prostrata supra humum suam culpam esse dicat. Sic postquam surgere iubetur, suam confessionem manifestet.
>
> [18 When [this nun] comes to confession, she should first prostrate on the ground and say that the offence is hers. When she then is ordered to rise, she should make her confession known.]

At this point the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* reveals two important details of the practice of confession that have not been addressed in the chapters dedicated to this issue (c. 6–7). The procedure of confession is a two-step process that has a choreographic aspect. Laying on the ground a nun first needs to acknowledge her offence. Only after given permission to rise does she make her *confessio*, which entails much more than just saying what she has done. As we know from the *Vita Columbani*, particularly from the episode about the fugitive nuns, the confession of one's motivations is decisive, even if the act itself is known to everyone.[925] Chapter 6 identifies the objects of confession to be everything a nun has done, seen, heard, thought, and all the stain the mind has attracted.[926]

In the next sentence, Jonas moves to a different example of an interaction between nun and abbess that consists, again, of two steps and hinges on the abbess' consent. Just as a nun needs to disclose her deeds before the abbess gives her the opportunity to confess them, a nun needs to ask permission (*uenia*) before asking the abbess' permission (*commeatus*) for doing the things she needs to do:

> 19 Quando ad aliquod opus fieri commeatus rogatur, uenia prius petatur, et sic de opere quod fiendum est commeatus rogetur.
>
> [19 When someone asks for permission for some sort of work that is to be done, she should first request permission [to ask], and then she may ask for approval for the work that needs to be done.]

The author uses here the term *commeatus*, which we already encountered several times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but also in the *Vita Columbani*.[927] As discussed in the commen-

(925) See pp. 225–226.
(926) *RcuiV*, c. 6.20–23.
(927) *RcuiV*, c. 2:9; c. 2:16; c. 3:11; c. 3:19; c. 9.7; c. 12.5. The expression *commeatus* also appears three times in *VCol.*

tary to the chapter on the abbess (c. 1), the soft-authoritarian term *commeatus* (permission or, maybe, assignment) replaces what Benedict would have called *iussio*, *mandatum*, *ordo*, or *imperium*.[928] It is a term Jonas uses regularly, but it appears only twice in other monastic rules, once in the *Regula communis* and once in the *Regula Donati*. The passage in the *Regula Donati* that contains the term *commeatus* belongs to the few sections that Donatus may have composed himself without quoting one of his sources verbatim. It shows, in fact, striking similarities to the provision made here in chapter 22.[929]

The expression *uenia* reappears in the next sentence which addresses in general terms how a nun ought to interact with her abbess, thus not only in the context of confession or receiving an assignment. Here we find the reminder that all of this has to happen *cum omni humilitate* for a third time:

> [20] Quando ad abbatissam uenitur, cum omni humilitate ueniam petendo accedatur. Similiter, quando egreditur, cum ueniae petitione benedictio quaeratur.
>
> [[20] When she comes to the abbess, she should approach her with all humility and request permission. Accordingly, when she leaves, she should request permission [to leave] and ask for a blessing.]

Interacting with the abbess, a nun has to express *humilitas*, which includes the same request for a blessing (*benedictio*) that a nun has to express in *any* interaction with a superior, as we already know from earlier in chapter 22.

The next provision picks up the topic of approaching the abbess and makes clear why a nun should always ask for permission before addressing the abbess. In general, a nun should approach the *praeposita* first. After all, the abbess should, as we know from chapter 2, "rest" above the *praeposita*:[930]

> [21] Nulla monacharum per semetipsam de propria necessitate abbatissae suggerat, sed omnes per praepositam quicquid necessitatum fuerit, abbatissae studeant intimare.
>
> [[21] None of the nuns may of her own accord bring something of her own affairs to the abbess, but all should be concerned to bring whatever is necessary to the [knowledge of the] abbess by way of the prioress.]

The abbess always needs, as we know from various passages in the Rule, to be informed about everything, especially through the *praeposita*, which means that no nun may interact with the abbess without permission.

The notion of distance and of limited interaction reappears in the next sentence, which addresses a new topic: how the nuns ought to interact with visiting priests. As we might expect by now, this has to happen *cum omni humilitate* as well:

> [22] Si sacerdos uel quilibet relegiosus uenerit, ut ei per abbatissae commeatum sit occurrendum, a longe adstantes cum omni humilitate flectentes genu sub silenti uoce benedictionem rogent.

(928) See p. 363.

(929) *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 183; *Regula Donati*, c. 19.3–5, *CSEL* 98, p. 157: *Quo in loco ueniam petentes ac singulae confessionem dantes pro cogitationibus carnalibus atque turpibus uel nocturnis uisionibus,* [4] *demum pariter orantes dicant: Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.* (Ps. 31/32, 22) [5] *Sic quoque uicissim dicant ad seniorem: "Da commeatum uestimentum mutare et quod opus fuerit fieri."*

(930) *RcuiV*, c. 2.7*: …super quam abbatissa requiescat…*

> [22 If a priest or any other religious person visits and they receive permission from the abbess to meet them, they should ask for a blessing standing at a distance with silent voice, bending with all humility.]

Here again, the Rule requires a gesture that expresses humility in a non-verbal request for blessing (*benedictio*), the third one in this chapter. This is the one and only passage of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that addresses the interaction with priests in the monastery. We know from the *Vita Columbani* that Faremoutiers received male visitors, including Jonas himself,[931] but, at least in this passage, Jonas does not ascribe them any authority. It is the abbess who gives her nuns permission (*commeatus*) to interact with priests, though this interaction seems to be limited to standing at a distance and asking silently for a blessing.

The notion of silence and asking for *commeatus* appears again in the very last sentence of chapter 22 which contains the phrase *cum omni humilitate* for a fifth time:

> 23 Et si ordinatum fuerit ab abbatissa ut cum his aliqua sororum loquatur, cum omni humilitate et modestia ac sobriaetate loqendum est, ut in omnibus his uirtus humilitatis ac sobriaetatis inueniatur.
>
> [23 And if it is ordered by the abbess, that any of the sisters speaks with [the visitors], so should she speak with all humility, modesty, and moderation, so that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them.]

The purpose "that the virtue of humility and moderation is found in all of them", guides us back to the beginning of the chapter.

Chapter 22 contains various specific provisions how the nuns have to interact with each other *cum omni humilitate*. As different as these provisions are, they are all bundled together by carrying a concept or a key term from one context to the next one. As such Jonas' eleven examples of humility in action form another chain similar to the one we observed in the chapter on the *portaria* (and on physical enclosure). Knowing by now how carefully Jonas crafted his work, I consider it likely that this chain of acts of humility exemplifies the protective circle that fences off the devil. Chapter 22 does not only describe the *ambitus uirtutum*; it *is* an *ambitus uirtutum*.

Family (Chapter 23)

Chapter 23 prohibits defending a fellow nun or a relative in the monastery. It is responding to the problem of kinship ties and the potential that hierarchies and discipline might be undermined when nuns side with members of their own family and defend them in conflicts.[932] Placing this chapter after one that regulates how the nuns should interact with

(931) *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 243; II, c. 21, pp. 276–277.

(932) On the regulation of kinship ties in early medieval monasteries, see Wade, 'Spiritual Motherhood'; Brouillard, Lochin, 'The Secular Family in Monastic Rules, 400–700', in: *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 8 (2019), pp. 1–46.

each other makes complete sense and shows that the chain structure observed in the previous chapter also applies to the Rule as a whole.

For Jonas, the question of defending others was not only a practical challenge that required pragmatic responses, but a spiritual problem that needed to be resolved within his overall monastic programme: his concept of love, discipline, and mutual responsibility for every nun's salvation. Instead of simply prohibiting the defence of one's kin, Jonas turns chapter 23 into yet another short and dense theological treatise on how to navigate the worldly versus spiritual ties in this particular context.

The chapter gives us access to one of the many silent but fundamental transformations that took place in the late antique and early medieval monastic world. Numerous late antique sources stress resistance on the part of family members or secular and ecclesiastical superiors against an individual's decision to convert to the monastic life. Monastic conversion was considered a disruptive, often scandalous act.[933] At some point in the century before Columbanus' arrival on the Continent, we can observe new forms of monastic conversion that no longer presumed a family conflict and a definitive break with the outside world and its social structures. New monasteries were founded by kings, bishops, and aristocrats who did not necessarily commit themselves personally to monastic life but considered their foundation a family endeavour. Having family represented in the community was an essential part of these endeavours.[934]

As Mayke de Jong has shown, the entry of children into the monastery was transformed from an exceptional form of monastic conversion (usually parents who enter monasteries along with their children) into an act of oblation, i.e. offering children to the monastery as a collective "family investment".[935] Having several members of the same family living in a monastery had a deep impact on the internal dynamic of a community. The most dramatic example of this impact of family ties on a monastic community is the uprising in Radegund's foundation in Poitiers which was instigated by several members of the Merovingian family.[936]

(933) See, for example, Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 2, *SC* 400, pp. 132–134; Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, c. 2, *SC* 133, pp. 254–256; c. 6–8, pp. 264–270; *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 4, *SC* 536, p. 152; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, c. 1–7, *SC* 90, pp. 130–140; *Vita abbatum Acaunensium*, c. 1, *MGH SRM* 7, p. 330; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 12–16, *MGH SRM* 2, pp. 368–370; Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis*, c. 5–7, pp. 381–382; *VCol* I, c. 3, pp. 156–158; Willibald, *Vita Bonifatii*, c. 1, *MGH Script.* 2, pp. 334–335.

(934) Fox, Yaniv, *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014; Hummer, *Visions of Kinship in Medieval Europe*. Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 109–243 describes this process but also how monasteries eventually succeeded in emancipating themselves from the influence of founding families. Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, pp. 177–188 shows how the question to what extent monks and nuns could maintain ties to their kin was resolved differently in monastic texts of the fourth and fifth century, ranging from a rather lenient approach in the works of Sulpicius Severus, Jerome, and Augustine to an imperative of definitive break with family ties in the work of Cassian.

(935) De Jong, Mayke, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill 1996.

(936) Dailey, Erin Thomas A., *Queens, Consorts, Concubines: Gregory of Tours and Women of the Merovingian Elite*, Leiden: Brill 2015, pp. 64–79; Scheibelreiter, Georg, 'Königstöchter im Kloster. Radegund († 587) und der Nonnenaufstand von Poitiers (589)', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 87 (1979),

In his *Vita Columbani* Jonas makes this paradigmatic shift part of the narrative. We have Columbanus who leaves the world by stepping over his mother's body as she blocks the threshold of their house;[937] we have Athala who leaves the household of Bishop Arigius of Lyon in anger and enters the old Gallic foundation of Lérins only to find its monastic regime too lenient;[938] we have Burgundofara who resisted the marriage plans of her parents by falling seriously ill.[939] For the next generation, monastic conversion was not a matter of conflict any more. We find the Frankish aristocrats flocking *en masse* to Columbanus' foundations[940] or Waldelenus and Flavia, an aristocratic couple who willingly dedicates their offspring to monastic life.[941] Of all the nuns in Faremoutiers, only one, Gibitrudis, had to overcome her parents' resistance in order to enter the monastery.[942]

Monastic foundations as family endeavours may have existed before Columbanus' arrival in Gaul, but they became the prevalent model in the aftermath of his foundations. The wave of monastic foundations after Columbanus' death seems to have been sustained primarily by a number of aristocratic families whose members acted as founders, leaders, and members of various monastic communities under the *regula Columbani*.[943] Faremoutiers was the first female monastery among these family projects. Abbess Burgundofara's brother Chagnoald shares in the teaching of the *regula* to the nuns of Faremoutiers. Jonas describes the commitment of entire families to monastic life as praiseworthy, but he also expresses, as we will see, fear that the dirt of the world might infiltrate the monastery in the form of family ties.

Yet these family ties are not the only threat to a spirit of communality and equality and to structures of obedience and submission. Monastic rules express concerns about emotional friendships with their potential of sexual relations,[944] but also, for example, demand that masters and slaves entering the monastery have to become equals and that they may by no means continue their former relationship.[945] Chapter 23 may focus primarily on

pp. 1–37; Hartmann, Martina, '*Reginae sumus*. Merowingische Königstöchter und die Frauenklöster im 6. Jahrhundert', in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 113 (2005), pp. 1–19; Edwards, Jennifer C., *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019, pp. 77–85.

(937) *VCol* I, c. 3, p. 157.

(938) *VCol* II, c. 1, pp. 230–231. On Bishop Arigius, who became one of the antagonists of Columbanus: O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas*, p. 179, n. 463.

(939) *VCol* II, c. 7, p. 242.

(940) *VCol* I, c. 10, pp. 169–170.

(941) *VCol* I, c. 14, pp. 174–176.

(942) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260.

(943) Fox, *Power and Religion*.

(944) For example *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, *SC* 298, p. 476; c. 44, p. 494; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 33, ed. Schmidt, p. 250 (not appearing in Aurelianus' *Regula ad uirgines*); *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.4, ed. Villegas, p. 32; *Regula Magistri*, c. 11.109–111, *SC* 106, p. 30; *Regula Ferrioli*, c. 33, ed Desprez, pp. 141–142; *Regula Donati*, c. 32, *CSEL* 98, p. 163; c. 65, pp. 179–180.

(945) For example *Regula quattuor patrum*, c. 2.35, *SC* 297, pp. 190–192; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 1.14–15, ed. Villegas, pp. 16–17; *Regula Leandri*, c. 22, ed. Campos/Rocca, p. 61. See also *Vita Caesarii* I, c. 5, *SC* 536, p. 154: Caesarius enters Lérins with only one slave; *Vita Columbani* II, c. 1, p. 230: Athala enters Lérins with

family ties, but the theological arguments Jonas develops here could be just as well applied to other personal relationships within the monastery.

The problem that the system of discipline, hierarchy, and authority might be disrupted by members of monastic communities defending each other was probably very common since it is addressed in various monastic rules, including the *Regula Benedicti*.[946] Jonas uses Benedict's short chapter on this issue (c. 69) but because of the changed family response to monastic conversion, turned it into something different. His alterations reflect the fact that family ties and their disruptive potential had become much more important within the century that lies between the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Here is what Benedict writes about disruptive ties:

> Vt in monasterio non praesumat alter alterum defendere. [1] Praecauendum est ne quauis occasione praesumat alter alium defendere monachum in monasterio aut quasi tueri, [2] etiam si qualiuis consanguinitatis propinquitate iungantur. [3] Nec quolibet modo id a monachis praesumatur, quia exinde grauissima occasio scandalorum oriri potest. [4] Quod si quis haec transgressus fuerit, acrius coerceatur.
>
> [Nobody in the monastery should presume to defend another. [1] Care must be taken lest a monk presume in any circumstance to defend another in the monastery or take him under his protection, as it were, [2] even if they are connected by some close kinship. [3] In no way should monks presume in this way, because very grave occasion for scandals can arise from it. [4] Anyone who transgresses in this matter should be severely punished.][947]

Chapter 23 begins and ends with two succinct practical provisions. Between these provisions Jonas inserts a theological excursus that ties them together and integrates them into the overall programme of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The first provision is based on Benedict's chapter:

> [1] Defendere proximam uel consanguineam in monasterio nullo modo permitti censemus.
>
> [[1] We determine that by no means [a nun] is permitted to defend a relative or a family member in the monastery.]

Benedict simply prohibits a monk from defending another one *in monasterio*, that is *within* the monastery. The qualification *in monasterio*, which appears in both rules, might be important because it does not preclude that monks or nuns could side with each other outside the monastery. Benedict is concerned with *any* form of siding with each other in the monastery, *even if* it happens between family members, while Jonas turns the *even if* into what he considers the matter at stake. Family members *in particular* are not allowed to side with each other.

only two servants. On slaves in the monastery: Diem, Albrecht, 'Exclusion and the rhetoric of accessibility in the late antique and early medieval monasticism', pp. 129–131.

(946) Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 74, *CCCM* 168A, pp. 646–652 lists *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 16, ed. Boon, pp. 69–70; *Liber Orsiesii*, c. 24–25, pp. 125–126; *Regula Basilii*, c. 26, *CSEL* 86, p. 74; c. 120–121, pp. 146–148; *Regula orientalis*, c. 33.1–2, *SC* 298, p. 490; c. 47, p. 494.

(947) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 69, *SC* 182, pp. 664–666; transl. Venarde, p. 221.

Another difference is that Benedict motivates his provision with his concern of "the most serious opportunity for scandals" (*grauissima occasio scandalorum*), i.e. disruptions within the monastery. Jonas is not, or at least not explicitly, interested in these mundane effects of factions among his nuns. For him, defending each other because of blood relationships is a spiritual rather than a practical challenge because it undermines the theological basis of his entire Rule.

The next few sentences of chapter 23 elaborate this concern. Jonas combines two textual techniques that he had deployed before. He develops a theological argument through a chain of biblical references, as he does in chapters 5 and 6 (and, as we will see, in *De accedendo ad Deum*), and he uses the device of rhetorical questions, as we find them in chapters 3, 9, and 17 (and also in *De accedendo*). A sequence of three questions juxtaposes the act of illicitly defending (*defendere*) someone with the act of crucifixion (*crucificare*). The chapter develops, step by step, the argument that monastic conversion is incompatible with family ties – or any other personal ties. *Amor* among family members is different from the *amor* that, in Jonas' view, holds the community together and plays a crucial role in the pursuit of salvation. This *amor* should manifest itself not in defending each other, but, to the contrary, in correcting each other (*corrigere*). Here is the first rhetorical question:

> [2] Quid enim aliam defendat quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa, [3] quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?
>
> [[2] For why should a nun defend another who does not live any more for herself but for Christ, and continues to be crucified in imitation of Him, [3] – and who has already given up her own soul in order to bind herself more fully to salvation?]

Jonas connects in this question two theological ideas and links them to the imperative of *imitatio* of the crucified Christ. The first idea is that Christ died on the cross for our sins and in order to open the path to salvation for us. The nuns are supposed to imitate this crucifixion by not living any more for themselves but, as Jonas implies, for others.[948] We find the same motive in the *Vita Columbani*: Ercantrudis identifies a nun whose desires to return to the world make her unworthy to live among the nuns who, having been crucified to the world, live for Christ and not for themselves.[949] Jonas adds as a second allusion the ultimate sacrifice of giving up one's soul for one's friend according to Marc. 8, 35, Luc. 17, 32, and Ioh. 15, 13.[950]

Jonas has already presented the notion of *imitatio* in chapter 5: inciting God's forgiveness by imitating (as it were, re-enacting) God's love through forgiving each other one's

(948) See, for example, II Cor. 5, 13–15: *Siue enim mente excedimus, Deo; siue sobrii sumus, uobis. Caritas enim Christi urget nos, aestimantes, hoc, quoniam, si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt; et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut et, qui uiuunt, iam non sibi uiuant, sed ei, qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit.* See also Rom. 4, 23–25. Jonas combines in this sentence language also from Rom. 14, 7–8; Gal. 2, 19, and Gal. 6, 14.

(949) *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 23–24: …*ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt.*

(950) Luc. 17, 33: *Quicumque quaesierit animam suam saluam facere, perdet illam; et, quicumque perdiderit illam, uiuificabit eam.* Marc. 8, 35: *Qui enim uoluerit animam suam saluam facere, perdet eam; qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me et euangelium, saluam eam faciet.* John 15, 13: *Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis.*

sins.[951] The result of this *imitatio* of Christ's sacrifice for a nun is "to bind herself more fruitfully to salvation" – not to *her* salvation, but to salvation in general. *Imitatio Christi* is, for Jonas, not an imitation of Christ's suffering through a *mortificatio* of the flesh, but rather an imitation of the ultimate act of love that the crucifixion stands for. From there, Jonas moves into the second rhetorical question:

> [4] Quae ergo proprias perdidit uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quur aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria crucifixit?
>
> [[4] Thus, why should she, who has given up her own will in order to fulfill Christ's will within herself, defend the offences of others – she who has crucified her own offences?]

Jonas reframes the "not living for oneself any more" of the previous sentence into "giving up one's own will" (*proprias uoluntates perdere*) – a concept that plays a key role in the *Regula Benedicti*, but does not really take root in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, aside from this passage.[952] For Jonas, the objective of monastic life is not so much giving up one's *propria uoluntas*, but guiding one's own will to the right purpose. More importantly, in this rhetorical question Jonas alters the meaning of *crucificare*. Imitating the crucified Christ turns into crucifying one's own *delicta*. Crucifixion transforms from something the nuns should endure (*crucifixa*) to something the nuns have performed (*crucifixit*). Nailing one's *delicta* to the cross is, of course, incompatible with defending the *delicta* of someone else.

In the third rhetorical question, Jonas picks up the notion of an active act of crucifixion of one's misdeeds and replaces the *propriae uoluntates* with a new concept that plays a crucial role both in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the Faremoutiers section: *mundus* (the world):

> [5] Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quur in mundi facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?
>
> [[5] And if she has truly crucified [her offences] and does not live any more for the world but for Christ, why should she defend due to any sort of family tie those who fall into the misdeeds of the world?]

This question is based on a vague allusion to a biblical verse that is ubiquitous in monastic rules and has already appeared twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:[953]

(951) *RcuiV*, c. 5.4: *Diligere ergo precipimur ab inuicem, ut inuicem saluemur, ut per mutuam dilectionem eum imitemur qui nos dilexit*. See p. 403.

(952) *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.3, *SC* 181, p. 412; c. 1.11, p. 440; c. 4.60, p. 460; c. 5.7, p. 466; c. 7.12, p. 476; c. 7.19, p. 476; c. 7.31–33, p. 480; c. 33, *SC* 182, p. 562; c. 49.6, p. 606. See also *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 21–23: *Nec inmerito misericors Dominus suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates*.

(953) *Regula Basilii*, c. 4.8, *CSEL* 86, p. 33; c. 82.5, pp. 116–117; Columbanus, *Regula monachorum*, c. 4, ed. Walker, p. 126; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos/uirgines*, prologue.6, ed. Schmidt, pp. 239–240/*PL* 68, col. 400A; *Regula Magistri*, c. 91.62, *SC* 106, pp. 408–410; *CaesRV*, c. 52.7, *SC* 345, p. 240; Caesarius, *Epistula Vereor*, c. 7.9, p. 322; *RcuiV*, c. 3.1: *Portaria seu ostiaria monasterii tales esse debent que omnium simul mercedem aedificent, aetate senili, quibus mundus…*; *RcuiV*, c. 17.2: *Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo*.

> Gal. 6, 14: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.
>
> [But God forbid that I should boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world].

Gal. 6, 14 probably formed the basis for the idea that crucifixion goes both ways: that the nuns can both *be* crucified and *do* crucifixion. In any case, what Jonas called *delictum* or *facinus*[954] is now identified with the world (*mundus*).

Mundus is a complicated term in Jonas' work. We have already encountered it in chapter 17 on not claiming anything as one's own, where it appears no fewer than seven times. *Mundus* is the world that could sneak into the monastery and unfold its harm. Objects belonging to the monastery turn, as we know from chapter 17, into *res mundi* if they are claimed by anyone. A misdeed becomes a *facinus mundi* if it is defended by family members. In the *Vita Columbani*, Jonas describes Gibitrudis' fault of not having forgiven her fellow sisters, and uses the term *saeculum* (which he uses interchangeably with *mundus*): Gibitrudis' anger is described as not having left the world behind (*saeculum non reliquisti*).[955] Acting sinfully is equated with acting in a worldly manner, which is possible both within and outside the monastery.

After this threefold approach to crucifixion, Jonas shifts to the ultimate form of imitating the crucified Christ, the act of love, *amor* – a love that is directed towards the pursuit of salvation. When describing the consequences of the nun's imitation of the crucifixion, of their crucifying and their being crucified, Jonas uses one of his favourite expressions, *sit ergo*: this is how it should be implemented:

> 6 Sit ergo ei aequus amor tam in consanguinea quam in cetera sorore, quae ei sanguinis adfinitate non iungitur. 7 Maneat ergo in omnibus amor corde clausus, nec quamquam sub disciplinae moderamine positam tueri studeat, 8 ne uitium defendendi in alias dimittat.
>
> [6 Therefore, she should have equal love both for a relative and for another sister who is not bound to her by the ties of blood. 7 Let therefore in all nuns love remain enclosed in the heart, and [this love] should not strive to protect anyone who is placed under the guidance of punishment, 8 lest she send out the vice of defending to others.]

The act of loving that results from the imitation of the crucified Christ is to be equal to everyone no matter whether someone is related by blood or not. We already learned in chapter 5 that this is to be an impersonal and non-carnal love that consists of kindness but also of reproach, which is just another form of kindness.[956] Defending a nun means infecting her through the vice of defending. From there, Jonas finally arrives at the second provision of this chapter:

> 9 Sit ergo in arbitrio corrigentis, ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio, non propria implenda uoluntate, sed uitia corrigendo inferat disciplinam.

(954) Both terms appear interchangeably in *RcuiV*, c. 6.4–17.
(955) *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 15.
(956) For example *RcuiV*, c. 2.4: *correptio pia*; c. 20.5: punishment as *piaetatis ac lenitatis unguenta*.

> [9 Let it therefore be in the judgement of the corrector that she imposes punishment on those whom she corrects under the zeal of love, not by fulfilling her own will, but by correcting their faults.]

Jonas shifts his emphasis from the person who defends to the person who corrects, and from the potentially "too little" punishment (by defending) to a potentially "too much" (by punishing unreasonably). With the term *corrigens*, "the correcting person", Jonas refers to *any* person who corrects anyone else in any situation, thus not only the abbess, the prioress, or those responsible for the education of children. They must measure their punishment (*disciplina*) by their zeal of love rather than their own will, and their punishment must target the vice rather than the person.

This provision is connected to various ideas in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (as well as in the *Regula Benedicti*). Jonas emphasizes time and again that monastic discipline is not mechanical but must be assessed by the wisdom of a superior (*arbitrium*, *scientia*, *discretio*), which increases the responsibility of the superior who cannot just enforce a punishment according to the Rule. *Sub amoris studio* links chapter 23 to chapter 5 but also to the many other references of zeal (*studium*, *zelus*) throughout the Rule.

In his *Vita Columbani*, Jonas exemplifies his ideal of not defending family members but saving them through love and correction in the episode of the nun Deurechilda. She entered the monastery along with her mother. Instead of defending the moral weaknesses of her mother, she astutely rebukes them. Deurechilda's ultimate act of love consists of turning her mother's life around and ensuring that she may experience a *felix exitus*.[957]

Children (Chapter 24)

The last chapter of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* addresses the raising of children in the monastery and expands on the notion of loving punishment that Jonas developed in the previous chapter. No other monastic rule contains a similarly detailed reflection on monastic education, which is probably the reason why a paraphrase of this chapter appears in the *Institutio sanctimonialium* of 816, a reform rule for canonesses.[958] Chapter 24 consists, like several of the previous ones, of two parts. The first is a general statement on the shape

(957) *VCol* II, c. 15, pp. 264–266.

(958) *Institutio sanctimonialium*, c. 22, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, p. 452: *Ut erga puellas* ***in monasteri****is erudiendas magna adhibeatur diligentia. Religio ecclesiastica docet, ut puellae, quae* ***in monasteri****is erudiuntur,* ***cum omni pietatis affectu et*** *uigilantissimae* ***cura****e studio* ***nutri****antur, ne, si lubricae aetatis annos indisciplinate uiuendo transegerint,* ***aut uix aut nullatenus corri****gi* ***postea possint****. Quapropter praeferantur eis ex sanctimonialibus tales magistrae quae utique et probabilis sint uitae et erga eas talem exhibeant* ***cura****m, ut nequaquam* ***huc atque illuc*** *uagandi possint habere progressum et aut desidiae aut* ***lasciuiae uitio macul****entur, quin potius sacris* ***inbu****antur* ***disciplin****is, quatenus his mancipatae uagandi otio careant*. This section follows a paraphrase of Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*ad Laetam*), c. 3.3–12.3, *CSEL* 55, pp. 293–303. On the *Institutio sanctimonialium*, see Schilp, Thomas, *Norm und Wirklichkeit religiöser Frauengemeinschaften im Frühmittelalter. Die Institutio sanctimonialium Aquisgranensis des Jahres 816 und die Problematik der Verfassung von Frauenkommunitäten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoek&Ruprecht 1998; Thibaut, Jirki, *Rectamque regulam servare. De ambigue observantie en heterogene identiteit van vrouwengemeenschappen in Saksen, ca. 800–1050*, Ph.D. thesis Gent 2020, pp. 55–86.

and purpose of the education of children in the monastery; the second is a series of practical provisions.

First I will address Jonas' language which is particularly interesting in this case because we can see how Jonas masterfully used semantic repertoires – this time not only from the *Regula Benedicti* but also from the *Regula Basilii* – in order to convey his ideas while giving the impression that they are rooted in a venerable monastic tradition. The chapter shows traces of a section from chapter 70 of the *Regula Benedicti* which addresses the problem of unjustified punishments. Benedict states in this chapter:

> [4] Infantum uero usque quindecim annorum aetates disciplinae diligentia ab omnibus et custodia sit; [5] sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione. [6] Nam in fortiori aetate qui praesumit aliquatenus sine praecepto abbatis uel in ipsis infantibus sine discretione exarserit, disciplinae regulari subiaceat, [7] quia scriptum est: *Quod tibi non uis fieri, alio ne feceris*. (Matth. 7, 12)
>
> [[4] There should be supervision and diligent discipline of children up to the age of fifteen on everyone's part, [5] but this with all moderation and reason. [6] Anyone who presumes in any way against someone older without the abbot's permission or whose temper flares thoughtlessly at those children should be subject to the discipline of the Rule, [7] for it is written, "Do not do to another what you do not want done to yourself". (Matth. 7, 12)][959]

Jonas does not paraphrase the *Regula Benedicti*. He simply uses a number of Benedict's key terms – *disciplina*, *custodia*, *aetas*, and *discretio* – and constructs a new chapter which has little to do with Benedict's content and framing. Another source for Jonas was probably the chapter of Rufinus' translation of the *Regula Basilii* that addresses the question of what age one should enter the monastery or vow oneself to virginity, and how to admit monks of a more advanced age. Jonas shares with Basil a number of terms as well, *timor Domini*, *aetas perfecta*, *uirtus*, *aetas tenera*, *cura*, *correptio*, and *documenta*. Two of Jonas' statements in chapter 24 were probably inspired by Basil: the idea that practice at a young age will lead to endurance in adulthood,[960] and that the care of children should be exercised by those whose patience and authority qualifies them for this task.[961]

Yet Jonas mines Basil's provision for words and ideas rather than paraphrasing it completely. He combines Benedict's and Basil's terminology with his own vocabulary of monastic practice expressed in previous chapters of his Rule and from the *Vita Columbani*: *cura*, *ministerium*, *lasciuus*, *maculare*, *corripere*, *amor*, *doctrina*, *arbitrium*, and the phrases *cum omni pietatis affectu*, *cultus religionis*, and *de quarum religione non dubitatur*.

The chapter seemingly begins with another nod to previous monastic authorities:[962]

> [1] Infantes in monasterio quanta cura et disciplina sint nutriendae, multis didicimus documentis.
>
> [[1] We have learned from many examples with how much care and discipline children should be brought up in the monastery.]

(959) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 70.4–7, *SC* 182, p. 666; transl. Venarde, p. 223.
(960) *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.6, *CSEL* 86, p. 39.
(961) *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.7, p. 39.
(962) After having invoked the *series scripturarum* in *RcuiV*, c. 6 and c. 9, the *piaetas Auctoris* in c. 15, and the *instituta sanctorum patrum* in c. 22.

Jonas' use of the expression *documenta* might have been inspired by Basil who used this word (which is otherwise rare in monastic rules) in his chapter on admitting adults into the monastery.[963] Translating *documenta* with "texts" or "documents" might at first sight be the obvious choice, but it leaves us with a problem: there are, in fact, hardly any documents preserved that reflect on the education of children in the monastery, let alone on the topics addressed in this chapter. We have some references to children in older monastic rules, especially in the *Regula Benedicti*, Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, or the *Regula Donati*,[964] and it is obvious that Jonas had the provision on children in mind that we find in Rufinus' translation of the *Regula Basilii*.[965] Aside from that, we find scattered remarks on children in the *Verba Seniorum*, and there is one rather gruesome story in Cassian's *Institutiones* of a father who endures the neglect and abuse of his son by other monks after they entered the monastery together.[966] None of these references, however, would sustain the author's claim that "many documents" prove his point about the care and discipline in monastic education.

It is possible that Jonas aimed at supporting what follows with a diffuse invocation of authoritative texts, but why should he utilize this blunt rhetorical device for a topic as non-controversial as the necessity to give children in the monastery a caring and strict education? Jonas may have seen a need to justify the very presence of children in the monastery, though the question itself is not addressed in the chapter either. Both the *Regula Benedicti* and Caesarius' Rule assume, like Jonas, that it was not at all uncommon to enter a monastery at a very young age. There are no indications of an "oblation dispute" in the seventh century.[967]

There is another, more plausible, explanation of the *multa documenta*: in classical Latin, *documenta* does not refer to what we would understand as "documents" but rather to teachings and *exempla* (derived from *docere*).[968] Jonas uses *documenta* four times in the *Vita Colum-*

(963) *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.13, *CSEL* 86, p. 40 uses *documenta* in the meaning of "confirmation".

(964) De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 16–53 provides a survey of early sources; see also Lahaye-Geusen, Maria, *Das Opfer der Kinder: ein Beitrag zur Liturgie- und Sozialgeschichte des Mönchtums im Hohen Mittelalter*, Altenberge: Oros Verlag 1991, pp. 15–28; Muschiol, *Famula Dei*, pp. 300–312. References to children in the monastery can be found in *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 7, ed. Boon, p. 66; c. 13, pp. 68–69; *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, *SC* 298, p. 476; Aurelianus, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 17, ed. Schmidt, p. 246; c. 22, p. 247; c. 47, p. 253; Aurelianus, *Regula ad uirgines*, c. 18, *PL* 68, col. 402A; *Regula Pauli et Stephani*, c. 2–3, ed. Vilanova, p. 109; *Regula Magistri*, c. 14.79–87, *SC* 106, pp. 60–62; c. 27.41, p. 148; c. 28.19–24, p. 154; c. 50.12–15, p. 224; c. 53.52–54, p. 254; c. 59.10–11, p. 276; *Regula Benedicti*, c. 30, *SC* 182, p. 554; c. 31.9, pp. 556–558; c. 37, p. 572; c. 39.10, p. 578; c. 45.3, p. 594; c. 59, pp. 632–634; c. 63.9, p. 644; c. 70.4–7, p. 666; *Regula cuiusdam patris*, c. 11.1, ed. Villegas, p. 18; *Regula Donati*, c. 6.13, *CSEL* 98, p. 151; *Regula communis*, c. 6, ed. Campos/Rocca, pp. 182–183.

(965) *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.1–10, *CSEL* 86, pp. 38–40.

(966) Cassian, *Institutiones* IV, c. 17, *SC* 109, pp. 142–144. See also Felten, 'Herrschaft des Abtes', pp. 205–206.

(967) The question of child oblation becomes a matter of discussion in the Cistercian movement, which limited the entry age of novices first to 15, later to 18 years, though the rules were not always followed and child oblation still occasionally occurred. See Lynch, Joseph H., 'The Cistercians and Underage Novices', in: *Citeaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 24 (1973), pp. 283–297.

(968) Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, pp. 605–606, s.v. *documentum*.

bani. Only in one case does the expression clearly refer to written texts;[969] the other three passages most likely refer indeed to teachings and *exempla*.[970] It is therefore amenable that the *multa documenta* on the importance of education rather refer to "many examples" or simply to "a lot of experience".

The target audience of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consisted, at least partly, of nuns who have "learned" from their own experience the importance of *cura* and *disciplina* in their education. It is certainly not by accident that Jonas uses the term *didicimus* (we have learned). We should not assume that "we", i.e. the community, learned about good education from the works of a lost early medieval precursor of Dr Spock's *Baby and Child Care*. Jonas' "we" could easily include himself who, as we know from his *Vita Columbani*, had entered Bobbio at a young age.[971] A short autobiographical excursus in the *Vita Columbani* shows striking similarities to chapter 24. Nine years after his entry, Jonas was allowed to leave the monastery in order to visit his mother. He was accompanied by two monks, Bidulfus and Hermenoaldus, *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur* (whose piety was beyond doubt).[972] Chapter 24 determines in precisely the same words that the piety of the elders (*seniores*) who supervise young nuns at the table should be beyond doubt (*de quorum religione non dubitatur*). Jonas' use of *didicimus* in chapter 24 may, thus, be a spark of autobiography.

Once he has grounded the topic in the authority of experience, Jonas' summarizes the purpose of education using various key elements of his monastic ideal:

> [2]Debent enim nutriri cum omni pietatis affectu et disciplinae ministerio, [3]ne desidiae uel lasciuiae uitio sub tenera aetate maculati aut uix aut nullatenus possint postea corripi.
>
> [[2]For they must be brought up with a complete disposition of love and service of discipline, [3]lest they, defiled at a tender age by the vice of idleness and lasciviousness, be scarcely – or not at all – able to be reproached at a later stage.]

The main instrument of education is love (expressed as *affectus pietatis*, which appears similarly elsewhere in the Rule).[973] As discussed in the commentary on chapter 5, Jonas' idea of love is rather different from any modern understanding of love. It is rather the care for a fellow sister's eternal salvation. The second element is *disciplina*, though not as a means to its end, but rather understood as service to a fellow nun, a *ministerium*. The *affectus* and *ministerium* target a polluting mindset, that of idleness and lasciviousness. The primary goal

(969) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269: Willesuinda recites the *euangeliique uitalia sacramenta ac apostolica post ueterum documenta* (vital and apostolical mysteries of the Gospel according to old documents).

(970) *VCol* II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 17–18: Eusthasius contemplates on his deathbed the *misticorum documenta praeconiorum*, the "teachings of the secret announcements." *VCol* II, c. 18, p. 270, l. 26–27: Leudebertana is strengthened with *monitis salubribus ac caelestis prosapie documentis* (salutary warnings and teachings of heavenly origin) which refer to a dream vision that announces her imminent death.

(971) On Jonas' biography, see O'Hara/Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 31–37; O'Hara, *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy*, pp. 1–37.

(972) *VCol* II, c. 5, pp. 237–238. Jonas uses the same expression in *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10 referring to the *gubernatores* he installed to rule his monastery while he was absent.

(973) *RcuiV*, c. 5.8: *non carnis affectu sed piaetatis ministerio*; c. 6.30: *piae mentis affectus*. See also *VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 29: *pietatis cultus, lenitatis affectus*.

of an education in love and discipline is to condition the nuns at an early age in a way that they remain open to *correptio* (reproach) that reaches their inner self rather than just a *correctio* of their acts. Lacking such an education makes it difficult or even impossible to make the nuns receptive for such *correptio*.[974]

The next sentence provides a challenge for a translator:

> [4] Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare, [5] sed semper ab eis disciplinae retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis.
>
> [[4] Let there therefore be in them such a great care that it is never allowed to stray hither and thither without a senior, [5] but that they, always restrained by them [the elders] through the doctrine of discipline and imbued with the doctrine of fear and love of God, be instructed in the practice of piety.]

Jonas' phrasing is slightly odd because it implies that children are allowed to stray (*deuiare*) hither and thither *if* a *senior* is present. This makes little sense since *deuiare* has generally a negative connotation and we would expect that there is no such thing as a well-supervised *deuiare*.[975] The idea of an uncontrolled movement "hither and thither", which would most likely cross the boundaries of the *septa*, would also contradict the spirit of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. Moreover, just *one* senior would never be sufficient, because it would give her the opportunity of unsupervised conversations.[976] Therefore it makes more sense to understand *sine seniore* as "because there is no senior" rather than "without a senior". The constant presence of seniors should ensure that they *never* deviate from the right path.[977] This right path is the *cultus religionis* (practice of piety) which, as we know from other passages of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, *De accedendo ad Deum*, and the *Vita Columbani*, is the essence of monastic life.[978] The method for preventing deviation is restraining children through *disciplina* (a term that may include punishment but is broader than that) and teaching love and

(974) Jonas expands here on a much more simplified idea expressed in *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.5–6, *CSEL* 86, p. 39: *Adhiberi autem eis oportet summam diligentiam, quo possint ad omne uirtutis exercitium probabiliter institui, tam in uerbo quam in intellectu et opere; quicquid enim in tenero quis et paruo inseruerit, firmius et tenacius in posterum conseruabit.* He expresses a similar notion of preemptive discipline in *RcuiV*, c. 1.12 and c. 12.29.

(975) Jonas uses the term several times in his *Vita Columbani*, usually in the sense of deviating from the right path. See, for example, *VCol* I, c. 17, p. 181, l. 25; I, c. 27, p. 210, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 17; II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 4.

(976) See *RcuiV*, c. 3.8; c. 9.21; c. 18.18 on preventing any form of communication without a third person as witness.

(977) Hildemar of Corbie expresses a similar idea in his *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti* ed. Mittermüller, pp. 331–332, reflecting on the implications of *ubi ubi* in his commentary to chapter 22 of the *Regula Benedicti*. Hildemar develops here a watertight programme of supervision of novices that should prevent them from any sexual activities.

(978) See *RcuiV*, c. 1.9; *De accedendo* 1; *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18 and p. 282, l. 26–27; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17 and p. 329, l. 7; c. 2, p. 329, l. 12. Neither the *Regula Benedicti* nor Caesarius' Rule use the term *religio*. It appears once in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* but several times in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Basilii*. The expression *cultus religionis* is common, but not used in other monastic rules.

fear of God. Young nuns have to learn from early on to be in constant fear (*timor* and *metus*) of the angry judge and of imminent damnation, as we already know.[979]

The term *deuiare* deserves some more reflection: it is a spatial term which might indeed refer to roaming around illicitly within or maybe even outside the monastic space (an aspect also mentioned in the *Regula Benedicti*),[980] but it might also refer to the moral space and to stepping out of line of the carefully crafted monastic choreography, or even to something like the wandering of the mind which causes the stain of *desidia* and *lasciua*. Jonas may have consciously played with the various levels of meaning of *deuiare*. Maybe he even had himself in mind who "deviated" by visiting his mother.

After placing the treatment of children in the conceptual world of the Rule, Jonas turns to some practical provisions. The second part of chapter 24 contains three practical regulations on *lectio*, the order of meals, and on the schedule imposed on youngsters. I consider it likely that these three rather mundane provisions served as examples for implementing Jonas' pedagogical ideal rather than as a comprehensive educational programme. Both Jonas and Caesarius address children, young nuns, and novices in various other contexts and these provisions could be added to the short list given in chapter 24.[981] Nevertheless, Jonas' three provisions provide important insights into the place of children in the monastery:

> 6 Habeant lectionis usum, ut sub puerili aetate discant, quod ad perfectam deducti proficiant.
>
> [6 They should have the habit of reading in order to learn at a youthful age what they may accomplish/perform when they are brought to perfect age.]

The phrase *Habeant…usum* sounds somewhat clunky, though it is a common expression. Jonas may have chosen these words in order to refer back to chapter 12 in which he uses the expression *lectio usitetur* in the context of dividing the day into periods of work and prayer.[982] *Ad perfectam* most likely refers back to *aetate*, the "perfect age", thus adulthood.[983] Jonas does not just expand on Caesarius' provision that all nuns have to learn to read,[984] but, more specifically, refers to the practice of *lectio*, i.e. of reading texts aloud in an edifying way during mealtimes as well as during communal work.[985] If Jonas indeed refers to public *lectio* rather than a private intellectual activity, it might be best to translate *proficere*

(979) See *RcuiV*, c. 2.15; c. 4.14; c. 8.5; c. 8.8; c. 12.15; c. 13.4; c. 20.7; c. 21.1; *De accedendo* 19.

(980) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 63.18–19, *SC* 182, p. 646.

(981) *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 10.18; c. 16.1–3; c. 20.13: on punishment adjusted to age; c. 10.5: on larger portions for those new to the monastery; c. 11.8: younger nuns must serve at the table; c. 14.11–12: younger nuns are not allowed to share a bed; c. 15.8: young nuns should not take too many baths; *CaesRV*, c. 4.3, *SC* 345, p. 182: those who have not professed yet, may not sleep in the monastery's dormitory; c. 7.3–4, p. 186: on six or seven years as lowest entry age; no education of externals; c. 6.1–2, p. 184: renouncing property at the age of maturity; c. 18.7, p. 192: all nuns have to learn how to read; c. 43.7, p. 228: on the re-use of vestments.

(982) *RcuiV*, c. 12.4. The expression *usum lectionis*, however, appears otherwise only in Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem* I.VII, c. 1, *CCSL* 142, p. 84 in an unrelated context.

(983) The *aetas perfecta* appears in three earlier monastic rules: Jerome's translation of the *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecpeta atque iudicia*, c. 6, ed. Boon, p. 66; *Regula Basilii*, c. 7.3, *CSEL* 86, p. 39; *Regula Fructuosi*, c. 4, ed. Campos/Roca, p. 144. See also *Vita Sadalbergae*, c. 6, *MGH SRM* 5, p. 53.

(984) *CaesRV*, c. 18.7, p. 192: all nuns have to learn how to read.

(985) *RcuiV*, c. 9.13–15; c. 12.3–4.

with "to perform", which would be in line with Jonas' concern with "performativity", in this case the correct use of one's voice.[986]

If he is specifically referring to reading aloud, the next provision on the location of children during meals is a natural progression:

> [7] In refectorio per se mensam habeant iuxta seniorum mensam positam. [8] Seniores tamen uel duo seu amplius de quorum religione non dubitatur, cum eis sedeant, [9] ut semper timorem antepositum sub metu seniorum nutriantur.
>
> [[7] In the refectory they should have a table for themselves, which is placed next to the table of the elders. [8] But two or more elders, whose piety is beyond doubt, should sit with them, [9] so that they, always confronted with fear (*timor*), are brought up in fear (*metus*) of the elders.]

Certainly, at this point it becomes clear that Jonas considers fear a more effective measure of education than anything we would understand as love. Fearing the elders is a good exercise for eventually fearing God. As already stated, Jonas uses here the phrase *de quarum religione non dubitatur*. The same expression also appears in chapter 14 which requires that the piety of the *senior* who shares a bed with a *iunior* should be beyond doubt.[987] It seems that any task related to dealing with children in the monastery should, according to Jonas, only be assigned to those whose piety qualifies them. In this regard Jonas deviates from Benedict who made the supervision of younger monks a task of the entire community.[988] Jonas' concerns about an educator's *religio* resonate somewhat with regulations in other rules that restrict interaction with youngsters because of the fear of sexual transgressions.[989] At various points in the Rule Jonas makes clear that specific tasks should only be carried out by nuns who are suitable and have the right motivation.[990]

> [10] Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, abbatissae arbitrio pensandum est, [11] ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.
>
> [[10] It must be weighed out by the judgement of the abbess at which hours they should eat and go to sleep, [11] so that in anyone/anything discretion is found through the observance of the virtues.]

This last provision emphasizes, like several earlier ones, that the abbess has the authority to determine schedules and the organization of time according to her discretion instead of following a strict schedule. Chapter 10 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which deals with the organization of meals, contains no fewer than seven references to the abbess

(986) See p. 323.

(987) *RcuiV*, c. 14.9. See also *RcuiV*, c. 2.19; c. 22.13.

(988) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 70.4, *SC* 182, p. 666: *Infantum uero usque quindecim annorum aetates disciplinae diligentia ab omnibus et custodia sit…* See also c. 63.9, p. 644.

(989) *Regula Pachomii*, *Praecepta atque iudicia*, c. 7, ed. Boon, p. 66; *Regula orientalis*, c. 18, *SC* 298, p. 476; *Regula Tarnatensis*, c. 13.4, ed. Villegas, p. 32.

(990) *RcuiV*, c. 1.1: the abbess; c. 2.1–8: the prior; c. 3.1–3: the gatekeeper; c. 2.1–3: the cellarer; c. 7.1: the person hearing confession; c. 8.11: the nun responsible for waking up the community for prayer; c. 13.1–2: the nuns handing out tools.

as the one who makes decisions. This shows that this aspect of monastic life should be organized according to her experience and authority rather than by strictly adhering to fixed norms.[991] Also in chapters 11 and 12 Jonas emphasizes that the abbess has a right to adjust mealtimes according to the season and the arrival of guests.[992] He limits, however, the abbess' leeway by defining its purpose to be the "vigilance of virtues" that need to be found *in omnibus* which is an ambiguous expression that could refer to "all nuns", "all things", or "any regard". This is not the first time that Jonas' leaves us to guess about the meaning of *in omnibus*.[993] With his emphasis on the "vigilance of virtues" (*custodia uirtutum*) Jonas connects the end of the chapter with its beginnings and the fight against the vice of idleness and lasciviousness.

From Jonas' point of view, it certainly makes sense to insert a chapter on the education of children as a continuation of a chapter on kinship and to address this topic towards the end of his Rule. After all, Jonas' idea of pursuing salvation is built around the objective of being *parata* (well prepared) – something one can't start early enough. As Mayke de Jong has shown, child oblation may have been largely motivated by the idea of recruiting new members of the community at an age where they had still been unstained of sexual desire and mouldable enough to be turned into perfect monks and nuns.[994] As Jonas reports in the *Vita Columbani*, adult converts are in a less fortunate position than child-nuns because they carry the dirt of the world with them into the monastery, while children could be educated with so much *custodia* that they do not even know the difference between men and women.[995] Jonas exemplifies these different conditions in the story of the young nun Deurechilda who entered Faremoutiers along with her mother. Deurechilda becomes through her innocence a model nun and experiences a smooth *felix exitus* while her mother kept being entangled in her worldly desires. Only the intercession of her pure daughter could eventually save her, the adult convert, from eternal damnation.[996]

Chapter 24 ends on a strange note. A provision that allows the abbess to determine the meal and sleep schedule of children in the monastery is certainly not what we would expect as the final sentence of a monastic rule as carefully crafted as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. The fact that in its only preserved manuscript the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* breaks off in the middle of chapter 24 and that we have to fill in the rest from Benedict of

(991) See pp. 362–363.

(992) *RcuiV*, c. 11.3; c. 12.6.

(993) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14; c. 2.16; c. 3.25; c. 10.2; c. 15.2; c. 22.23.

(994) De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 126–145; ead., 'Imitatio morum. The cloister and clerical purity in the Carolingian world', in: Michael Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety. Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, New York/London: Garland Publishing 1998, pp. 49–80.

(995) *VCol* II, c. 17, p. 269: *Non aspicitis, quantis sordibus mentem habeat occupatam, et caenosam nec omnino per confessionem pectoris sui aream purgare studuit, quam in saeculo adhuc posita, priusquam huc clauderetur, omni spurcitia maculauit?* II, c. 13, p. 262: *Tanta custodia matris enutrita intra coenubii fuit septa, ut nullatenus inter sexuum nouerit diiudicare naturam; aequae enim marem ut feminam putabat, aequae feminam ut marem.*

(996) *VCol* II, c. 15, pp. 264–266.

Aniane's *Concordia regularum* indicates that its textual transmission must have been mixed up at some point. As I hope to show in the last part of this book, chapter 24 may have been the last chapter of the Rule containing practical provisions, but it is not the end of Jonas' monastic Rule. The treatise *De accedendo ad Deum*, which can be found on the very last folio of the *Codex regularum*, would provide a much more plausible conclusion of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and ingeniously explain, as I hope to show now, the entire purpose of the regiment of *affectus* and *ministerium* that Jonas developed throughout his Rule.

PART IV

SALVATION

CHAPTER 7

DE ACCEDENDO AD DEVM – A LOST CHAPTER OF THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*?

The last folio of the Munich *Codex regularum* contains a short treatise titled *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum* (How to approach God by praying with a readily disposed heart).[1] In this chapter I will show that *De accedendo ad Deum* was at some point a part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and that Jonas was its author. It belonged along with chapters 5, 6, and 22 to the theological core of the Rule. In the final chapter of this study I will argue that it is one of the most sophisticated contributions to seventh-century monastic theology. It produces an answer to the central question of early medieval monasticism: how and why the monastic pursuit of salvation works.

De accedendo has not played a large role in research on the history of early medieval monasticism aside from a brief report in Adalbert de Vogüé's *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique* on its connections to the *Regula Benedicti*.[2] Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl has recently produced a critical edition of the text for the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* and there are translations available in French and German.[3] Zimmerl-Panagl has disproved the assumption that *De accedendo* and a preceding fragment of a female version of Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis* formed together an otherwise lost "*Regula Columbani ad uirgines*".[4] In the Munich manuscript the text of *De accedendo* appears as a short, but complete treatise in

(1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28118, fol. 216–216v: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00054966/images/index.html?id=00054966&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=435. (last accessed Dec. 10, 2020) The text also appears in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia regularum* as part of the commentary on chapter 20 on the *Regula Benedicti* (On the Reverence in Prayer). See Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 26.5, *CCCM* 168A, pp. 209–210.

(2) de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique*, vol. 11, Paris: Cerf 2007, pp. 28–30. Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, p. 191 mentions *De accedendo* as a treatise that supports Benedict's instructions on liturgical discipline.

(3) *De accedendo ad Deum*, edited by Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 239–240. I reproduce the edition in its entirety as appendix to my edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* with the kind permission of the editor and the publishing house De Gruyter. For translations, see De Seilhac, *et al*., *Règles monastiques au féminin*, pp. 280–282; Diem, Albrecht and Matthieu van der Meer, *Columbanische Klosterregeln. Regula cuiusdam patris, Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines, Regelfragment De accedendo*, Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag 2016, pp. 108–126 (introduction) and pp. 215–219 (translation). Parts of the introduction are used and expanded in chapters 7 and 8 of this study.

(4) Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, pp. 196–200. Seebaß, Otto, 'Fragment einer Nonnenregel des 7. Jahrhunderts', in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1896), pp. 465–470, had produced an edition of the female *Regula Columbani* and *De accedendo* on the basis of the Cologne copy of the *Codex regularum* which presents both texts together as one work.

the style of a sermon, which is placed under the running title *Regula* (on fol. 215v) – *Sancti Columbani* (on fol. 216).

Benedict of Aniane was probably not aware of a connection between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo*. As we can infer from the table of contents provided on fol. 207ra of the Munich manuscript, he assumed that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consisted of the 24 chapters we know. In his *Concordia regularum* he referred to *De accedendo* as *Ex Regula Patrum de accedendo ad Deum* and not to *Ex Regula cuiusdam*. If both texts originally belonged together, they must have been separated before Benedict of Aniane produced his *Codex* and *Concordia regularum*. Benedict of Aniane did, however, consider *De accedendo* to be a part of a monastic rule despite the fact that it is not a normative text in a strict sense.

De accedendo does not explicitly address a female community, though its use of male pronouns is restricted to general statements.[5] A connection between this text and *the Regula cuiusdam ad* uirgines is highly probable, but there is no absolute proof that *De accedendo* is a lost "chapter 25". Theoretically, *De accedendo* could also have been formed part of a male counterpart of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – if such a text ever existed.

There is, however, one peculiarity in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* that could be explained by a missing chapter. Chapter 24 (which only the *Concordia regularum* transmits in its entirety) ends, as already stated, in a strangely abrupt way. Instead of some sort of a concluding sentence – as we find in most monastic rules[6] – the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* states very prosaically that the abbess (or, in the preserved version, the abbot) decides at which time children in the monastery are supposed to eat or to sleep, "so that in anyone/anything discretion is found through the observance of the virtues".[7] Concluding a monastic rule, especially one that is as diligently crafted as the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, with a regulation on the meal- and bedtimes of children is odd. *De accedendo* ends with an exhortation to pray constantly so that the guilty may receive pardon, followed by an invocation of the Holy Trinity, and completed with the word *amen*. This would have formed a much more appropriate conclusion of a text like the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[8]

(5) *De accedendo* 6: *Inquirendo…et petendo exauditur, qui…* 8: *Si omnis qui petit accipit…* 10: *Quamuis iuxta Apostolum alius riget…* 17: *Quia apud eum…qui praetendit…* 21: *Sapienter enim quisque psallit, qui…* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam…* *RcuiV*, c. 6.4–8; c. 11.2; c. 19.10; c. 22.6 also use male pronouns and nouns.

(6) See, for example, *Regula Benedicti*, c. 73.8–9, *SC* 182, p. 674: *Quisquis ergo ad patriam caelestem festinas, hanc minima inchoationis regulam descriptam, adiuuante Christo, perfice,* $_{9}$ *et tunc demum ad maiora quae supra commemorauimus doctrinae uirtutumque culmina, Deo protegente, peruenies. Amen.* Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, c. 26.17–19, *SC* 398, pp. 224–226: *Vestes enim seculares deponere et religiosas adsumere unius horae momento possumus;* $_{18}$ *mores uero bonos iugiter retinere uel contra male dulces uoluptates seculi huius, quamdiu uiuimus, Christo adiutore laborare debemus,* $_{19}$ *quia non qui inceperit, sed qui perseuerauerit usque in finem, hic salus erit.* (Matth. 10, 22) *CaesRV*, c. 73.2, *SC* 345, p. 272: *…sed liceat sanctae congregationi resistere, et, quod famae uel quieti suae incongruum esse congnoscunt, fieri non permittant.*

(7) *RcuiV*, c. 24.10–11: *Quibus uero horis reficiant uel somnum capiant, abbatis arbitrio pensandum est,* $_{11}$ *ut in omnibus uirtutum custodia discretio reperiatur.*

(8) *De accedendo* 27–28: *Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam* $_{28}$ *salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* Chapter 5 of the *RcuiV* ends with *amen* as well.

The odd ending of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is in itself, of course, not sufficient evidence for tying these particular texts together. Stronger arguments can be made based on the similarities between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* on a stylistic and semantic level. *De accedendo* shares a large number of phrases and expressions both with the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and with Jonas' hagiographical works. Moreover, the text utilizes the *Regula Benedicti* in the same unique way the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* does.

Already the title of *De accedendo* points to a connection to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. No fewer than seven chapter headings of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* contain similar gerund and gerundive constructions, which only occasionally appear in other monastic rules. The title of chapter 5 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – the chapter that forms, in some regards, the counterpart of *De accedendo* – shows the closest similarities to its title:

De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum
RcuiV 5: De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo
RcuiV 6: De assidue danda confessione
RcuiV 7: De non manifestandis sororum confessionibus
RcuiV 10: De ratione mensae qualiter administrandum uel obseruandum sit
RcuiV 12: Quomodo cotidianis diebus manibus sit operandum
RcuiV 23: De non defendenda proxima uel consanguinea in monasterio
RcuiV 24: De nutriendis infantibus

Chapters 5 and 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* not only show similarities with regard to their titles but they are also structured in the same way as *De accedendo*. All three texts develop a theological argument along with a chain of biblical quotations. The opening sentences of all three chapters are structured in an analogous way (I will provide English translations of *De accedendo* in the next chapter which addresses its content):

De accedendo 1–2: Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur, 2 Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur*. (Ps. 33/34, 6)

RcuiV 5.1–3: Diligere se ab inuicem in Christo monachae in monasterio quanta cura debeant, per euangelium Iohannis Dominus demonstrat, 2 cum dicit*: Hoc est praeceptum meum, ut diligatis inuicem. Maiorem dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis*. (Ioh. 15, 12–13) 3 Et illud: *In hoc cognoscent omnes, quia mei discipuli estis, si inuicem diligatis*. (Ioh. 13, 35)

RcuiV 6.1–3: Confessio quam crebre et sagaci cura sit danda, multorum patrum iuxta Scripturarum seriem traditio demonstrauit. 2 Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum rudem semper custodiat, 3 sicut Scriptura docuit dicens: *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit.* (Prou. 4, 23)

Similar opening sentences can also be found in two other chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam*:

RcuiV 9.1: Regulam silentii omni tempore seruandam sanctarum Scripturarum series declarauit, dum per Prophetam dicitur: *cultus iustitiae silentium et pax*. (cf. Is. 32, 17)

RcuiV 15.1: Harum cura quae in infirmitatibus detinentur, qualis esse debet, piaetas Auctoris declarat cum dicit: *Quaecumque uultis, ut uobis faciant homines, et uos facite eis similiter*. (Matth. 7, 12)

Two sentences of *De accedendo* start with a gerundive construction in connection with the term *semper*:

> *De accedendo* 3: Accedendum semper est, ut…
> *De accedendo* 27: Orandus ergo semper est, ut…

The same construction appears twice in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*:

> *RcuiV*, c. 2.9 Interrogandum semper est, ut…
> *RcuiV*, c. 6.2: Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut…

In the entire body of patristic and early medieval Christian literature there is only one other text using a similar construction, the *Moralia in Hiob* of Gregory the Great.[9]

In the middle of *De accedendo* we find a rather convoluted rhetorical question arguing for the effect of a constant and unceasing approach of God through prayer and work:[10]

> De accedendo 8–9: Si omnis qui petit accipit, cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium, quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, $_{9}$cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum opere implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et inconprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae praesidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest?

Similar rhetorical questions can be found in four chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but rarely elsewhere. Jonas uses most of these rhetorical questions to convey that there is no alternative to dedicating oneself to Christ and giving up the world and worldly desires entirely.[11]

Towards the end of the text, *De accedendo* switches to an explanatory mode, as if the author wanted to say: "This is how we are going to implement what I have just stated". He does this in a sequence of sentences starting with *Sic* or *sic ergo*:

> *De accedendo* 20: Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur… 22: Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat… 24: Sic cordis conpunctione flagret…

(9) Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Hiob* XX.III.8, l. 67, *CCSL* 143A, p. 1007: *Vigilandum quippe semper est, ut…*

(10) This question will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 8.

(11) *RcuiV*, c. 3.3: *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?* c. 9.6: *Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?* c. 17.2–4: *Quid enim proprium aliquid suum fidelis anima de rebus mundi uindicet, cui mundus crucifixus est, et ipsa mundo?* $_{3}$*Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo,* $_{4}$*quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo?* c. 17.8: *Quid enim de rebus mundi alteri sorori conferat, quae suas in omnibus uoluntates propter Christum in abbatissae tradidit potestatem?* c. 23.2–5: *Quid enim aliam defendat quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa,* $_{3}$*quae propriam animam, ut uberius saluti iungeret, prius perdidit?* $_{4}$*Quae ergo proprias perdidit uoluntates, ut Christi in se uoluntatem impleret, quur aliarum delicta defendat, quae propria crucifixit?* $_{5}$*Et si in ueritate crucifixit et non mundo iam sed Christo uiuit, quur in mundi facinoribus labentes pro qualibet familiaritate defendat?* See also Jonas *Vita Columbani* II, c. 25, p. 292, l. 1–6: *Quid namque fuerit, quod clementissimus rerum creator exeunti de mundo monstrare uoluit, qualis post futurus esset, nisi quia hi qui simile simplicitate uiuunt et oboedientiae ac mortificatione uoluntariae subiciuntur, similem remunerationem expectent claritatemque aeterni luminis potiantur?*

We find similar sequences of *sic*-sentences in three chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.[12] All in all, twenty sentences in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* begin with *sic*, *sic ergo*, or *sic tamen*. All early medieval monastic rules together contain about fifty sentences starting with *sic*.

Aside from these similarities in style and structure, *De accedendo* shares a large number of specific phrases, expressions, and word combinations either with the *Regula cuiusdam* or with Jonas of Bobbio's hagiographical works or with both. Some of them appear exclusively in these texts, others can occasionally be found in other patristic or early medieval texts. Examples include *facinorum mole* (the weight of our misdeeds),[13] *aditus non denegetur* (access is not denied),[14] *iuxta psalmografi praeconium* (according to the message of the Psalmist).[15] A full documentation of these textual parallels is provided in Appendix 2.

Finally, if we compare the vocabulary of *De accedendo* with that of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* it appears that 86% of all terms used in *De accedendo* appear in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and in the *Vita Columbani* as well. If we leave aside words derived from biblical quotations and from the *Regula Benedicti*, we find not more than six terms in *De accedendo* that appear neither in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* nor in Jonas of Bobbio's hagiographical works.[16]

The most striking connection between the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and *De accedendo* consists in the way both texts engage with the *Regula Benedicti*. As I already have shown, most chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* use sections of the *Regula Benedicti* as a point of departure but place them into a new discursive framework and revise their content. *De accedendo* does this as well, using chapters 19–20 of the *Regula Benedicti*. As we will see in Chapter 8, using the *Regula Benedicti* meant for the author, again, revising the text and imposing his own ideas upon it.

(12) *RcuiV*, c. 1.6: *Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere…* c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat…* c. 1.10: *Sic misericorditer bonitatis dona distribuat…* c. 1.13: *Incautis etenim sic blanda persuasione subueniat…* c. 9.5: *…sic ad coquinae fenestram cum sobriaetate ueniant…* c. 9.7: *Sic demum ad suam mensam qua sederint, deferant fercula…* c. 14.6: *…sic tamen, ut ad inuicem non loquantur…* c. 14.9: *Sic tamen fiat, ut una semper ex illis senior sit…*

(13) *De accedendo* 6; *RcuiV*, c. 6.6. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

(14) *De accedendo* 12; *RcuiV*, c. 21.15: *aditum esse in postmodum denegandum*; *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 8–9: *aditum denegabat*; I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 8: *aditum deneget*; I, c. 30, p. 222, l. 3–4: *aditum plaustrorum denegabat*. The expression appears very rarely in other texts.

(15) *De accedendo* 19; *RcuiV*, c. 8.1: *ad sonitum preconis*; c. 14.1: *preconiis peruigil*; *VCol* I, c. 3, p. 158, l. 8–9: *psalmographi praeconii*; I, c. 17, p. 182, l. 11: *preconantis uox psalmographi*. The combination *praeconium*/*psalmographus* appears exclusively here and in no other source text.

(16) Of all the expressions used in *De accedendo* that cannot be traced to a specific biblical quotation or to chapters 19–20 of the *Regula Benedicti*, twenty-eight do not appear in the *RcuiV*: *adsistere*; *alibi*; *attere*; *conditor*; *confamulare*; *hortare*; *ignis*; *implere*; *incedere*; *incognitus*; *inconprehensibilis*; *ineffabilis*; *obstaculum*; *obstare*; *passio*; *patrari*; *perennis*; *pollere*; *possidere*; *potare*; *potentia*; *praepedire*; *praetendere*; *proferre*; *prouocare*; *seruitus*; *tendere*; *torrere*. Six of them appear neither in the *RcuiV* nor in Jonas' hagiographical works: *attere*; *confamulare*; *incedere*; *incognitus*; *incomprehensibilis*; *seruitus*. Not counted are the following terms appearing in *De accedendo*, which come from biblical quotations: *confundere*; *exaudire*; *exultare*; *fons*; *inebriare*; *intrare*; *lumen*; *plantare*; *pulsare*; *rectus*; *regnare*; *rigere*; *Salomon*; *seruire*; *tremor*; *ubertas*. The expressions *conpunctio*; *deuotio*; *lacrima*; *multiloquium* are taken from c. 19–20 of the *Regula Benedicti*.

De accedendo

19 Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat, iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: ***Seruite***, inquit, ***Domino in timore*** *et exultate ei cum tremore.* (Ps. 2, 11) 20 Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si **opus bon**um ad **uoc**em laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: ***psallite sapienter***. (Ps. 46/47, 8) 21 Sapienter etenim quisque **psallit**, qui **uoc**i laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et **qualiter oporteat** potentiae **diuina**e famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. 22 Sic ergo **mens nostra** ad **psallendum** intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio,

23 sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata **humilitate** et **puritate** ac promptissima **deuotione** ornata ad aeterna praemia **tend**at. 24 Sic **cordis conpunction**e flagret, **qualiter** in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. 25 **N**ec se **in multiloquio** quisquam, **sed** potius **in puritate cordis** et **lacrimarum** ubertate **exaudiri** credat. 26 Non enim longae **oratio**nis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat.

Regula Benedicti

c. 19: De disciplina **psall**endi
1 Vbique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et oculos *Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos*, (Prou. 15, 3) 2 maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum **ad opus diuin**um assistimus. 3 Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: ***Seruite Domino in timore***, (Ps. 2, 11) 4 et iterum: ***Psallite sapienter***, (Ps. 46/47, 8) 5 et: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi.* (Ps. 137/138, 1) 6 Ergo consideremus **qualiter oporteat** in conspectu **diuin**itatis et angelorum eius esse, 7 et sic stemus **ad psallendum** ut **mens nostra** concordet **uoc**i nostrae.

Regula Benedicti

c. 20: 1 Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, 2 quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni **humilitate** et **puritat**is **deuotione** supplicandum est. 3 Et **n**on **in multiloquio**, **sed** in **puritate cordis** et **compunctione lacrimarum** nos **exaudiri** sciamus. 4 Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura oratio, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur.

A final word on *De accedendo* and Jonas' *Vita Columbani*: as I have shown in the previous chapter, there are several chapters of the *Regula cuiusdam* whose content corresponds with specific sections of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. We can make a similar observation with regard to *De accedendo*. Central ideas of this work appear, expressed in different words, in two places in the *Vita Columbani*. In the first book Jonas explains the power of prayer in the context of one of Columbanus' miracles:

> Nec inmerito **misericor**s **Domin**us suis sanctis tribuit postulata, qui ob suorum praeceptorum imperio proprias crucifixerunt uoluntates, tantum fidem **polle**ntes, quae eius **misericordia**e postulauerint, impetrare non dubitant; quia ipse promisit, dicens: *Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis monti huic: "Transi" et transiet, et nihil inpossibile erit uobis* (Matth. 17, 19); et alibi: *Omnia quecumque **oran**tes **petit**is **cred**ite quia **accipi**etis, et uenient uobis.* (Marc. 11, 24)
>
> [Not without reason does the merciful Lord respond to the prayers of His saints, who have crucified their own desires on account of the command of His teachings. They have such faith that they do not doubt that those things which they have asked for through His mercy will be fulfilled, as He himself promised when he said: *If your faith were the size of a mustard seed you could say to this mountain, Move from here to there, and it would move; nothing would be impossible for you.*

(Matth. 17, 19) And elsewhere: *Everything you ask and pray for believe that you have it already, and it will be yours.* (Marc. 11, 24)][17]

In one of the most dramatic scenes in the second book of the *Vita Columbani*, Eusthasius defends the *Regula Columbani* against allegations of heresy that were brought forward by the monk Agrestius.[18] The last part of Eusthasius' defence of the *Regula Columbani* addresses the same topic as *De accedendo* in similar words: the power and effectiveness of prayer:

> Multiplicationem uero **orationum** in sacris officiis credo omnibus proficere ecclesiis. Cum enim plus **Dominus** queritur plus inuenitur, et cum **uberius oratione pulsatur**, ad **misericordiam petentium** citius **excitatur**; nihil enim aliud plus desudare debemus quam **orationi** incumbere. *Vigilate et **orate**, ne intretis in temptationem.* (Matth. 26, 41) **Sic enim** nos et Apostolus sine intermissione **orare** rogat; **sic** omnis scripturarum sacrarum ordo iubet clamare; qui enim clamare neglegit, neglegens et abscisus a Christi membris abicitur. Nihil enim tam utile tamque salutare quam **creatorem** multiplicatione precum et adsiduitate **orationum pulsare**.
>
> [I also believe that the multiplication of prayers in the sacred Office benefits all the churches. Indeed, when the Lord is sought more, He is found more, and when He is more fully besought with prayer, He is more quickly incited to grant mercy to those who asked for it. There is nothing we ought to exert ourselves in more than to bow in prayer. Thus are we, together with the Apostles, encouraged by the Lord, *Watch and pray so that you may not enter into temptation.* (Matth. 26, 41) The Apostle too asks us to pray unceasingly, and every section of sacred Scripture commands us to cry out, for he who neglects to cry out, disregarded and cut off is cast aside from the members of Christ. For nothing is so useful and so beneficial than to beseech the Creator with a multiplication of petitions and in the repetition of prayers.][19]

De accedendo is, as we can conclude, closely related to both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*. It is likely that it was, at some point, the final part of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. I will now show that the text could indeed be read as the theological core not only of the Rule but, even more broadly speaking, of Jonas' understanding of Columbanus' monastic ideal.

(17) *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 21–p. 169, l. 3; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 115.

(18) On the conflict around Agrestius, see Diem, 'Disputing Columbanus's Heritage'; Dumézil, Bruno, 'L'affaire Agrestius de Luxeuil: hérésie et régionalisme dans la Bourgondie du VII^e^ siècle', in: *Médiévales* 52 (2007), pp. 135–152; Helvétius, Anne-Marie, 'Colomban, Agrestius et le schisme d'Aquilée', in: Aurélia Bully, Sébastien Bully, and Alain Dubreucq (eds.), *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes 2018, pp. 227–237.

(19) *VCol* II, c. 9, pp. 250, l. 32–p. 251, l. 18; transl. O'Hara/Wood, p. 198.

CHAPTER 8

PROMPTO CORDE ORANDVM: THE THEOLOGICAL PROGRAMME OF *DE ACCEDENDO*

The title, *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*, is at first sight misleading. The key term *orare* (to pray) returns only in the last section of the text (19–27). We made a similar observation in the chapter on love of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* (c. 5). Despite the title *De se inuicem diligendo uel sibi inuicem oboediendo*, the theme obedience seems not to be addressed at all in the chapter itself and the term *oboedientia* appears exclusively in the title. Jonas conveys in the chapter on love that *amor*, *dilectio*, *pietas*, and *caritas* do in fact replace what other texts (particularly the *Regula Benedicti*) propagate as *oboedientia*. A similar reassessment takes place in *De accedendo*. Instead of organizing prayer and developing a programme of liturgical discipline, the chapter focuses on the framework of prayer and the conditions that make it effective, rather than on prayer itself.

The author develops his argument on the basis of a sequence of biblical quotations (as he does in chapters 5, 6, 22, and 23). In order to understand how it relates to ideas developed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* we need to analyze the text step by step. *De accedendo ad Deum* begins as follows:

> [1] Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur, [2] Propheta hortante didicimus, qui ait: *Accedite ad Dominum et inluminamini et uultus uestri non confundentur*. (Ps. 33/34, 6)
>
> [[1] We have learned with how much attention and zeal we must search [and] how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer, [2] admonished by the Prophet who says: *Approach the Lord and be enlightened and your faces will not be confused*. (Ps. 33/34, 6)]

This opening sentence poses a grammatical problem which needs to be addressed first. Translated literally, we learn from the Prophet with how much *intentio* and *studium* we must investigate how one should direct oneself to the practice of religion. This would be a lot of attention and zeal for a rather modest learning goal. Later in this chapter both *intentio* and *studium* serve much higher goals, namely reaching God's ear, praying wisely, approaching the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia*), and inciting divine mercy.[1] Therefore I suggest to detach *inquirendum sit* from *qualiter* and to assume that *qualiter* is not subordinated to *quanta*. If we read the construction as asyndeton and insert the word *et* before *qualiter*, this opening statement would make much more sense: we need to both search *and* direct ourselves.[2]

(1) *De accedendo* 6; 21; 23; 26.
(2) I owe this suggestion to Matthieu van der Meer.

The choice of words in this section also deserves our attention. The expressions *intentio*, *studium*, and *tendere* return later in the *De accedendo*. *Intentio* or *intentus* appear, all in all, four times and belong to the key terms of this text. One of the main themes of *De accedendo* is the necessity to perform prayer and work, *opus* and *oratio*, with the greatest possible determination. Nothing can be achieved without great exertion, *sine grande labore*, as the text states later.[3] The same imperative of intensity and unceasing concern with motivation is, as I already have discussed, a central theme in Jonas' programme, so it is no wonder that *intentio/intentus* and *studium* can also be found several times at prominent places in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and no fewer than 26 times in the *Vita Columbani*.[4]

De accedendo shares with both the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* and Jonas' saints' lives another key expression, *cultus religionis* (practice of piety).[5] All three texts use this phrase as an all-encompassing term for monastic practice, which, as we finally learn here, includes both *opus* and *oratio*. Zealous prayer alone does, as we will read later in this chapter, not suffice. *De accedendo* will explain how *opus* and *oratio* need to be tied together.

The author's choice of Ps. 33/34, 6 as evidence for the truth of his admonition is peculiar. Why do we, as we approach God, search "to be enlightened" (or maybe: "to gain insight" or "to see God's light") and to overcome confusion, rather than simply achieving salvation or forgiveness for our sins? Jonas explains this later in his text.

De accedendo continues:

> [3]Accedendum semper est, ut accessum sequatur inluminatio. [4]Si non accedimus, non inluminamur; [5]si accedimus, et inluminamur et cum eodem dicere possimus: *Inquisiui Dominum et exaudiuit me.* (Ps. 33/34, 5)
>
> [[3]One has always to approach so that enlightenment follows approach. [4]If we do not approach, we are not enlightened; [5]if we approach we are both enlightened and we can say with the same [Prophet]: *I have searched for the Lord and he has listened to me.* (Ps. 33/34, 5)]

One of the key words in this sequence is *semper* (always). This activity of approaching God and gaining insight needs to be performed constantly because otherwise it does not lead to *illuminatio*. The author of *De accedendo* repeats this no fewer than five times throughout the text.[6] The notion of unceasing activity and never released tension runs as well through

(3) *De accedendo* 8.

(4) *RcuiV*, c. 2.14: *intenta cura*; c. 8.2: *mens intenta*; c. 9.11: *intento animo*; c. 12.2: *operi detur intentio*; c. 14.2: *anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat*; c. 2.25: *ut pro studii sui uel curae labore incorruptam recipiant mercedem*; c. 6.18: *cotidiano ergo studio per confessionem reuelentur*; c. 13.4: *cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent*; c. 15.8: *summo adhibeatur studio*; c. 19.3: *Proinde abbatissae studio est pensandum*; c. 23.9: *ut quas corrigit sub amoris studio*. The expressions *intentus* and *intentio* appear just once in the *Regula Benedicti*. The term *studium* (in the sense of zeal) does not appear in the *Regula Benedicti*, but is used twelve times in the *Vita Columbani*. Benedict uses *zelus* eight times.

(5) *RcuiV*, c. 1.9: *Sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat ut ad cultum relegionis lasciuas et fessas mentes reducat*; c. 24.5 (on children): *ad cultum instruantur religionis*. See also *VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 18; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17.

(6) *De accedendo* 8: *hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus…* 14: *semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet…*; 19: *Ea ergo semper lingua proferat…*; 23: *sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata…*; 27: *Orandus ergo semper est…*

the entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* – most obviously in the requirement to confess three times a day.[7]

The author toils a bit more on the notion of *illuminatio* and uses again the term *inquirere*, which carries the notion of "seeking knowledge" rather than "praying", "asking", or "requesting". This fits well with the objective of *illuminatio*. What we want to achieve is still a modest goal: that God listens to us and hearkens to our seeking (*exaudiuit me*).[8] Jonas goes on:

> [6]Inquirendo etenim et omni intentione petendo exauditur, qui se exterius a saeculi desideriis atterit et interius cum omni cordis contritione per ardorem conpunctionis pollet.
>
> [[6]For he, who externally deprives himself of desires for the world and internally abounds with all contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse, is hearkened through searching and asking with all intention.]

Now the author defines the conditions on which God deigns to listen to us and what it means to ask *omni intentione*: not to have one's *intentio* (maybe also understood as "concentration") led astray through desires for the world and to be strong in contrition of the heart through the fire of remorse. In other words, we need to detach ourselves from the world and be aware of and saddened by our sinfulness.[9] The author will return to both these conditions in the second half of the text.[10] The monastery, at least as it is pictured in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, offers both: the permanent retirement from the world and a permanent confrontation with one's sinfulness through continuous opportunities for remorse.[11] Now follows the key statement of *De accedendo*:

> [7]*Petite*, inquit, et *dabitur uobis*. (Matth. 7, 7) [8]Si *omnis qui petit accipit* (Matth. 7, 8), cur carnis ignauia praepediente et facinorum mole obstante non hoc cotidie poscamus, quod in aeternum possideamus: beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium, quod sine grande labore adquiri non potest, [9]cum primum per desiderium et doctrinam incognitae menti inseritur ac postmodum opere implendo sacratur, sed sine ineffabilis et inconprehensibilis omnipotentis Dei clementiae praesidio uel adiutorio patrari non potest?

(7) *RcuiV*, c. 6.2: *Danda ergo confessio semper est, ut ueterescentem mentis statum et peccatorum tenebris cotidianis inlecebris fuscatum rudem semper custodiat.* The expression *semper* appears in the context of monastic activities no fewer than 19 times in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*.

(8) See also *De accedendo* 25: *Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat. V*Col I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 7–8: *exaudit uota petentis…*

(9) *De accedendo* uses both *compunctio* and *contritio cordis*, which have roughly the same meaning. *Compunctio* derives from the *Regula Benedicti*, c. 20.3, *SC* 182, p. 536. *Contritio cordis* appears three times in the *RcuiV*. Similar pleonasms and redundancies can be found at numerous occasions in the *RcuiV*. On the meaning of *saeculum* and *mundus*, see pp. 509–510.

(10) *De accedendo* 24.

(11) *RcuiV*, c. 3.1–3; c. 5.6; c. 17.4; c. 17.8; c. 23.5 on cutting all ties with the world and worldly desires. On pain and contrition about one's sinfulness: c. 5.6; c. 12.5; c. 19.8; and esp. c. 6.26–27: *Et egrediente congregatione supra humum prostratae rogent pro se Dominum exorari, ut grauia commissa contritione deleantur cordis,* [27]*meminentes illud: Cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.* (Ps. 50/51, 19) The expressions *contritio* or *contritio cordis* are absent in the *Regula Benedicti*.

> [7 *Ask*, he says, *and it will be given to you.* (Matth. 7, 7) 8 If *everyone who asks receives* (Matth. 7, 8), why should we, while the listlessness of the flesh is hindering [us] and the weight of our misdeeds is blocking us, not demand daily in order that we may possess the following in eternity: namely the reward (*praemium*) of a blessed life and the everlasting support (*suffragium*) of the eternal gift, which cannot be acquired without great effort? 9 [Why shouldn't we demand this] when [support] is at first implanted into the untried mind through desire and teaching and afterwards consecrated by fulfilling the work, but cannot be achieved without the protection and help of the ineffable and incomprehensible mercy of the Almighty God?]

Here the author gives a very complicated answer to a simple but crucial question: what is the process by which we receive what we are asking for? The fact *that* we receive is, following Matth. 7, 7–8, not a matter of discussion, but taken for granted. What Jonas presents in this rather convoluted rhetorical question is an explanation of *how* our own contribution and agency is intertwined with what God gives us. He makes, in fact, an attempt to resolve the question of how grace and free will are related to each other, even though he may have deliberately avoided using these heavily loaded terms.

Jonas now leaves the shy notions of *accedere* (to approach) and *inquirere* (to ask) behind and turns, encouraged by the security of its immediate effect,[12] to more explicit terms, i.e. *petere* (to beg) and, even stronger, *poscere* (to demand).[13] Further on, he uses in the same vein *pulsare* (to knock),[14] *prouocare* (to provoke), and *excitare* (to arouse). In the respective passages of the *Vita Columbani* quoted in the previous chapter we find similar sequences: *postulare* (to demand) – *impetrare* (to beseech) – *petere* (in the first passage) and *quaerere* (to ask) – *pulsare* (to knock) – *excitare* (to arouse) – *orare* (to pray) – *rogare* (to ask) (in the second passage).[15] At the same time, the initial tentative search for *illuminatio* turns into demanding the *beatae uitae praemium* (the reward of a blessed life), the jackpot of eternal salvation.[16]

If we ask for it, we get it, but *only* if we ask for it in the right way by overcoming the listlessness of the flesh and undoing ourselves from the weight of our crimes, which we do, as we also know from the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, through confession, contrition of the heart, and penance.[17] Yet, in order to petition in a correct and effective way, we cannot simply ask for the *praemium*, but we need also ask for the *perenne suffragium aeterni muneris* (the everlasting support of the eternal gift). *Suffragium* is, thus, God's ultimate gift, which, of

(12) *RcuiV*, c. 5.19–21 proposes the analogous form of exchange: *Date, inquit, et dabitur uobis.* (Luc. 6, 38) 20 *O quam iusta commutatio! O quam pia miseratio, dando accepisse, accipiendo donasse,* 21 *si nulla iurgiorum incrementa nullaue nutrimenta retineantur!*

(13) On *poscere*: *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.4, *SC* 181, p. 414; *VCol* II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 23: *Nec defuit fideliter poscenti salus diu dilata.*

(14) *VIoh*, c. 7, p. 333, l. 15–16 combines *pulsare* and *poscere*: *…oratione innexus, Dominum pulsando deposcit.*

(15) *VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 31–p. 169, l. 3; II, c. 9, pp. 250, l. 32–p. 251, l. 18. See pp. 570-571.

(16) On *praemium*, see especially *RcuiV*, c. 5.11: *Si soror sororem diligat sicut semetipsam, numquam peccati maculam incurret, sed cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata aeterna praemia accipiet*; *VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1–2: *aeterna praemia caperent*; II, c. 14, p. 264, l. 18: *lucra caperet uitae aeternae*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25–26: *et eterne uite premia capere.* See also *RcuiV*, c. 1.19 (*praemium*); c. 1.18; c. 3.6; c. 9.19 (*lucrum*); c. 1.18; c. 3.1; c. 3.6; c. 3.22; c. 3.25; c. 4.21; c. 12.23; c. 13.5 (*merces*); c. 1.5; c. 2.15; c. 6.17; c. 9.4; c. 9.20; c. 12.2; c. 12.23 (*fructus*).

(17) *RcuiV*, c. 6.6: *Confessus se aduersum, ut facinorum molem pelleret de se, ingemuit confitendo, glorificauit remissionem recipiendo.*

course, is effective only if we ask for it and use it. God does not give eternal life directly, but he provides support that helps us to overcome the obstacle of our *mola facinorum* (the weight of our misdeeds).

This *suffragium*, which remains the object of the entire rest of the sentence, cannot be obtained without great effort (*sine grande labore*). It is already there, and one could see it as a manifestation of divine grace. It is beautifully and clearly defined as *desiderium* and *doctrina*, that is: desire (or will) and teaching, which are in the beginning – *primum* – instilled in our unknowing mind, but then need to be implemented (or, as the author says, consecrated) by fulfilling our work.

Placing (God-given) *desiderium* and *doctrina* at the beginning of the human capacity to approach God through prayer might be one of the most original contributions to the question of how grace and human will relate to each other. Both terms play a key role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which primarily aims at channelling *desiderium* into the right direction[18] and at transmitting *doctrina* through the abbess.[19]

Desire and teaching, which is instilled into our *mens incognita* (untried mind), sets a process in motion that helps us to remove the weight of our sins and allows us to ask for more *suffragium*, *illuminatio*, and eventually the *praemium beatae uitae*. This circular motion of using *suffragium* in order to ask for *suffragium* finds a neat analogy in the circular cleaning of one's mind from one's sins through confession and intercessory prayer, as it is described in Jonas' chapter on confession. In both cases we find the term *cotidie* (daily).[20] It must never stop but needs to be kept in motion every day.

Eventually, this process, which requires all of our will and effort, still depends on the *praesidium* and *adiutorium* (support and help)[21] that God provides through his mercy (*clementia*,

(18) *RcuiV*, c. 1.6 (on the abbess): *Sit continentiae et castitatis flore compta et omnium ore laudabilis, omnium desideriis imitabilis exemplo*; c. 3.1–3 (on the porter): …*si quae iam ex praesentibus pompis nihil desiderent,* 2 *sed in toto cordis affectu creatori inherentes singulae dicant: Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam.* (Ps. 72/73, 28) 3 *Quid enim ex praesentibus faleramentis desiderent quia perfunctoria contempta Christum amare coeperunt, in quem summum bonum contemplatione mentis manere conspexerunt?* c. 9.6: *Quid aliud debeat monacha studere quam soli Deo, in quo semel desiderium fixit, et oris sermone et animae desiderio uacare?* c. 14.7–8: *Neque se ad inuicem, id est facie ad faciem, respiciant, sed una post aliam quiescens dormiat,* 8 *ne antiquus hostis, qui ore libenti animas uulnerare cupit, aliquid fraudis iaculando inmittat, ut colloquendo mortalia excitet desideria.* c. 17.3–4: *Quae semel mundo mortua, quur per aliquam temporalium rerum cupiditatem uel desiderium aerumnosum denuo incipiat uiuere mundo,* 4 *quae contempto mundo coeperat iam uiuere Deo?* The concern about worldly *desideria* is also expressed in *De accedendo* 6 and 22. *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 11–14: *Confessus igitur uenerabili patri Commogello cordis ardorem et ignitum igne Domini desiderium, de quo igne Dominus in euangelio loquitur: Ignem ueni mittere in terram; quam uolo, ut ardeat…* (Luc. 12, 49); II, c. 21, p. 276, l. 14–17: *Quae cum diu regularis disciplinae abenis confecta immobilis desiderio caelestia praemia desideraret, euenit, ut iustus arbiter iustam animam iustitiae copia plenam caelos condere uellet.*

(19) *RcuiV*, c. 1.3–5: *Plus etenim subiugate praelatorum actuum formam imitantur quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant.* 4 *Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere,* 5 *ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.* c. 24.4–5: *Sit ergo in eis tanta cura, ut nunquam sine seniore huc atque illuc liceat deuiare,* 5 *sed semper ab eis disciplinae retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti, ad cultum instruantur religionis.* On the use of *doctrina*, see also *VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 4–6; I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 10–12; II, c. 26, p. 210, l. 11–15; I, c. 27, p. 214, l. 7–12; II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 22–p. 249, l. 2.

(20) *RcuiV*, c. 6.2.

(21) *RcuiV*, c. 1.19 (on the abbess): …*ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.* c. 6.16: *Detur ergo mutuae orationis solacium,*

misericordia, *miseratio*).[22] We have to do it ourselves and we have to want it ourselves with all our zeal and effort, but we still can't do it without God's unceasing help and mercy.[23]

The author connects a variety of forms of *accedere ad Deum* (approaching God) – *inquirere*, *petere*, *poscere*, *pulsare, orare*, *excitare* – with an even broader variety of what we could call gifts of grace that manifest themselves at different stages of this movement towards God: *clementia*, *miseratio*, *misericordia* (which manifests itself in God making the first step), *desiderium* (which gets us moving), *doctrina* and *illuminatio* (which makes us moving into the right direction), *suffragium* and *adiutorium* (which keeps us moving), *praesidium* (which protects us from moving into the wrong direction), and *praemium beatae uitae* (the ultimate goal of our movement). Later on, the author adds to this list *consilium* (which keeps us on track), *medicina* (which brings us back on track), *incrementum* (which moves us to the next level), and *salus* (again, the ultimate goal). As we could expect by now, almost all these gifts (*munera*) are addressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* as well.

Now Jonas provides biblical evidence:

> [10] Quamuis iuxta Apostolum alius riget, *alius plantet, Deus autem incrementum dat.* (cf. I Cor. 3, 7) [11] Sic Salomon testatur dicens: *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium.* (cf. Prou. 16, 1/9) [12] Datur ergo consilium a Domino, si obstinatae mentis aditus non denegetur.
>
> [[10] Although, according to the Apostle, *the one waters, the other plants, it is still God who gives the growth.* [11] Just as Salomon testifies when he says: *It is man's task to prepare the heart and the Lord's task to give counsel.* [12] Counsel is therefore given by the Lord if access to the stubborn mind is not denied.]

If we take these two biblical references out of their specific context, we could come to the conclusion that the author gives primacy to human agency, which causes God's response. The preceding sentence, however, makes clear that God only interferes with a process he had already set in motion himself. The second reference, *Hominis est parare cor, Domini est dare consilium*, is, even though the author ascribes it to Salomon, a paraphrase suiting its specific context rather than an accurate quotation. It is a loose hybrid of Prou. 16, 1 (*Hominis est animum praeparare, et Domini est responsio linguae*) and Prou. 16, 9 (*Cor hominis disponit uiam suam, sed Domini est dirigere gressus eius*).[24] Making the preparation of one's heart a human responsibility refers back to the title of the work, *De accedendo ad Deum prompto corde orandum*. Jonas refers to the prepared heart four more times in this text: our heart needs to reflect "on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator".[25] Justice will be extended to those

ut inuicem orando capiatur presidium. c. 12.25: *orantes in oratione dicant: Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini, qui fecit caelum et terram* (Ps. 123/124, 8, *LXX*); c. 14.15: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.* (Ps. 69/70, 2, *LXX*).

(22) See also *De accedendo* 14; 15; 17; 24; 26. All three terms appear several times in the *RcuiV* and in the *Vita Columbani*. *Clementia* and *miseratio* are absent in the *Regula Benedicti*; *misericordia* (as *misericordia Dei*) appears twice.

(23) Emphasis on dependence on grace, for example, *VCol* I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 21–23: *ad boni cultus operis Christo duce, sine quo nihil boni agitur adspiraret.* I, c. 7, p. 166, l. 9–10: *diuino fultus auxilio.*

(24) Identified by Veronika Zimmerl-Panagl, *CSEL* 98, p. 239.

(25) *De accedendo* 15: *cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem… prouocet.*

"who are rightful in the heart".[26] The contrition of the heart "arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator towards itself", and the purity of the heart makes God listen to us.[27]

Both the notion of preparing one's heart for prayer and reaching God through the contrition of the heart are addressed in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* no fewer than fourteen times, which makes the heart (along with the mind, *mens*) the primary object of monastic discipline. If we have to work on our heart, the monastery is the place to do it.[28] God's part of the exchange, *consilium*, can be tied back to the terms *illuminatio*, *doctrina*, *suffragium*, *adiutorium*, and *scientia*. God provides us with the necessary knowledge and skills, but only if we overcome the stubbornness of our mind and grant him access.[29]

Up to this point in the text, I have not been able to trace any other intertextual references apart from the *Regula cuiusdam* and Jonas' saints' Lives, but it is possible that the author of *De accedendo* is here inspired by John Cassian's famous thirteenth *Collatio* on *De protectione Dei* (On God's protection). This work was attacked by his contemporaries for showing Pelagianist tendencies. Early modern scholars coined for Cassian's work the verdict of "Semi-Pelagianism", largely because of the thirteenth *Collatio*.[30] After having dutifully emphasized the full dependence on God's grace, Cassian discusses here the interconnectedness of divine *gratia* and human *uoluntas* in a way that *could* be read as giving *uoluntas* the primacy.

De accedendo shares with Cassian the notion of sinfulness as a form of resistance against God.[31] Both use I Cor. 3, 7 on God giving growth to what man has sown and planted.[32]

(26) *De accedendo* 18: *…qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.*

(27) *De accedendo* 24–25: *Sic cordis conpunctione flagret, qualiter in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet.* $_{25}$*Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat.*

(28) *RcuiV*, c. 1.7; c. 1.12; c. 2.12; c. 3.1–2; c. 4.19–20; c. 5.12; c. 6.23; c. 6.26–27; c. 12.14–15; c. 14.1–4; c. 19.8; c. 23.7–8.

(29) In *RcuiV*, c. 2.9–10 the notion of *consilium* appears on a more mundane level, using the story of King Roboam to emphasize the necessity of holding *consilium* with one's seniors.

(30) Rousseau, Philip, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, 2nd ed., Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press 2010, pp. 231–234. For a defence of Cassian's orthodoxy, see Casiday, Augustine, 'Cassian against the Pelagians', in: *Studia Monastica* 46:1 (2004), pp. 7–23; Ramsey, Boniface, 'John Cassian and Augustine', in: Alexander Y. Hwang, Brian J. Matz, and Augustine Casidy (eds.), *Grace for Grace. The Debates after Augustine and Pelagius*, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2014, pp. 114–130; Stewart, Columba, *Cassian the Monk*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998, pp. 76–81.

(31) Cassian, *Collatio* XIII, c. 3.6, *SC* 54, p. 151; transl. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Institutes*, New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1997, p. 469: "But it is up to us to conform humbly to the grace of God that daily draws us on. Otherwise, if we resist it with a stiff neck and uncircumcised ears, as it is written, we shall deserve to hear what Jeremiah says: 'Shall the one who falls not rise again, and the one who has turned away not turn back? Why, then, has this people in Jerusalem turned away with a contentious turning? They have stiffened their necks, they have not wished to return'. (Jerem. 8, 4–5)"; *Collatio* XIII, c. 9.1, *SC* 54, pp. 158–159; transl. Ramsey, p. 474: "Hence human reason does not easily discern how the Lord gives to those who ask, is found by those who seek, and opens to those who knock, and on the other hand how he is found by those who do not seek, appears openly among these who were not asking for him, and stretches out his hands the whole day to a people who do not believe in him and who gainsay him, calls those who resist and are far away, draws the unwilling to salvation, removes from those who want to sin the means of fulfilling their desire, and graciously hinders those who are hastening on to what is evil".

(32) Cassian, *Collatio* XIII, c. 12.7, *SC* 54, p. 166; transl. Ramsey, pp. 479–480: "It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the seeds of virtue exist in every soul, having been placed there by the kindness of the Creator.

Cassian does, however, not link his argument about the narrow gearing of *gratia* and *uoluntas* with the notion of preparing one's heart to be able to pray. If Jonas indeed used Cassian – and we know for sure that he knew his work and drew on it[33] – he clearly went beyond Cassian's ideas by diversifying the manifestations of grace and assigning prayer a central role.

Boniface Ramsey comments in the introduction to his translation of the thirteenth Conference: "But his analysis of the working of the two leaves something to be desired because he simply juxtaposes them without seeking to explain their interaction in any significant way. In other words, Cassian does not explore the influence of grace upon the will; he merely says that such influence exists".[34] *De accedendo* fills this gap.

The text continues:

> [13] Sic per Apocalipsin dicitur: *Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso, si quis aperuerit mihi, intrabo ad illum et cenabo cum illo et ipse mecum.* (Reu. 3, 20) [14] Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus, [15] ut eum pulsantem intra mentis septa recipiamus eaque semper cor nostrum spiritus sancti igne accensum cogitet, quae creatoris misericordiam ad cenam uenientem idemque ad cenam ducentem prouocet. [16] In qua quis cum uenerit, *inebriabitur ab ubertate domus eius et torrente uoluntatis eius potabitur.* [17] *Quia apud ipsum est fons uitae et in lumine eius lumen uidebitur,* [18] *qui praetendit misericordiam suam scientibus se et iustitiam suam his, qui recto sunt corde.* (Ps. 35/36, 9–11)
>
> [[13] In such a way it is said through the Apocalypse: *See, I stand at the gate and knock. If someone opens to me, I will enter to Him and I shall eat with him and He with me.* (Rev. 3, 20) [14] Whenever we stand [in front of the gate] we ought therefore to be ready both in body and mind for the work of the service of divine mercy, [15] in order that we receive him knocking inside the enclosed space of the mind and in order that our heart, lit up by the fire of the Holy Spirit, always reflects on these things, which provoke the mercy of the Creator – [the mercy] which comes to the banquet and leads us to his banquet. [16] When someone comes to this [banquet], *he will be intoxicated by the richness of His house and refresh himself by the stream of his will,* [17] *because with him is the source of life and in his light the light will be seen,* [18] *who extends his mercy to those who know him, and his justice to those who are rightful in the heart.* (Ps. 35/36, 9–11)]

The author adds two more biblical words which frame the argument he made so far with the appealing image of a festive meal. The first quotation, Reu. 3, 20, re-emphasizes the reciprocity of the process of approaching God. It is not only about us knocking at the door and asking to be allowed to enter, but it is also about inviting God into us and receiving him. We have to be prepared both in body and in mind for the *opus seruitutis diuinae miser-*

But unless they have been germinated by the help of God they will not be able to increase in perfection, because, according to the blessed Apostle, 'neither is the one who plants anything, nor the one who waters, but God who gives the increase'". (I Cor. 3, 7).

(33) *VIoh*, c. 18, pp. 341–342 refers explicitly to Abbot Isaak, the speaker of the ninth *Collatio*, and paraphrases c. 3.1, *SC* 54, pp. 41–42; *RcuiV*, c. 22.1–9 refers to the *Instituta patrum* and then paraphrases *Institutiones* XII, c. 32.1, *SC* 109, p. 498. None of these sections address, however, the matter of grace and free will. See also Diem, 'The rule of an Iro-Egyptian Monk', pp. 38–44.

(34) Ramsey's introduction to *Collatio* 13, in: Cassian, *Conferences*; transl. Ramsey, p. 460.

ationis, the work of service for divine *miseratio* (mercy), that makes us capable of receiving him and provoking his *misericordia* (mercy).

Psalm 35/36, 9–11 provides a beautifully poetic summary of everything said before, emphasizing both God's initial agency, his ongoing involvement, but also the conditions we have to fulfil in order to get "intoxicated by the richness of His house": it is the "stream of *his* will", which refreshes; with *him* is the source of life, *he* provides the light we need for illumination and *he* gives mercy – but only to those who have acquired knowledge about him (*scientes de se*) and who have cleansed their heart. The *scientia* we have gained through *doctrina*, *illuminatio*, *suffragium*, and *consilium* also appears in numerous contexts in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, particularly as the *scientia* of the abbess that enables her to provide her nuns with good guidance and to apply effective punishment.[35]

De accedendo 19–27: A Response to the Regula Benedicti

The words from Ps. 35/36, 9–11 complete the long, dense, and – at least in my view – beautiful introduction on what *prompto corde orandum* actually entails. Yet it seems that the practice of prayer itself disappeared while the author described the many aspects of preparatory work that makes our heart prompt (*prompto corde*), and the various ways God could interfere with this process. The remainder of *De accedendo* implements the ideas that have been developed so far and turns more closely to the practice of prayer itself. The two chapters of the *Regula Benedict* on liturgical discipline (c. 19–20) form a sub-text of this section. The author rephrases, modifies, and explains Benedict on the basis of the notion of preparing one's heart that he had developed in the preceding paragraphs.

The shift from reflection towards implementation is marked by a sequence of sentences beginning with expressions such as *Ea ergo semper…Sic ergo…Sapienter etenim…Sic ergo…sed semper…Sic cordis…non enim*. Since the first part of *De accedendo* provided the groundwork, it is no wonder that most of the key expressions that have been used so far, return in this section: *opus*, *studium*, *intentus*, *paratus*, *desiderium*, *puritas*, *aeterna praemia*, *tendere*, *compunctio cordis*, *misericordia*, *clementia*, *excitare*, *lacrimae*, *exaudiri*, *promptus*, *intentio mentis*.

In their original context, chapter 19 and 20 of the *Regula Benedicti* conclude the Rule's liturgical programme with a reflection on liturgical discipline.[36] Since every alteration that the author of *De accedendo* inflicts on Benedict's text marks a conscious decision, we first need to provide an outline of the ideas expressed in the *Regula Benedicti* itself:

(35) *RcuiV*, c. 1.11; c. 10.1–2; c. 19.1; c. 20.2–4.

(36) The liturgical programme of the *Regula Benedicti*, c. 8–18, *SC* 182, pp. 508–534 was probably not applied in Columbanus' foundations. On liturgy in monasteries founded by Columbanus or under his Rule, see esp. Muschiol, *Famula Dei*.

XIX. De disciplina psallendi

1 Vbique credimus diuinam esse praesentiam et *oculos Domini in omni loco speculari bonos et malos*, (Prou. 15, 3) 2 maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus cum ad opus diuinum assistimus. 3 Ideo semper memores simus quod ait propheta: *Seruite Domino in timore*, (Ps. 2, 11) 4 et iterum: *Psallite sapienter*, (Ps. 46/47, 8) 5 et: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi.* (Ps. 137/138, 1) 6 Ergo consideremus qualiter oporteat in conspectu diuinitatis et angelorum eius esse, 7 et sic stemus ad psallendum ut mens nostra concordet uoci nostrae.

Chapter 19. Discipline in Psalm-singing

1 We believe the divine presence is everywhere and *the eyes of the Lord observe the good and the wicked in every place.* (Prou. 15, 3) 2 Let us believe this most of all, without a trace of doubt, when we are present at the divine Office. 3 Therefore let us always remember what the prophet says: *Serve the Lord in fear*, (Ps. 2, 11) 4 and again, *Sing Psalms sagely*, (Ps. 46/47, 8) 5 and *I will sing to you in the sight of the angels.* (Ps. 137/138, 1) 6 So let us consider how we ought to behave in the sight of the divinity and his angels, 7 and stand to sing Psalms in such a way that our mind and our voice are in harmony.

XX. De reuerentia orationis

1 Si, cum hominibus potentibus uolumus aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reuerentia, 2 quanto magis Domino Deo uniuersorum cum omni humilitate et puritatis deuotione supplicandum est. 3 Et non in multiloquio, sed in puritate cordis et compunctione lacrimarum nos exaudiri sciamus. 4 Et ideo breuis debet esse et pura oratio, nisi forte ex affectu inspirationis diuinae gratiae protendatur. 5 In conuentu tamen omnino breuietur oratio, et facto signo a priore omnes pariter surgant.

Chapter 20. Reverence in prayer

1 If, when we want to propose something to powerful men, we do not presume to do so except with humility and reverence, 2 how much more should we petition the Lord God of all things with all humility and pure devotion. 3 Let us know that we will be heard not in loquacity but in purity of heart and tearful compunction. 4 Therefore, prayer should be brief and pure, unless by chance it is prolonged by the inspiration of divine grace. 5 In community, however, prayer should absolutely be short and at the prior's sign, all should rise together.[37]

Benedict draws a distinction between *psallere* (the main topic of chapter 19) and *orare* (addressed in chapter 20). *Psallere*, the singing of the Psalms in the context of the liturgical Hours, is for Benedict a matter of *disciplina*; *orare* is a matter of *reuerentia*, thus of the correct attitude. Chapter 19 starts on the premise that we are under constant divine surveillance and that we should be aware of this especially (*maxime tamen*) in the moment of the liturgical Hours, the *opus diuinum* (divine work) or, as he calls it otherwise, the *opus Dei* (work of God). When singing the Psalms, we must make sure that our mind and our voice are in harmony.

We find similar reminders of alertness and concentration and condemnation of sleep and *uagatio mentis* (wandering of the mind) in numerous other monastic rules. Benedict of Aniane lists no fewer than sixteen chapters from rules and patristic texts that address various aspects of discipline of prayer.[38] Neither chapter 19 itself nor the supporting texts that Benedict of Aniane provided in his *Concordia regularum* nor Hildemar of Corbie's *Expo-*

(37) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 19–20, *SC* 182, pp. 534–538; transl. Venarde, pp. 91–93 (slightly revised).

(38) Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, c. 25, *CCCM* 168A, pp. 192–206 provides 17 quotations from rules and patristic texts addressing this topic. Almost all of them emphasize concentration and fighting *uagatio mentis* and sleep.

sitio Regulae Sancti Benedicti state that the requirement *ut mens nostra concordet uoci nostrae* (that our mind and our voice are in harmony) has an ethical implication reaching beyond the moment of prayer itself, i.e. that only a *mens* that is previously prepared through good work can be in harmony with the singing voice.[39] Among modern commentators on the *Regula Benedicti* only Michaela Puzicha argues that chapter 19 has implications for monastic discipline that does not only pertain to the liturgical Hours themselves.[40] I emphasize this because the reinterpretation of chapter 19 in *De accedendo* makes exactly this point.

Chapter 20 of the *Regula Benedicti*, which moves from singing the Psalms to *oratio*, constructs the prerequisite of *reuerentia* in prayer in analogy to approaching worldly *potentes*, which requires both humility and reverence. For approaching God, we not only need *reuerentia* but also the devotion of (or to?) purity (*deuotio puritatis*), which Benedict then specifies as purity of the heart (*puritas cordis*, a term borrowed from John Cassian)[41] and the remorse of tears (*compunctio lacrimarum*). These qualities, and not verbosity, ensure that God listens to us.

The last two sentences of chapter 20 indicate that Benedict's reflections on prayer address in the first place the particular moment of silent prayer that forms part of the liturgy of the Hours: a silent prayer that should not be too long and that comes to completion at the signal of the prior. Jonas did not use these sentences in *De accedendo*. If we look at the entire *Regula Benedicti* we can, however, conclude that Benedict had a much broader notion of *oratio* in mind and that what he says about the short silent prayer that forms part of the liturgy also applies to prayer in general. *Oratio* refers in Benedict's Rule to all forms of liturgical activity (including *psallere*),[42] in particular to the Lord's Prayer,[43] and to private prayer within and outside the liturgical Hours.[44] Any form of prayer is a way of asking God for something and expecting a return. We would not pray unless it is for a specific goal, be it forgiveness for our own sins or someone else's or our enemy's sins,[45] perseverance,[46] or protection of fellow monks in special situations: when they travel, do kitchen service, or

(39) See Hildemar of Corbie, *Expositio Regulae Sancti Benedicti*, c. 19, ed. Mittermüller, pp. 314–315 (with a translation by Kristina Hosoe on http://www.hildemar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33&catid=15&Itemid=102, last accessed Dec. 10, 2020). See also Kardong, Terrence G., *Benedict's Rule. A Translation and Commentary*, Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996, pp. 203–206; de Vogüé, Adalbert, *Die Regula Benedicti. Theologisch-Spiritueller Kommentar*, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag 1983, pp. 165–179.

(40) Puzicha, Michaela, *Kommentar zur Benediktusregel. Im Auftrag der Salzburger Äbtekonferenz*, St Ottilien: EOS-Verlag 2002, pp. 226–232, esp. p. 226: "Das Chorgebet ist kein gesonderter Teil der Existenz, sondern eingebunden in den Gesamtzusammenhang des monastischen Lebens der Gemeinschaft."

(41) Von Nagel, Demetrias, 'Puritas cordis – Reinheit des Herzens. Sinn und Ziel einer Mönchsübung nach den Schriften des Johannes Kassian', in: Günter Stachel (ed.), *Munen muso. Ungegenständliche Meditation. Festschrift für Hugo M. Enomiya-Lasalle zum 80. Geburtstag*, Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag 1978, pp. 127–155; Stewart, Columba, *Cassian the Monk*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998, pp. 42–47.

(42) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 17.5, *SC* 182, p. 526.

(43) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 13.12–14, p. 520 and c. 17.7, pp. 526–528.

(44) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.56, *SC* 181, p. 460; c. 49.4–5, *SC* 182, p. 606; c. 52.3–4, p. 610.

(45) *Regula Benedicti*, c. 4.57, *SC* 181, p. 460; c. 4.72, p. 462; c. 13.12–14, *SC* 182, p. 520; c. 18.4, pp. 528–530.

(46) *Regula Benedicti*, prologue.4, *SC* 181, pp. 436–438.

perform the weekly readings.[47] Prayer seems to be a strictly utilitarian activity – and in this the author of *De accedendo* agrees with Benedict.

After this outline we have to see how the author of *De accedendo* responds to the *Regula Benedicti* by making Benedict's words part of a much larger argument:

> [19] Ea ergo semper lingua proferat, quae conditori confamulante opere placeat, iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium: *Seruite*, inquit, *Domino in timore et exultate ei cum tremore*. (Ps. 2, 11)
>
> [[19] Therefore let the tongue always bring forth these things in order that it pleases the Creator along with serving work, according to this message of the Psalmist: *Serve*, he says, *the Lord in fear and praise him with trembling*. (Ps. 2, 11)]

Jonas expands and completes the biblical quotation he found in the *Regula Benedicti*. He establishes two different activities that should both be guided by fear: *seruire* (to serve) and *exultare* (to praise). This is in line with the initial requirement to "direct oneself to the practice of religion through both works and prayer" (*tam operibus quam oratione*). At this point the *Regula Benedicti* and *De accedendo* part ways. Instead of defining the liturgical Hours as moments of higher standards that require special alertness (Benedict uses *maxime tamen*), the author of *De accedendo* emphasizes that *opus* serves the prayer (or, as he says, the tongue) and therefore needs to be performed with just as much anxiety as the prayer itself.

In the next section Jonas explains (*sic ergo…etenim…sic ergo*) what he means with that:

> [20] Sic ergo creatori timendo seruitur, si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur, sicut alibi per psalmistam dicitur: *psallite sapienter*. (Ps. 46/47, 8) [21] Sapienter etenim quisque psallit, qui uoci laudanti noxiis operibus non contradicit et qualiter oporteat potentiae diuinae famulari sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur. [22] Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata incedat, qualiter nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo nullo temporis fuscetur uitio, [23] sed semper intenta et in caelestibus sublimata humilitate et puritate ac promptissima deuotione ornata ad aeterna praemia tendat.
>
> [20] The Creator is served in fear in such a way if good work is joined to the voice of praise, as it is said elsewhere by the Psalmist: *sing the Psalms wisely*. (Ps. 46/47, 8) [21] For everyone sings the Psalms wisely who does not contradict the praising voice through harmful works and who, as much as it behoves, continues with all zeal to serve the divine power with solicitous concern for practice of piety. [22] Let therefore our mind enter [the gate] so dedicated to singing Psalms, so ready for prayer that it, not shackled by any obstacle of worldly desire, is not darkened by any fault of the world, [23] but that it strives for eternal rewards, always dedicated and elevated in the heavens by humility and purity and adorned with most eager devotion.

For Benedict, singing the Psalms wisely meant to ensure that the mind is in harmony with the voice. For Jonas, it means that the *opus bonum* (the good work) is aligned with the voice. By linking the *uox* to the *opus bonum*, Jonas beautifully closes the circle and returns to an idea he developed at the beginning of chapter 1 on the responsibility of the abbess. Finally he explains what this *opus bonum* entails and how precisely one has to prepare one's mind for prayer. We already know most of these activities from the first part of *De accedendo*. They comprise (1) avoiding harmful acts (*noxa opera*), (2) assiduous concern for religious

(47) *Regula Benedicti*, c 35.15, *SC* 182, p. 568; c. 38.2, p. 574; c. 67.1–2, p. 662.

practice (*sollicita religionis cura*), (3) not being hindered by desire for the world (*nullo praepedita temporalis desiderii obstaculo*), (4) not being "darkened" by worldly vice (*nullo temporis fuscetur uitio*), and (5) striving for the eternal reward (*aeterna praemia tendat*).

This is what constitutes the *humilitas*, *puritas*, and *deuotio* that Benedict had mentioned in chapter 20 of his Rule. Almost all the words that Jonas used for his revision of the *Regula Benedicti* belong to the semantic repertoire of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *noxa*, *famulari*, *sollicita cura*, *omni studio*, *parata*, *desiderium temporalis*, *fuscare*, *promptissima deuotio*, and *aeterna praemia* all appear at some point (many of them several times) in this Rule.

Now the author of *De accedendo* adds a final aspect, which is also already addressed both in the *De accedendo* and in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, the "dedication of the ready mind":

> [24] Sic cordis conpunctione flagret, qualiter in se creatoris misericordiam ac clementiam excitet. [25] Nec se in multiloquio quisquam, sed potius in puritate cordis et lacrimarum ubertate exaudiri credat. [26] Non enim longae orationis prolixitas, sed promptae mentis intentio pietatem clementis iudicis excitat.
>
> [[24] Let it (the mind) burn in such a way with compunction of the heart, that it arouses the mercy and clemency of the Creator towards itself. [25] And let no one believe he is heard through verbosity, but rather through the purity of heart and the abundance of tears [26] for it is not the length of a long-winded prayer but the dedication of the ready mind that excites the love of the clement judge.]

The sixth and probably the most important condition for reaching God's ear and arousing his mercy is the awareness of one's sinfulness, the expression of deep, tearful remorse, and the willingness to purify one's heart. All these different things together – not doing evil, being zealous in monastic work, not desiring the world, fighting vices, striving for salvation, and expressing remorse – constitute the *intentio promptae mentis* (dedication of the ready mind) and arouse the love of the merciful judge. The entire *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is essentially built around these six objectives of monastic life.

Now, finally, *De accedendo* comes to a conclusion and reveals the purpose of the unceasing prayer that is empowered by a well-prepared heart or mind, which is the forgiveness of all sins, not just one's own:

> [27] Orandus ergo semper est, ut largiatur delinquentibus ueniam, qui languenti mundo per crucis passionem infudit medicinam [28] salus mundi aeterna Christus Iesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.
>
> [[27] He is always to be prayed to in order that he may extend pardon to the guilty – he who has poured through the passion of the Cross medicine on the languishing world, [28] the eternal salvation of the world, Jesus Christ, who lives and rules with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.]

In this final sentence, the author takes a last, crucial turn to the idea of coenobitic monastic life. Prayer works and therefore we have to pray incessantly, but we do not pray for the forgiveness of our own sins but use our empowered prayer in order to gain forgiveness for each other and even for the *delinquentes* in general, inside and outside the monastery. Here *De accedendo* just summarizes what the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* describes and implements in great detail. This is what monastic life is all about.

CONCLUSION

After having submitted the manuscript of this book I got into a short and quickly settled argument with the two series editors of *Disciplina Monastica*, Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, about the cover design for this volume. The guidelines for the series require a background illustration, ideally a medieval manuscript, and a title photograph, for example a manuscript illumination, object, or building. Finding a background illustration was easy. The obvious choice is the only early medieval manuscript of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*. Since confession plays a prominent role in this book, I chose a section of chapter 6 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: *De assidue danda confessione*.[1]

Finding a title image that was not purely decorative appeared to be more difficult. Manuscripts relevant to this study have no illuminations and there are no contemporary objects or buildings that are meaningful to the content of the book. Therefore I suggested to use something entirely different as cover image: a photograph of one of the artworks of the American conceptual artist Bruce Nauman.[2] This idea caused some mild horror: first because it does not fit with the design of the series; second because the fees for publication rights might be astronomical. Instead, we decided on a compromise between a decorative anachronism and something vaguely related to the subject matter of the book: a vacation photograph of the possibly eighth-century ruins of the monastery of Na Seacht dTeampaill (Dísert Bhreacáin) on Inis Mór, one of the Aran Islands in western Ireland (County of Galway). These ruins of two church buildings and some walls indicate a complicated spatial structure, possibly with several levels of enclosure. Not ideal, but fair enough, even though it might undermine my doubts about the Irish origins of Jonas' concept of space.

I had three artworks in mind that expressed more clearly than some early medieval walls the main themes and insights of this book. The first one is a light artwork titled *One Hundred Live and Die* (1984) consisting of neon tubes of different colours forming the sentences *Live and Die; Live and Live; Die and Die; Die and Live; Shit and Die; Shit and Live; Piss and Die; Piss and Live; Eat and Die; Eat and Live; Sleep and Die; Sleep and Live; Love and Die; Love and Live; Hate and Die; Hate and Live; Fuck and Die; Fuck and Live; Speak and Die; Speak and Live; Lie and Die; Lie and Live; Hear and Die; Hear and Live*, etc., ending with *Think and Die; Think and Live; Play and Die; Play and Live*.[3]

(1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28118, fol. 209v.

(2) On Bruch Nauman, see Halbreich, Kathy, Isabel Friedli, Heidi Naef, Magnus Schaefer, and Taylor Walsh (eds.), *Bruce Nauman. Disappearing Acts*, New York: Museum of Modern Art 2018.

(3) See Halbreich *et al.* (eds.), *Bruce Nauman*, pp. 224–225 and https://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/07/books/review/bruce-nauman-the-true-artist-by-peter-plagens.html (last accessed Dec. 10, 2020).

This artwork beautifully resonates with one of the basic ideas of Jonas of Bobbio's notion of the pursuit of salvation. Everything one does, expresses through one's body, thinks, desires, dreams, or utters is a matter of life and death. It may create reward, i.e. eternal life, or, more likely, it might cause damage and lead to eternal death. Every action, thought, or feeling is part of the *opus Dei* and therefore Jonas's discipline pertains to every act and every movement of the body or the mind at any moment of the day.

The second artwork I had in mind, titled *Model for Trench and Four Buried Passages* (1977), consists of three large circular structures, an inner circle of about four metres in diameter, and an outer circle of about eight metres, and a third circle of the same size suspended about two metres high in the air.[4] These three circles could depict the "triple enclosure" envisioned in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the enclosure of one's body that separates feeling from acting and shields the soul and mind from sensory impressions and the surrounding world from the dirt accumulated inside the body and mind, the material enclosure of the monastic walls, and the *ambitus uirtutum*, the non-material enclosure created by the community through their discipline and mutual love. The museum guard who pays close attention that no one sets their foot into the circle was probably part of the artwork and represents the power of the constrained space. I was tempted to break the rule, like King Theuderic II did when he intruded the *septa monasterii* of Luxeuil, but I didn't dare.

The third installation is titled *Venice fountain* (2007). It consists of an inverted cast of a human face spitting water into a white plastic sink which empties into a bucket from where it is pumped back to the inverted face. The endless cycle of "spitting it out" aptly illustrates Jonas' "hydraulic" system of confession and enclosure: the imperative to confess incessantly while carefully channelling the content of the confession and pumping it back into the mind that needs to be cleansed. The inverted face depicts the requirement of turning one's inside out in this process of permanent disclosure of every movement of the mind.[5]

The book might seem to focus at times on philological, semantic, or intertextual observations and on minute disagreements between different monastic authors. I nevertheless hope that some of its insights may be relevant not only for those studying early medieval monasticism but also spark ideas in readers whose interests lie outside this field, or readers who might be willing to integrate early medieval monastic experiments into broader inquiries that cross chronological or disciplinary boundaries. It is an invitation to look at forms of religious life that, arguably, had a deep impact on Western culture and still resonate in modern institutions and repertoires of control and discipline. The modern noun "rule" is, after all, not just derived from the Latin expression *regula* (originally "measuring rod",

(4) See Halbreich *et al.* (eds.), *Bruce Nauman*, pp. 192–195 and https://archpaper.com/tag/bruce-nauman/ (last accessed Dec. 10, 2020).

(5) See Halbreich *et al.* (eds.), *Bruce Nauman*, pp. 270–271 and http://ifacontemporary.org/master-manipulator-bruce-nauman-at-moma/ (last accessed Dec. 10, 2020).

"ruler"), but can also be directly tied to *The Rule*, i.e. the *Regula Benedicti*: which could be called the mother of all rules, religious or not.[6]

Much of my study consists of simple observations based on a straightforward and deliberately naive reading of a set of early medieval Latin sources, taking them at face value as expressions of theological viewpoints, documentations of experimentation, utterances of dispute, and voices of dissent on fundamental matters of organizing communal life and, indeed, pursuing eternal salvation. I want to throw some stones into a lake and invite the study of the concentric circles of waves they cause, an apt image since circular structures play an important role in Jonas of Bobbio's Rule.

Jonas and Caesarius as Authors and Readers

I identified Jonas of Bobbio as the author of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. This means turning an eminent early medieval author of saints' Lives into a legislator for a female monastic community and a theorist of monastic life. Jonas is, thus, not just the hagiographer of the Irish monk Columbanus and – undoubtedly biased – chronicler of the early history of Columbanus' foundations Bobbio and Luxeuil with its affiliations. He takes on a second and third role in two contexts thought to be separate from the story of Columbanus and Luxeuil proper: a monastic theologian who uses female, not male, communal life as the basis for his reflections, and a thorough reader, revisor, and vigorous critic of the *Regula Benedicti* and its theological premises. With Jonas taking on these roles, the part of monastic history that received the epithet "Columbanian" definitively leaves the constraints of Iromantic folklore and finally becomes really interesting.

Even though Jonas never acknowledges the existence of the *Regula Benedicti*, his authorship of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* shows that this text (or rather its rejection) played a central role in his narrative claim on Columbanus' legacy and his definition of the *Regula Columbani*. Jonas had a serious problem with the *Regula Benedicti* and the fact that it took a foothold in a world that should have been shaped by Columbanus' monastic ideal – or at least what *he* considered it to be. If we really can speak of the "triumph" of the *Regula Benedicti*, it was a triumph in a conflict that evolved in Jonas' world and dealt with nothing less than the theological basis of the monastic pursuit of salvation.

Caesarius of Arles, a hundred years earlier, grappled with a different set of problems. He needed to reconcile two objectives that seem to be incompatible. On the one hand, there was the challenge of organizing a new type of monastic community for nuns whose Holy Rule and strict enclosure should fortify their path towards salvation. On the other hand, there was the theological challenge of reconciling Augustine's doctrine of full dependence on divine grace with the idea that a monastic pursuit of salvation is possible at all. Caesarius' involvement in the so-called Semi-Pelagian debate and his Rule for Nuns are

(6) The earliest citations of the English noun "rule" (spelled *reul* or *riwle*) appear around 1225 in a middle-English translation of *Regula Benedicti* and in the *Ancrene Riwle*, an early-thirteenth-century Rule for female anchorites. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. rule.

not separate endeavours. It is the same group of fellow bishops that supported Caesarius in his theological battles, confirmed his Rule for Nuns, and told, at the request of his nuns, the story that made Caesarius at the same time a saint and mediator of divine grace, a champion of doctrine, and the one who opened a pathway to salvation for his nuns.

Caesarius' own viewpoints on the pursuit of salvation changed in the course of his life. Initially he viewed monastic life, in the tradition of Cassian and the desert fathers, as a battle against sinfulness fought with exactly the agency that would later become a theological problem. The nuns that he later enclosed and submitted to his Rule did not fight this battle any more: the monastic boundaries, the enclosed space, the *sancta regula*, and the *monasterium* became in themselves salvific instruments and the monastic conversion a result of divine grace. This was a fairly simple and in the long run successful solution, though one whose shortcomings caused anxiety for Caesarius himself, which is visible throughout his Rules for Nuns and increases in every step of revising the text. Jonas of Bobbio disagreed with Caesarius' idea about space, rule, and monastic conversion as salvific instruments. His *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* forms an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of Caesarius' simple salvific enclosure by a much more sophisticated regime whose premises beautifully resonate with Bruce Nauman's artworks.

Caesarius' and Jonas' attempts to keep their nuns' pathway towards salvation open are not just reflections on some abstract theological questions; they are performed by individuals who are guided by their own passions, anxieties, curiosity, and intellectual playfulness. Jonas and the biographers of Caesarius tell stories about matters of life and death in a highly dramatic manner. Caesarius' Life itself deserves a biopic; Jonas' stories of the dying nuns of Faremoutiers could easily be turned into an opera.

We don't have enough information about Jonas' biography to turn him into the hero of a grand opera but through his work we can get to know him fairly well. Jonas may have been an exceptional reader and author, but he also represents practices of reading and writing available to an educated member of a religious community in Francia or Northern Italy in the first half of the seventh century. He presents himself as remarkably self-confident and sure of his authority, skills, and importance – there are no dark ages ahead in his world. In the prologue of his *Vita Columbani* Jonas does not place himself in the shadow of the unattainable *sancti patres* of a distant and glorified past – to the contrary: instead of just calling Columbanus equal to the saints from previous generations, such as Antony, Paul of Thebes, Hilarion, and Martin, Jonas places himself in one line with their hagiographers, Athanasius, Jerome, and Sulpicius, along with Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine.[7] The prologue of the *Vita Iohannis* tells how he was begged to stay in the monastery of Réomée to provide its monks with a story of their founder and origins. He was a hagiographic celebrity.[8] The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was, thus, written by someone who considered himself at least on par with his great predecessors.

(7) *VCol* I, c. 1, pp. 151–152.
(8) *VIoh*, prologue, p. 326.

Jonas' self-confidence manifests itself not only in his role as author but also in the way he reads, which shows little similarity to that of the collectors of the first patristic florilegia that may have been produced in his own lifetime or shortly afterwards, such as the *Liber Scintillarum* or the *Testimonia diuinae scripturae et patrum*. These florilegia assign authority to specific patristic authors and to their written works. Jonas never quotes any of them verbatim and never enhances his own authority by calling on the *auctoritas* of any of his predecessors. His "non-florilegistic" reading is concerned with ideas rather than names and words, and his objective is a critical engagement with these ideas rather than simply reproducing them. We see this in the *Vita Columbani*, which shows that he was entirely on top of the hagiography and historiography available in his time, including the works of Gregory the Great and, most likely, Gregory of Tours; we see it also in his *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, which shows direct and indirect reception of large parts of the monastic normative tradition but still constantly expresses new ideas. He pays no respect to his predecessors' names and words but is, in a way, ultimately respectful to them by engaging with their ideas in a critical but also productive way, instead of presenting them as venerable but lifeless fragments of wisdom. In this regard, Jonas read and wrote like any good scholar should do today.

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* gives us an opportunity to look over Jonas's shoulders, to meet the respectless-respectful reader, and to identify some of his specific reading techniques. He may have started by studying Caesarius' Rule for Nuns, deciding to leave the text intact because Caesarius insisted that no word of his Rule may be changed. Instead of altering or excerpting his work, Jonas revised it by means of making additions that profoundly modified Caesarius' initial intentions – especially with regard to spatial enclosure.

Jonas studied the *Regula Benedicti* equally thoroughly but worked with this text in different ways. He selected passages to be ignored, particularly the programmatic and liturgical chapters (prologue and c. 1–18), passages to be excerpted, regrouped, and used as examples to support his own programme, and chapters to be thoroughly rewritten by stripping them to the bare bone of their pragmatic provisions, rephrasing them in his own language, and filling in his own programmatic ideas.

Jonas applied another reading technique to Book IV of Gregory's *Dialogues*. He may have assumed the presence of this work in the community of Faremoutiers and decided to produce a text that emulates the literary model with much of its narrative motifs in an easily recognizable way, but simultaneously made the point of proving that the path to salvation is much more arduous than Gregory implies in his *Dialogues*.

Jonas' way of reading Gregory's *Dialogues* was different from the way he used John Cassian's work. It seems that he followed the advice given at the end of the *Regula Benedicti* to move to a higher level of understanding by reading Cassian. He used Cassian's ideas as tools to modify what he found in the *Regula Benedicti*. Most likely, he used the *Regula Magistri* in a similar manner: as a quarry for terms and ideas that he could utilize to mould his own programme and to phrase his disagreement with Caesarius and the *Regula Benedicti*.

Jonas' confident engagement with his material shows in itself, thus, a number of techniques of reading, processing, and rewriting. We can ask to what extent Jonas' contemporaries read and processed texts in a similarly confident and skilful manner. I make the

argument that Jonas was not the only one who could have written the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*. There is Burgundofara who implemented and maybe co-authored the text; there is Philibert who collected various rules before founding monasteries according to his own (written or unwritten) *regula*, and there are Eligius with his spinning bookshelf and Audoinus, who wrote a biography of his soul- and roommate that is equal in size and depth to Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and still largely unexplored. The question to what extent Jonas' "non-florilegistic" reading was exceptional or whether Jonas acted like many of his contemporaries did – remains open.

The Impact of the *Regvla cvivsdam ad virgines*

A part of the story of Jonas' pursuit of salvation which would add another long and complicated chapter to this book, is the question of his impact. To what extent did later monastic theorists continue to work on the problems Jonas addressed and to what extent is it possible to establish genealogies between them? Particularly, can we make connections between Jonas' critical engagement with Caesarius', Benedict's, and Columbanus' Rules, and the Carolingian reforms? Do monastic reformers in the Carolingian period struggle, read, and argue in a comparable way about the meaning of monastic life and the pursuit of salvation as Jonas did, or were the problems addressed in Jonas' work considered to be resolved at this time?

Compared to most monastic rules that Benedict of Aniane collected in his *Codex regularum* and arranged in his *Concordia regularum*, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* had a substantial afterlife. Benedict of Aniane processed almost the entire Rule in his *Concordia regularum* which shows that he recognized the quality and importance of the text. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel inserted a significant part of it into his enormously widespread *Expositio Regulae sancti Benedicti*. These fragments were, thus, available to anyone in the Latin world who had access to a decent monastic library.

Additionally, the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* left traces in several Lives of female saints, especially the *Vita Bertilae*, the *Vita Sadalbergae*, the *Vita Segolenae*, and, a century later, the *Vita Leobae*. Even if not all these texts deeply engaged with Jonas' theology, we can at least assume that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was present and considered authoritative with regard to female monastic life. The author of the *Vita Bertilae* used Jonas' Rule to create the image of Bertila as ideal abbess. When Rudolf of Fulda received the assignment to invent a past for the Anglo-Saxon nun Leoba, he used the same rule to create the imagined monastery in which Leoba grew up.[9] It is likely that more hagiographic texts will appear that prove that the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* was available and read in other monastic communities.

(9) Rudolf of Fulda, *Vita Leobae*, c. 1–7, *MGH Script.* 15, pp. 123–125. According to the library catalogue of Fulda from the middle of the ninth century, the monastery owned a now lost copy of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*, which Rudolf of Fulda may have used. See Schrimpf, Gangolf, Josef Leinweber, and Thomas Martin, *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda und andere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Klosters im Mittelalter*, Frankfurt am Main: Knecht 1992, pp. 72–75.

There are, moreover, at least two witnesses that show the impact of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* on the Carolingian monastic reform process. One of the most striking documents of the reception of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is the *Memoriale qualiter* which is a slightly odd hybrid of an excerpt of the *Regula Benedicti* and the outline of how monastic communities should conduct themselves throughout the day.[10] This outline expands on three central ideas of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*: the imperative of permanent confession, the idea of the unceasing *opus Dei*, which is not confined to the liturgical Hours, and the consequence that those in the monastery need to submit themselves to a strict "choreography" of movements and voice. The text, which is mostly preserved as a treatise for monks (though it does not have to be written as such), contains various identifiable allusions to the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* but also to the *Regula Benedicti*. This shows how the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* has been used in the endeavour to appropriate the *Regula Benedicti* for the Carolingian reform project.

The *Memoriale qualiter* itself had a remarkable afterlife as a widely transmitted addendum to the *Collectio capitularis*, the central document of the Carolingian reform synods. The *Regularis concordia* of the late ninth century, the key document for the implementation of the *Regula Benedicti* in the Anglo-Saxon world, largely draws on the *Memoriale qualiter* and especially elaborates on its provisions on daily confession as a central monastic ritual.[11] We keep hearing Jonas' distant voice in monastic texts written centuries after his death.

The other Carolingian trace of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* is different but not at all less prominent. The *Institutio Sanctimonialium*, part patristic florilegium, part rule for canonesses who didn't want to submit to the *Regula Benedicti*, contains a chapter on children in the monastery that used and rewrote chapter 24 of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* in a way strikingly similar to Jonas' technique of rewriting the *Regula Benedicti*.[12] Even though this is the only trace of Jonas' Rule in this collection, it proves its presence and authority.

Monasticism

The *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines* consists of just twenty-five chapters (if we include *De accedendo ad Deum*) about a third of the number we find in Caesarius' Rule for Nuns and in the *Regula Benedicti*. Jonas was not forced to produce a comprehensive outline for life in a monastic community; he could choose which topics and themes he wanted to address. His *topics*, essentially the chapter headings, include the tasks and qualifications of the leading functions in the monastery: mutual love, confession, liturgical discipline, silence and speaking, meals, work, tools, sleep, negligence, individual poverty, excommunication and punish-

(10) *Memoriale qualiter* ed. Claudio Morgand, *CCM* 1, Siegburg: Franz Schmitt 1963, pp. 229–282. On the *Memoriale qualiter* and the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see Diem, Albrecht, 'Choreographing monastic life: Some observations on the *Memoriale qualiter*', in: Rutger Kramer, Emilie Kurdziel, and Graeme Ward (eds.), *Categorising the Church. Monastic Communities, Canonical Clergy and Episcopal Authority in the Carolingian World*, Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming.

(11) *Regularis Concordia*, ed./trans. Thomas Symons, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons 1953.

(12) *Institutio sanctimonialium*, c. 22, *MGH Conc.* 2.1, p. 452.

ment, escape and return, mutual interactions within the monastery, family ties, the supervision of children, and how discipline relates to prayer. Next to these topics Jonas develops various overarching *themes* that intersect with his topics and return at several places in the text. They include the authority and the nature of obedience, the imperative of mutual love and intercession, the command to serve each other, the problem of fostering motivation and repressing negligence, personal, physical and communal boundaries, the salvific agency of the community and individual responsibility, controlled speech and continuous disclosure of one's deeds, thoughts, and intentions, the renunciation of the world and wordly desines, and, above all, the control of the *mens* (mind) as primary target of monastic discipline. Jonas has something original to say about each of these topics and themes that sets him apart from the texts he used and from established traditions. They represent what, in his views was at stake in the monastic pursuit of salvation.

I decided, by means of experiment, to follow Jonas' lead and to organize the longest chapter of this book along the topics that *he* considered essential. If we compare Jonas with his sources we see that most of these topics and themes were a matter of dissent, underwent profound transformation and diversification, and intersected with the theological premises of monastic life in various ways. Many of the items on his chapter list could, thus, serve as a table of contents of a new history of monasticism that supplements the traditional narratives that are structured according to places, individuals, specific texts, or monastic movements. A fascinating pioneering attempt to write such a new, thematic history is the magistral *Cambridge History of Monasticism in the Latin West* whose publication overlapped with the completion of this book.[13]

Chapter 6 is, thus, not meant to be a commentary to Jonas' Rule but a series of "test drillings" that take Jonas' dissent with his predecessors and his particular intersections of specific topics and overarching themes as point of departure. Some of these drillings went deeper than others. All of them are preliminary and are meant to be invitations for further exploration. Much more needs to be done, for example, to understand obedience and abbatial authority, or to explore the different monastic experiments of providing organizational structures, or the order of space and their respective theological ramifications. The anxieties around the monastic sleep are worth a book of its own – and of a long chapter in a study of the history of sleep – which is still to be written. My attempt to provide an overview of monastic *excommunicatio* is still rudimentary. It would form just a section of a history of monastic discipline and punishment but it also shows that any study of modes of exclusion should have a monastic section. There is, as I have shown, not just one monastic imperative of silence and restraining the spoken word, but a multitude of different silences imposed and enforced for just as many purposes. A history of monasticism should, therefore, have a chapter on monastic silence and, reversely, studies of silence or silencing a chapter on medieval nuns and monks. *Confession* – monastic or pastoral – has a, still largely unwritten, history of its own that is distinct from the history of penance. Back to square one.

(13) Beach Alison I. and Isabelle Cochelin (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020.

Asceticism

A final thought – and this is my own road map: the study of religious life revolves around a number of key concepts most of which sound like having a Christian pedigree while being, in fact, created by modern scholars in the humanities and social sciences. "Sacred space" would be one of them; "ritual purity", "pollution", or "charisma" are others. These concepts guided me, like many other scholars, in the exploration of early medieval monasticism but turned at some point into stumbling blocks to be moved to the wayside because they started to lose their hermeneutical benefits and obfuscated the diversity and particularity of the concepts and categories I found in my texts. These concepts and categories transformed and were vigorously disputed. Caesarius' enclosure (which doesn't have its own name), the *claustrum* of Benedict and of the commentators of the *Regula Benedicti*, the *regia* of the *Regula Magistri*, and Jonas of Bobbio's *septa monasterii* were based on different notions of space and had different agencies in the pursuit of salvation, and it is the question of whether we could call these spaces *sacred* at all. Caesarius, for example, refers to a *sancta regula*, *sancta oboedientia*, *sancta abbatissa*, and a *congregatio sancta* but never speaks of a *sanctum monasterium* or of the enclosed space as *locus sanctus*. Jonas' *septa monasterii* are undoubtedly powerful, and crossing their boundaries might be deadly, but can they be called a sacred space if, in fact, nothing was holy to Jonas? If assume that all these powerful monastic spaces are just some form of 'sacred spaces' much of what I wanted to show in this book would have remained invisible.

Purity, pollution, and purification definitively play a key role in the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, but Jonas ties them to the inescapably sinful nature of human beings rather than ritual transgressions, bodily fluids, or things that are out of place. This sets him apart from Columbanus himself whose notion of purity and pollution has little to do with sinfulness but is clearly rooted in Old Testament notions of ritual purity. It is, thus, dangerous to assume that our authors had any shared notion of purity.

One category in particular sparked productive irritation during my exploration of the early medieval monastic pursuit of salvation: "asceticism".[14] I may have succeeded in purging this study from the term "Columbanian", but it is virtually impossible to write a study on early medieval religious life without using the expression "asceticism", usually as an undefined and undiscussed placeholder for any kind of (bodily) practice that sets religiously living individuals or communities apart from "ordinary Christians". "Ascetic" and "asceticism" pretend to have their roots in the Christian appropriation of the classical Greek term ἄσκησις (training). It was, after all, Athanasius of Alexandria who turned his hero Antony into one of the first Christian practitioners of ἄσκησις. We learned to consider Antony the first monk and to perceive monastic life as more or less perfect variations of "ascetic" life, regardless the specific functions and meanings of "ascetic" practices in

(14) For a first exploration of this theme, see Diem, Albrecht, 'The Limitations of Asceticism', in: *Medieval Worlds* 9 (2019), pp. 112–138.

the wider framework of pursuing salvation. We assume that there is an "ascetic ideal", sometimes overlapping with attributes of sanctity, and that there is a reality that sometimes measures poorly in comparison with this ascetic ideal.

Asceticism is a loan word in virtually every modern language and whoever uses it in everyday speech implicitly ties an "ascetic" practice to forms of Christian over-achievement. It is also a technical term used (with disturbingly diverse definitions) in various academic disciplines, and it sounds even more scholarly if replaced by *askesis*, as especially German scholars love to do (please don't!). The basic implication of asceticism and ἄσκησις, that of a direct connection to the late antique and early medieval religious world and its written sources, is plainly wrong. Ἄσκησις did not only have vastly different meanings wherever it appeared in its Greek sources, but there is also no equivalent in Latin texts. There is no general Latin term referring to an "overachievement in religious practice". When Evagrius of Antioch translated the *Vita Antonii* into Latin, he had no idea what to do with this term and chose a different Latin word whenever ἄσκησις appeared in his source.[15] The Latin expression *asceticus* (as noun or as adjective) does not exist before the sixteenth century when it enters scholarly language first as genre description (referring to monastic texts as "ascetic" works) then as overarching category for late antique and early medieval religious practice. The glue that holds together individual and collective Christian "overachieving" in the late antique and early medieval period, is poriferous and crumbly and a product of the still powerful scholarly traditions reaching back to the sixteenth century, which, again, make things looking dangerously similar that may, in fact, have been entirely different.

We cannot abandon the term, because studying religious life without referring to "asceticism" would be like playing Taboo, but the sources studied in this book might offer opportunities to turn it into a productive hermeneutical tool that helps us see new things rather than obfuscating diversity and dissent and making judgements about the more or less "ascetic" nature of new emerging forms of monastic life.

The impossibility of finding a Latin equivalent of the Greek ἄσκησις might help us to put a finger on the different paths religious life in the Greek and Latin world would take. There are, undoubtedly, a number of "ascetic" transformations taking place. The development towards a *uita regularis* seems to have turned individual over-achievement largely into attributes of sanctity and practices of a distant past that had to be replaced by de-individualized activities defined by time, space, and synchrony. Food deprivation turned into periods and seasons of fasting and strictly controlled and ritualized eating; ceaseless prayer into a strict organization of time; sleep deprivation into synchronized sleeping in a shared dormitory; the individual battle for chastity and struggle against demons into continence and the surveilled body; the neglected or tormented body became an object of care and received, if sickness required it, its dedicated space. These transformations were – as I showed in this book – not just motivated by pragmatic reasons, such as the need to appeal to new,

(15) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vitae Antonii Versiones latinae: Versio uetustissima*, ed. Lois Gandt; *Vita beati Antonii abbatis Euagrio interprete*, ed. Pascal H. E. Bertrand, *CCSL* 170, Turnhout: Brepols 2018 provides a synoptic edition of the Greek texts and the two Latin translations.

less ascetically inclined constituencies, but they were results of profound theological reflections. New techniques of pursuing salvation, fighting temptations, overcoming the effects of human sinfulness, self-punishment, or anticipating future punishment had to replace the old ones. Did "asceticism" disappear? I guess not, especially if we agree that enforced synchrony and uniformity, the confinement to organized time and to spatial boundaries, the readiness to submit to rules, the imperative of being "on duty" at any moment and at any place, and the expectation of constantly revealing our innermost truth may be ascetic practices harsher than what many desert monks could achieve. None of these imperatives are alien to us – and it is easy to read them into Bruce Nauman's installations. Maybe there is not as much of a difference between the nuns of Faremoutiers and us as we might think.

APPENDIX 1
PARALLELS BETWEEN THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES* AND JONAS' HAGIOGRAPHIC WORKS

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
1.1: *genere quam sapientia et sanctitate nobilis*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 10–11: *ex Burgundionorum genere, nobilis natione sed nobilior sanctitate*.	The combination of *genus*, *nobilitas*, and *sanctitas* appears about ten times before Jonas, mostly in works of Augustine and Jerome.
1.3: *quam doctrinae inlatae aurem adcommodant*; 3.1: *aurem adcommodant*; 3.13: *aurem accomodent*	*VCol* I, prologue, p. 146, l. 15–16: *cythare melos, aures oppletas, mollis sepe auenae modolamine auditum accommodare*; I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 23–24: *aurem accommodas*; I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 6–7: *aurem pietatis accommodare*; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 12–13: *qui sic suorum ad petitiones famulorum pietatis suae accommodat aures*; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 12–13: *ad fragiles turbarum aures fragilem mentem accommodaret*	Common
1:13: *saniae antidoti*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 11–12: *pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti, quo sanies putrefacta absciderétur*; *VIoh*, c. 2, p. 330, l. 13–14: *celestis antidoti pocula prebendo, quo peccatorum sanies pelleretur*	Exclusive
1.9: *sic delinquentium ignauiam corrigat*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 254, l. 3–4: *correctio delinquentium*; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 10–11: *corrigere delinquentes*	About forty times before Jonas, mostly in works of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.
1.9: *ad cultum relegionis*; 24.5: *cultum instruantur religionis*; *De accedendo* 1: *ad cultum religionis*	*VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 12–13: *omnium animos ad religionis cultum defigeret*; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20: *cultui religionis*; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17: *ad cultum*	Common

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
	religionis; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28: *cultui religionis*; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 17–18: *ad cultum religionis*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17: *cultuque religionis*; c. 1, p. 329, l. 3: *cultus religionis cathenatos*; *Vita Vedastis*, c. 3, p. 311, l. 5: *sub relegionis cultu*	
1.18: *mercedis recipiat lucra*	*Vita Vedastis*, c. 1, p. 309, l. 8: *mercedis lucra*	*Lucrum mercedis* is extremely rare.
1.19: *praesentis uitae*	*VCol* I, c. 2, p. 154, l. 4; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 19; II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 8; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 8; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 29; II, c. 25, p. 290, l. 18; II, c. 25, p. 292, l. 10; *VIoh*, c. 6, p. 333, l. 3–4	Common
2.4: *correptione pia*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 30: *piis correptionibus*	Very rare, exclusive in later texts.
2.5: *arrogantiae uitio maculata*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 11–12: *arrogantiae uitio maculati*; II, c. 17, p. 268; 17, p. 268, l. 8: *per elationis ac arrogantiae uitium*	*Arrogantiae uitio maculata* appears exclusively here; *arrogantiae uitium* is extremely rare.
2.12: *corda subditarum* (…) *excitando erigat*.	*VCol* I, c. 22, p. 205, l. 1: *corda excitet*; II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 8–9: *corda subditorum*	*Corda subditorum*: very rare, but several times in the works of Gregory the Great; *corda excitare*: common.
2.15: *fructum laboris recipiat*	*VCol* II, c. 6, p. 240, l. 13–14: *fructus recipiant uitae aeternae*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 22: *laboris fructus reciperet*	Extremely rare and exclusively in later texts; *fructus*\|*fructum recipere*: common.
2.16: *sine commeatu*; 3.11: *sine commeatu abbatissae facere praesumant*; 4.11: *sine commeatu*	*VCol* I, c. 15, p. 178, l. 21–22: *qui sine comeatu aliquid adtingere presumpsisset*	*Sine commeatu* appears occasionally in classical texts, later in charters and capitularies. One exception is Second Council of Orléans (549), c. 18, *CCSL* 148A, p. 155: …*sine comeato concilii ipsius discedere fortasse praesumpserit*…
3.1: *ex praesentibus pompis*	*VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23-p. 170, l. 1: *faleramenta saeculi et praesentium pompam facultatem*	Once in Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Otmari*, c. 2, *MGH Script.* 2, p. 42.

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
3.1: *omnium simul*; 3.12: *omnis simul*; 11.6: *simul omnes*; 18.2: *simul ab omni congregatione*	*VCol* I, c. 5, p. 162, l. 3: *simul omnes*	Common
3.3: *faleramenta*	*VCol* I, prologue, p. 146, l. 4; I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 23; I, c. 14, p. 176, l. 15; II, c. 1, p. 230, l. 18; II, c. 9, p. 246, l. 23; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 4	Probably neologism created by Jonas. It appears later occasionally in hagiographical texts inspired by Jonas' work, e.g. *Vita Agili*; *Vita Sadalbergae*; *Vita Segolenae*.
3.6: *consodales*	*VIoh*, c. 9, p. 334, l. 26: *consodalibus*	Five times before Jonas.
3.6: *intente aspiciant*	*VCol* I, c. 17, p. 183, l. 2–3: *intentis oculis*	Common
3.12: *omnis simul congregatio*; 4.1: *ex omni congregatione*; 4.6: *congregationi omni*; 18.3: *ab omni congregatione obiurgetur*; 20.7: *ab omni congregatione*	*VCol* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 27: *cum omni congregatione fratrum*; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*	*Ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*: exclusive.
3.16: *contumacie crimen incurrit*; 5.14: *crimen incurrat*	*VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 15–16: *contumaciae crimen incurrere*	Also in *Regula coenobialis*, c. 1 and Columbanus, *Ep.* 1. The expression *crimen contumaciae* is rare. *Incurrere* appears seven times in *RcuiV* and five times in *VCol*.
3.23/20.9/21.1/21.2: *septa monasterii*	*VCol* I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 2: *septa monasterii*; II, c. 19, p. 271, l. 28: *septa monasterii* (elsewhere: *septa secretiora*; *septa caenubii*).	*Septa monasterii* appears occasionally in older texts, especially in acts of councils.
3.25: *regulae tenorem conseruent*; 15.12: *regulae tenori subiacere*	*VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 1–2: *contra tenorem regulae*; *VIoh*, c. 2, p. 330, l. 11: *sub regule tenore*; c. 19, p. 342, l. 21: *regule tenore*	Three times before Jonas; *Regula Donati*, prologue.23, *CSEL* 98, p. 141.
4.7: *pro affectu et materno ordine*	*VCol* II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 1–22: *paterno affectu et aequo iure*; II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 29–30: *et ille paterno affectu labentem piis correptionibus foueret*	Common, but see *RcuiV* 2.4 on *correptione pia*.
4.11: *cum uoce humilitatis*	*VCol* I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 13: *humili uoce*; I, c. 22, p. 202, l. 7: *humili uoce*	Common

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
4.16: *neglegentiae damna incurrat*	*VCol* II, c. 17, p. 268, l. 21–22: *ne negligentia tepiditatis pariat damna uitae aeternae*; II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 27: *damna incurrat*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 9–10: *ne tanti damni incurreret causam*; *VIoh*, c. 7, p. 333, l. 12–13: *negligentiae damnum*	*Damnum negligentiae*: once in Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* III, c. 12, *SC* 382, p. 326, l. 56–57; *damnum incurrere*: common.
5.9: *diligatur puritate, diligatur religione*	*VCol* II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 29: *eius puritatis et religionis in omnibus imitatores essent*	*Puritas religionis* appears occasionally. The combination of *puritas* and *religio* is extremely rare.
5.11: *numquam peccati maculam incurret*	*VIoh*, c. 16, p. 339, l. 27: *contagione peccatorum maculatus*	Common. *Macula* and *maculare* appear seven times in *RcuiV*, 21 times in *VCol*, and twice in *VIoh*.
5.11: *cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata*	*VCol* II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 29: *pietatis cultus*	*Cultus pietatis* appears rarely before Jonas.
5.11: *aeterna praemia accipiet*; *De accedendo* 23: *ad aeterna praemia tendat*	*VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1–2: *aeterna praemia caperent*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25–26: *et eterne uite premia capere*	Common
5.12: *antiqui hostis*; 14.8: *antiquus hostis*	*VCol* I, c. 3, p. 155, l. 19: *antiquus hostis*	Common
5:16: *discordiae fomenta*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 29: *discordiae fomitem*	Both variants appear about ten times before Jonas.
5:21: *iurgiorum incrementa*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 28: *iurgiorum…incrementa*	Exclusive
6.1: *scripturarum series*; 9.1: *scripturarum series*	*VCol* I, c. 3, p. 156, l. 9; II, c. 9, p. 250, l. 15–16	Common
6.6: *confessus se aduersum*	*VCol* II, c. 12, p. 261, l. 19: *te aduersum*	*Se aduersum* appears 14 times before Jonas, *te aduersum* seven times.
6:15: *clementis iudicis pietas*; *De accedendo* 26: *clementis iudicis*	*VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10–11: *clementis iudicis*; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: *clementis iudicis*	Three instances before Jonas.
6.20: *mens uel caro per fragilitatem deliquerit*; 6.21: *mens maculae adtraxerit*	*VCol* II, c. 16, p. 267, l. 14: *mens fragilitate corrupta*; II, c. 19, p. 272, l. 24–25: *qualemcumque rugam mens fragilitate adtraxisset*	Appears occasionally before Jonas.

APPENDIX 1

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
6.23: *peracta oratione*	*VIoh*, c. 2, p. 330, l. 6–7: *oratione peracta*; c. 7, p. 333, l. 17: *peracta oratione*; c. 13, p. 337, l. 9: *peractaque oratione*	Three instances before Jonas.
6.26: *supra humum prostratae*; 22.18: *supra humum*	*VCol* I, c. 21, p. 200, l. 14: *supra humum iacuit*; II, c. 3, p. 235, l. 7: *humo prostratus prodit*; II, c. 7, p. 242, l. 17: *prostratus itaque humo*	Common
7.1: *iustus iudex*	*VCol* I, c. 28, p. 219, l. 3; II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 25; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 22; II, c. 19, p. 274, l. 27; II, c. 24, p. 288, l. 16	Common; based on Ps. 7, 12 and II Tim. 4, 8.
7.2: *ad salutem redintegrandam*	*VCol* I, c. 7, p. 166, l. 5–6: *ob sanitatem redintegrandam*; II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 18–19: *et ueteres maculas delens, omnia saluti redintegraret*; II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 4–5: *redintegrauit ergo diuina pietas*	Extremely rare
7.6: *quae hunc propositum regulae uiolare conetur*; 12.12: *Nam si uiolatrix huius regulae*; 18.1: *sanctae regulae normam uiolare*	*VCol* I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 17–19: *Si, quod nunc usque sub regularis disciplinae abenis constrictum fuit, uiolare conaris*; II, c. 9, p. 249, l. 1: *aduersantes sanctae regulae prudentia*; II, c. 25, p. 291, l. 30–31: *sub regularis disciplinae norma eruditus*; *VIoh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 25: *regularis materie normam*; c. 4, p. 331, l. 1–2: *religionis forma plures instruebat et regularis discipline normam tenere eos commonebat*	*Regulam uiolare* appears twice before Jonas; *regulam uiolare conari* appears exclusively here.
8.3: *eius gratias referendas*	*VCol* II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 11–13: *Grates simul parentes conditori referunt, qui sic suorum ad petitiones famulorum pietatis suae accommodat aures*; II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 24: *Gratias deinde refert omnipotenti*	Common
8.5: *uerecundiae metu*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 9–10: *uerecundiae metu*; II, c. 17, p. 269, l. 24–25: *perculsa metu, uerecundia correpta*	Exclusive

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
8.9: *illa in ecclesia pro ipsa tarditate posita*	*VCol* I, c. 17, p. 184, l. 13: *in ecclesia positum*; I, c. 20, p. 194, l. 26: *in ecclesia positum*; I, c. 28, p. 217, l. 18: *in ecclesia positus*. *Positus* appears 13 times in *RcuiV* and 17 times in *VCol*	Common
9.8: *somnum capiendum*	*VIoh*, c. 16, p. 339, l. 9–10: *cum somno caperet*	Common
9.8: *necessitas monasterii*	*VCol* I, c. 30, p. 222, l. 18: *ad monasterii necessitatem*	Common in monastic rules
9.10: *pro communi necessitate*	*VCol* II, c. 7, p. 241, l. 3: *pro communi necessitate*	Once in Gregory; once in Cassian.
10.18: *temeritatis audacia*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 251, l. 29: *temeritatis audaciam*	About ten times before Jonas.
11.3: *labor grandis*; *De accedendo* 8: *sine grande labore*	*VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11: *grandi labore*	Common
11.3: *aut hospitum non cogat aduentus*	*VCol* I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 14: *hospitum aduentus*	Very rare, once in *Regula Magistri*, c. 15, *SC* 105, p. 332.
12.1: *necessitatis usus*	*VIoh*, c. 4, p. 331, l. 9–10: *in operis necessarii usus cerneret laborare*	Common
12.2: *detur intentio*	*VIoh*, c. 12, p. 336, l. 13: *intentionem dedit*	Once in the works of Gregory the Great. The terms *intentus* and *intentio* appear six times in *RcuiV*, 19 times in *VCol*, twice in *VIoh*, and four times in *De accedendo*.
12.6: *propter feruentem aestum*	*VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 17: *feruenti aestu*	Occasionally in Jerome and Augustine, otherwise rare.
12.15: *omnipotentis Dei misericordia*	*VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 8: *omnipotentis misericordiam*	Common
13.2: *sollicitudo animi uigeat*	*VCol* I, c. 19, p. 190, l. 10: *animo uigens*	Common
13.5: *iudicium damnationis*	*VIoh*, c. 4, p. 332, l. 4: *iudicium damnationis*	Common
14.2: *ut quamuis sopore membra torpescant*	*VCol* II, c. 18, p. 271, l. 2–3: *cum sopore membra laxasset*	Common, from Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.404.
14.4: *subiecta membra*	*VIoh*, c. 3, p. 330, l. 30: *subiecta membra*	About five instances before Jonas.
14.9: *de cuius relegione non dubitetur*; 24.9: *de quorum religione non dubitatur*	*VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 10: *de quorum religione nihil dubitabatur*; II, c. 5, p. 237, l. 25–26: *de quorum religioni nihil dubitabatur*	Once in *V. Segolenae* 23.25, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 635B. Otherwise exclusive

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
14.15: *signum crucis fronti inferatur*	*VCol* I, c. 8, p. 166, l. 19: *frontem signo crucis armans*	Common
16.3/20.13/24.3: *aetas tenera*	*VCol* II, c. 8, p. 244, l. 20: *tenera quiuerat aetas*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 15: *tenera aetas*	Common
16.10: *reatu culpae*	*VIoh*, c. 10, p. 235, l. 15: *reati culpam*	Common
17.12/18.3/18.4/20.1/20.2: *emendare noluerit*	*VCol* I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 20–21: *emendare dilatando non uelit*	Common
18.3: *ab omni congregatione obiurgetur*	*VCol* II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 21: *ab omni congregatione obiurgarentur*	Exclusive
18.5: *obstinatae et durae mentis*	*VCol* II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 28-p. 278, l. 1: *durae ac ignauae mentis*; II, c. 10, p. 252, l. 2: *si misera mens duritiam uecordiae molliret*	Common
20.4: *moderante ergo scientia*	*VCol* II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 25: *scientiam moderantem*	Exclusive
20.5: *per fomenta castigationum et piaetatis*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 11–12: *pia fomenta praebere et salutaris antidoti*	Exclusive
20.5: *sospitati non redditur*	*VCol* I, c. 15, p. 177, l. 18: *statim sospitati reddit*; II, c. 4, p. 236, l. 7: *sospitate reddatur*; II, c. 7, p. 240, l. 16: *sospitate reddito*; II, c. 7, p. 242, l. 4: *sospitati redderetur*; l. 22: *redditamque sospitate*; l. 24: *sospitate filiam redditam*; II, c. 8, p. 245, l. 14: *sospitati reddidit*; II, c. 12, p. 260, l. 21–22: *sospitate… reddatur*; II, c. 19, p. 273, l. 5–6: *redderet sospitati*	About 15 times before Jonas.
21.1 *emendationem polliceatur*	*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 232, l. 7–8: *emendaturos pollicentur*; II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 29: *emendaturam pollicetur*	About ten times before Jonas.
21.1: *perculsa timore*	*VCol* II, c. 23, p. 284, l. 12–13: *timore perculsus*	Common, possibly from Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, c. 20.4, *SC* 265, p. 76.

Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines	*Vita Columbani*; *Vita Iohannis*; *Vita Vedastis*	Frequency in other sources (based on Patrologia Latina Database, Acta Sanctorum Database, and Library of Latin Texts)
21.5: *in postmodum*	*VCol* I, prologue, p. 145, l. 12; I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 13; I, c. 21, p. 199, l. 6; I, c. 22, p. 202, l. 19; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 24	Roughly 25 times before Jonas.
22.2: *pro parte*	*VCol* I, prologue, p. 147, l. 15; I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 3–4	Common
22.5: *purissimum patefacient affectum*	*VCol* I, c. 4, p. 159, l. 14–15: *ardentem patri patefaciebat affectum*	Twice before Jonas.
22.10/16/20/22/24: *cum omni humilitate*	*VCol* I, c. 18, p. 186, l. 11–12: *omni cum humilitate*	Common
22.22: *sub silenti uoce*	*VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 10: *sub silenti uoce*	Exclusive
22.23: *modestia ac sobriaetate*	*VCol* I, c. 5, p. 161, l. 20–21: *modestia atque sobrietas*	About ten times before Jonas.
23.1: *proximam uel consanguineam*	*VCol* II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 18: *qui consanguinitatis proximus erat*; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 24–25: *erat enim ei consanguinitate proxima*	About 15 times before Jonas.
23.3: *quae iam sibi non uiuit, sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa*	*VCol* II, c. 13, p. 263, l. 23–24: *ut quae crucifixae mundo Christo, non sibi uiuunt*	Exclusive

APPENDIX 2
PARALLELS BETWEEN *DE ACCEDENDO*, THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES*, AND JONAS' HAGIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

De accedendo	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*	*Vita Columbani/ Vita Iohannis*	
1: *ad cultum religionis*	1.9: *ad cultum relegionis*; 24.5: *ad cultum instruantur religionis*	*VCol* I, c. 10, p. 169, l. 19–20: *et cultui religions*; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17: *ad cultum religionis*; II, c. 12, p. 259, l. 28–29: *cultui religionis*; II, c. 23, p. 280, l. 17–18: *ad cultum religionis*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 17: *cultuque religionis*; c. 1, p. 329, l. 3: *cultus religionis*	Common
1: *Quanta intentione ac studio inquirendum sit, qualiter ad cultum religionis tam operibus quam oratione tendatur*		*VCol* II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17: *omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent*	
4/5/8/11/13/20/22/24: *si… si… si…sic… sic… sic ergo… sic ergo… sic*	1.6/7/9/10/11/13: *sic… sit… sit… sic… sic… sit… sit… sic ergo*	*VCol* II, c. 9, p. 251, l. 6–11: *Sic enim… Sic enim… sic omnis… Nihil enim*	
5: *et cum eodem dicere possimus: Inquisiui*	3.4: *cum Propheta orando dicant: Auerte oculos meos*		
6: *omni intentione*		*VCol* I, c. 30, p. 221, l. 1: *omni cum intentione*; II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 18: *omni intentione*; II, c. 11, p. 257, l. 15: *omni intentione et deuotione*; II, c. 11, p. 259, l. 16–17: *omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent*; *VIoh*, c. 2, p. 329, l. 12–13: *et cultu religionis sub omni intentione*	About 50 occurrences before Jonas.

De accedendo	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*	*Vita Columbani/ Vita Iohannis*	
6: *cum omni cordis contritione*	6.26: *contritione deleantur cordis*; 12.15: *humili et contrito corde*; 19.8: *cum cordis contritione*		Common
6: *qui se exterius a saeculi desideriis atterit et interius cum omni cordis contritione per ardorem conpunctionis pollet*	12.10–11: *ut dum exterius per temporalem oportunitatem manus operibus occupantur,* 11 *interius mens cum linguae meditatione psalmorum ac Scripturarum recordatione dulcescat*		
8: *facinorum mole*	6.6: *facinorum molem*		Appears very rarely, once in Ps.-Jerome, *Breuiarium in Psalmos*.
8: *Beatae scilicet uitae praemium et aeterni muneris perenne suffragium*; 23: *ad aeterna praemia tendat*	5.11: *aeterna praemia accipiet*	*VCol* I, c. 10, p. 170, l. 1–2: *aeterna praemia caperent*; *VIoh*, c. 1, p. 328, l. 25–26: *et eterne uite premia capere*	*Aeterna praemia*: common.
8: *sine grande labore*	11.3: *aut si labor grandis exigerit*	*VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 11: *sed grandi labore*	Common; also in Ps.-Jerome, *Breuiarium in Psalmos*
10: *iuxta Apostolum*	1.11: *iuxta Apostolum*; 5.5: *iuxta Apocalipsin*; 6.1: *iuxta scripturarum seriem*; 22.9: *iuxta quod in actibus apostolorum legimus*	*VCol* I, prologue, p. 148, l. 11: *iuxta poetam*; II, c. 9, p. 250, l. 22–23: *iuxta psalmistae uocem*; II, c. 10, p. 253, l. 5: *iuxta Iob*; II, c. 10, p. 254, l. 25: *iuxta Salomonem*; II, c. 23, p. 281, l. 4: *iuxta euangelii uocem*; *VIoh*, c. 8, p. 334, l, 12: *iuxta apostolum*	Common
11: *testatur dicens*	5.15 and 5.17: *testatus est dicens*		Common
12: *aditus non denegetur*	21.5: *aditum esse in postmodum denegandum*	*VCol* I, c. 9, p. 168, l. 8–9: *aditum denegabat*; I, c. 19, p. 189, l. 8: *aditum deneget*; I, c. 30, p. 222, l. 3–4: *aditum plaustrorum denegabat*	Very rare

De accedendo	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*	*Vita Columbani/ Vita Iohannis*	
12: *obstinatae mentis*	18.5: *obstinatae et durae mentis*	*VCol* II, c. 22, p. 277, l. 28-p. 278, l. 1: *durae ac ingnauae mentis*	*Obstinatae mentis*: rare
14: *diuinae miserationis*		*VCol* II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 20: *miseratio diuina*	Common
14: *tam corpore quam animo parati*	2.12: *tam corporis quam animae prouida*		Rare
15: *igne accensum*		*VCol* II, c. 1, p. 231, l. 29: *subito ictu igne febrium accensus*	Common
19: *conditori…placeat*		*VCol*. I, c. 20, p. 195, l. 1–2: *placere conditore*	Very rare
19: *iuxta illud psalmografi praeconium*	8.1: *ad sonitum preconis*; 14.1: *preconiis peruigil*	*VCol* I, c. 3, p. 158, l. 8–9: *psalmigraphi praeconii*; I, c. 17, p. 182, l. 11: *preconantis uox psalmigraphi*	The combination *praeconium*/*psalmographus* appears exclusively here and in *Vita Segolenae*, c. 23.24, *AASS* July, vol. 5, p. 635B.
20: *si opus bonum ad uocem laudis iungitur*	1.4–6: *Debet enim sacris eloquiis opera nectere sacra, ut quae eius imitatur doctrinam ex uoce, imitetur cultum ex opere,* 5 *ne si in aliquo uoci opus contradixerit, fructum uocis non obtineat effectum.* 6 *Sic ergo sit et uoce ornata et opere, ut et opus uoci et uox consentiat operi.*		
21: *potentiae diuinae*		*VCol* I, c. 27, p. 215, l. 24: *diuinae potentiae*; II, c. 2, p. 234, l. 2: *diuina potentia*	Common
21: *sollicita religionis cura omni studio prosequitur*	13.4: *cum sollicito timoris studio gubernent*	*VCol* II, c. 9, p. 248, l. 20: *omni studio*; II, c. 21, p. 277, l. 9–10: *studio omni*; *VIoh*, *praef.*, p. 326, l. 20: *omne studio*; c. 8, p. 333, l. 27: *omni studio*	*Omni studio*: common
22: *mens…intenta*; 26: *mentis intentio*	8.2: *mens ad sonitum preconis intenta*; 14.1: *anima uigore creatoris intenta preconiis peruigil maneat*	*VCol* II, c. 10, p. 256, l. 19: *mente intenta preces fundens*; *VIoh*, *praef.*, p. 326, l. 27: *mentis intentione*	Appears occasionally in other sources.

De accedendo	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*	*Vita Columbani/ Vita Iohannis*	
23: *deuotione ornata*	1.6: *uoce ornata*; 1.7: *beniuolentia ornata*; 2.4: *humilitate ornata*; 2.5: *actu religionis ornata*; 5.11: *cultu pietatis ac dilectionis ornata*		Common
25: *lacrimarum ubertate*		*VCol* II, c. 6, p. 239, l. 17: *lacrimarum ubertate*; II, c. 13, p. 262, l. 21–22: *lacrimarum ubertas*	Very rare
26: *pietatem clementis iudicis*	6.15: *Quanta clementis iudicis pietas erga nos diffusa dinoscitur*	*VCol* I, c. 4, p. 160, l. 10–11: *clementis iudicis*; II, c. 11, p. 258, l. 17: *clementis iudicis*	*Clemens iudex*: rare. The combination with *pietas* is unique.
27: *infudit medicinam*	7.3: *medicinam infundit*		Very rare

APPENDIX 3
PARALLELS BETWEEN THE *REGVLA CVIVSDAM AD VIRGINES* AND THE *VITAE BERTILAE*

Vita Bertilae	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*
c. 1: *ore laudabilior*	1.6: *omnium ore laudabilis*
c. 1: *dum in illa et quo glorificaretur Christus elegit, et quod imitarentur multi, effulsit*	23.2: *sed Christo, quem imitata manet crucifixa*
c. 1: *pleno cordis affectu*	3.2: *in toto cordis affectu*
c. 1: *in tenera aetate*	16.3; 20.13; 24.2: *aetas tenera*
c. 2: *sub norma sanctae regulae*	18.1: *uel sanctae regulae normam*
c. 2: *cum feruore*	2.18: *cum feruore*
c. 2: *cum omni enim grauitate et mansuetudine*	8.3: *cum omni grauitate et mansuaetudine*
c. 2: *timorem uero Dei semper prae oculis habens*	24.4: *retenti et timoris Dei ac amoris doctrina inbuti*; 13.5: *anteponentes illud mentis oculis: Maledictus qui facit opus Dei neglegenter.*
c. 2: *et puritate confessionis*	16.8; 16.9: *per puram confessionem*
c. 2: *studebat adimplere*	3.18: *implere studeant*
c. 2: *consodalibus*	3.6; 3.14: *consodalibus* (otherwise rare)
c. 2: *septa monasterii*	3.23; 20.9; 21.2: *septa monasterii*
c. 2: *ista sollicitudinem; infirmorum, infantum, immoque ospitum ei frequentius cura commendabatur*	1.8: *Erga peregrinorum et hospitum sollicitudinem praesta, erga infirmantium curam sollicita, erga inopum et aegenorum iuuamen opulenta*
c. 3: *tacto signo*	10.14: *signum tangere*
c. 4: *norma sanctae religionis*	18.1: *sanctae regulae normam*
c. 5: *uera caritas*	22.7: *sine uera humilitate uera manet caritas*
c. 5: *sub sancta norma*	18.1: *uel sanctae regulae normam*
c. 5: *quasi ergo mater proprios filios uel filias diligebat cunctos*	1.16: *Habeat ergo tot animos mater quot habet in suo regimine filias*
c. 6: *Erat itaque ipsa beata Bertila exemplum et forma pietatis omnibus per continentiam et plenissimam dilectionem, et non solum per sanctum eloquium, sed magis suae sanctitatis seu religionis studio subditorum instruebat mores…*	The terms *exemplum*, *forma pietatis*, *continentia*, *eloquium*, *studio religionis*, and *mores* appear all in chapter 1.
c. 6: *inuicem diligerent*	5.t: *De se inuicem diligendo*
c. 6: *caritatis affectu*	22.1: *Quanto se affectu uel caritatis ministerio*
c. 6: *puriterque et caste seu et sobrie*	2.4: *actu casta, moribus sobria*
c. 6: *orationem semper essent paratae*	*De accedendo* 14: *Ad opus ergo seruitutis diuinae miserationis quandoque cum adsistimus, tam corpore quam animo parati esse debemus.*

Vita Bertilae	*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*
c. 6: *hospitumque et pauperum curam gererent*	3.10: *Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam inter omnia habentes*; 4.13: *Similiter pauperum curam gerat.*
c. 6: *dilectionis studio et proximi amore*	5.8: *Diligatur ergo proxima non carnis affectu sed piaetatis ministerio.*
c. 6: *ut datis confessionibus paenitentiam pro peccatis suis agerent*	Compare chapter 6
c. 6: *praemium adquisiuit, et illorum animabus lucrum fecit*	3.6: *Et intus a consodalibus suis mercedis praeparent lucra, dum omnium uice foris gerunt curam*
c. 6: *pauperes et peregrini*	3.10: *Pauperum, peregrinorum et hospitum curam*
c. 6: *tantumque fructum per eam magnum Dominus contraxit ad salutem animarum*	1.18–19: *Agat omnium curam, ut de omnium profectu mercedis recipiat lucra,* [19] *ut ex corruptione praesentis uitae quandoque erepta, tantum laboris recipiat praemium, quantis ad uincendum inimicum presidiis prebuit supplementum.*
c. 7: *et mentes earum ad bene agendum semper paratae*	14.1: *paratam Deo mentem praeparant*; *De accedendo* 22: *Sic ergo mens nostra ad psallendum intenta, sic ad orandum parata*
c. 8: *materno affectu nutristi*	4.7: *pro affectu et materno ordine*
c. 9: *humilitatem praecipuae, quae est mater uirtutum*	3.7: *cum uirtutum magistra humilitate*
c. 9: *misericordiae pietatem*	5.26: *ut nos a nostris criminibus pietate et misericordia soluat Deus*
c. 9: *praemii aeternam recepit*	5.11: *aeterna praemia accipiet*; *De accedendo* 23: *ad aeterna praemia tendat*

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY *

AASS		*Acta Sanctorum*
AASSOSB		*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*
CaesRV		Caesarius of Arles, *Regula ad uirgines*
CCCM		*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*
CCM		*Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*
CCSL		*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CSEL		*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
LXX		Psalms in Septuagint translation
MGH		*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
	AA	*Auctores Antiquiores*
	Cap.	*Capitularia*
	Conc.	*Concilia*
	Epp.	*Epistulae*
	Script.	*Scriptores in folio*
	SRG	*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*
	SRL	*Scriptores Rerum Langobardorum*
	SRM	*Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
PG		*Patrologia Graeca*
PL		*Patrologia Latina*
RcuiV		*Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*
SC		*Sources Crétiennes*
VCol		Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani*
VIoh		Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Iohannis*

* For a list of abbreviations used in the edition of the *Regula cuiusdam ad uirgines*, see pp. 60–61.

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Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 54
Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 1
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 916
St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 917
Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública, 69
Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 617
Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Fragm. s.n.
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 285 (275)
Valvanera, Archivio del Monasterio
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 1025
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